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from the close of the

HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XXIII.

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THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER
ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR ✓

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

OF THE LONDON ORATORY

VOLUME XXIII

CLEMENT VIII (1592-1605)

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1933

DEDICATED TO
HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS XI.,
WITH PROFOUND VENERATION
BY
THE AUTHOR.

*Catholicus non est, qui a Romana Ecclesia
in fidei doctrina discordat.*

(Inscription on tomb of Cardinal Hosius in
S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome.)

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BRUSSELS—State Archives.
——— Library.

CITTÀ DI CASTELLO—Graziani
Archives.
COPENHAGEN—Library.

FERRARA — Communal Ar-
chives.
——— Library.

FLORENCE—State Archives.
——— Marucelliana Library.
——— National Library.

FOLIGNO—Seminary Library.
FRANKFURT A. M.—City Li-
brary.

FREIBURG I. BR.—City Ar-
chives.

GEMONA—Parish Archives.
GIRGENTI—Library.
GÖRLITZ—Milichsche Library.

HOHENFURTH—Convent Li-
brary.

INNSBRUCK—Provincial Ar-
chives.
——— Library of the Servites.

KÖNIGSBERG—Library.

LONDON—British Museum.
LUCERNE—Archives of the
Capuchins.

MANTUA—Gonzaga Archives.
——— Capilupi Library.
METZ—City Library.
MILAN—Ambrosian Library.
MODENA—State Archives.
——— Este Library.
MUNICH—State Library
——— Private Archives.

NAPLES—State Archives.
——— Brancacciana Library.
——— National Library.
NIKOLSBURG—Dietrichstein
Family Archives.

ORVIETO—Cartari Archives
(now : Piccolomini-Febei).

PADERBORN—Theodorian Li-
brary.

PARIS—National Archives.
——— National Library.

PARMA—Palatina Library.
PISTOIA—Fabroniana Library.
PRAGUE—Lobkowitz Library
——— Nostitzsche Library.

ROME—

Archives

Aldobrandini.
Boncompagni.
Borghese.
Congreg. del buon
Governo.
Doria.
Fabbrica di S. Pietro.
Gaetani.
German College.
Holy Office (Roman
Inquisition)
Papal Secret.

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 Congregation of the
 Council.
 Consistorial (Vatican)
 Notarial.
 Propaganda.
 Rospigliosi.
 Rota
 Spanish Embassy.
 State Archives.
 Theatines.

Libraries :

Altieri.
 Angelica.
 Barberini (Vatican).
 Borghese.
 Casanatense.
 Chigi (Vatican).
 Corsini.
 S. Croce in Gerusalemme.
 Pastor.

Libraries :—cont.

S. Pietro in Vincoli.
 Vallicelliana.
 Vatican.
 Vittorio Emanuele.

SALZBURG—Consistorial Archives

SIENA—Library.

SIMANCAS—Archives.

STOCKHOLM—Library.

TRENT—City Library.

TURIN—State Archives.

URBINO—Archiepiscopal Archives.

VENICE—State Archives.

VERONA—Chapter Library.

VIENNA—Liechtenstein Archives.

——— State Archives.

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INTRODUCTION.

HOWEVER much Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. had differed from each other in their origin, their character and their temperament, they were all alike distinguished for their blamelessness of life and for the zeal with which they aimed at the same end, the renewal of the Church ; so that their contemporaries, both clergy and laity, gave thanks to God that in His mercy He had, immediately after the closing of the Council of Trent, granted to Christendom three successive Popes who, to the great advantage of the world, had carried into effect the reform laws of that general assembly of the Church.

These three luminaries were worthily followed by Clement VIII., of the house of Aldobrandini, who, after the short pontificates of Urban VII., Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., received the tiara on January 30th, 1592. For thirteen years and one month he bore the burdens of the supreme dignity, devoting himself to the end to the welfare of Catholic Christendom, and giving a living and eloquent example as a chief pastor of deep piety. The spirit of the Catholic reform, which at that time had found its most beautiful expression in Philip Neri, had penetrated the Pope in such a way that it was said that that saint had himself ascended the throne of Peter in his person.

In all the actions of Clement VIII. the first place was held by his priestly functions, his position as a secular sovereign falling into a secondary place. Even though by the annexation of Ferrara to the Papal States he obtained an important political success, the central interest of his pontificate lay entirely in his work as the supreme head of Catholic Christendom. Filled with true piety and a great pastoral zeal, he aimed before all things at the consolidation of the interior ecclesiastical life, at the growth of true religion among clergy

and people, and at the removal of abuses and scandals. With unwearied zeal, as he repeatedly said in his letters, he set himself to labour in the field of the Lord to clear it of the cockle.¹

In his work as a reformer, as well as in his zeal in fighting against the Turks, Clement VIII. recalled his patron, Pius V. ; in the way in which he furthered the foreign missions he recalled Gregory XIII. ; but in his statesmanship he showed his resemblance to Sixtus V., who had conferred the purple upon him.² Yet he had nothing of the marvellous genius, the bold initiative, or the reckless energy of this predecessor of his ; his strength lay in another direction ; he was rather a far-seeing politician, and a cautious and skilful diplomatist,³ and such he proved himself to be in the most delicate situations.⁴ Slowly, but surely, he disentangled the French problem, the most difficult and at the same time the most important that at that time confronted the Holy See. The historical importance of the Aldobrandini Pope is to be found in the attitude which he adopted towards Henry IV. If Calvinism had proved victorious in France it would have meant a decision of the very greatest importance for the

¹ * " Est enim agri dominici praecepua cultura, quae nisi assidue visitetur et diligenter excolatur, spinis et vepribus repletur." Brief to Wolfgang von Dalberg, Archbishop of Mayence, September 17, 1594. Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 296, Papal Secret Archives.

² HERRE (Papstwahlen, 410) rightly calls Clement VIII. the spiritual heir of Sixtus V. ORBAAN (Rome onder Clemens VIII., p. 3) expresses himself in a similar way.

³ The prudence and statesmanship of Clement VIII. are greatly praised by MOCENIGO (Hist. Venet., I., 16), who is otherwise ill-disposed towards him. Cf. also RICHARD, *Le légation du Card. Aldobrandini et le Traité de Lyon*, Lyons, 1903, 70.

⁴ In a *sketch for a biography of Clement VIII. the author of which has made use of the Vatican Secret Archives, praise is given to this Pope's " prudenza, longanimità et destrezza nell'aspettare le occasioni, segreto et silenzio dove bisogna, circospettione et maturità nel parlare " Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

whole of Europe, as Beza very rightly realized.¹ Now that a great part of Germany, the Scandinavian nations, and England had adopted the religious innovations, the apostacy of the French nation, the eldest daughter of the Church, would have meant the victory of Protestantism in western and central Europe, and those parts of Germany and the Spanish Netherlands which had still remained Catholic would not have been in a position to offer any successful resistance.² But the majority of the French nation showed itself determined to remain loyal to the ancient faith, and Henry IV. was bound to take this into account if he wished to become their king.

Even contemporaries recognized the reconciliation of the House of Bourbon with the Church as an event of the greatest importance, and posterity has confirmed their judgment. The reconciliation, which was at length brought about after undescribable efforts, was shown to be of the highest importance ; the danger of Protestantism dominating the Latin nations was averted, while at the same time the continuance of the Catholic religion in the Netherlands and the Lower Rhineland was assured.

Not only was the acquisition of Ferrara made possible for the Pope by the help of Henry IV., but, a thing of incomparably greater importance, the Holy See recovered a position of greater freedom and independence of Spain, which enabled it, as formerly in the Middle Ages, to act as a peacemaker between the European powers. The great moral preponderance which the Papacy henceforth held among the European nations, despite the apostacy of whole countries, was clearly seen when Clement VIII. set himself to bring about peace between Spain, France and Savoy.

The incessant labours of Clement VIII. to dispel the Turkish danger recall the great days of the Middle Ages, and even

¹ On the result of the struggle in France, said Beza, " pendere prorsus videtur maxima totius orbis terrarum vel in melius vel in deterius commutatio " ; see KAMPSCHULTE in *Bonner Theol. Lit.-Blatt.*,* VI., 38.

² Cf. BAUDRILLART, *L'Église cath., la Renaissance, le Protestantisme*, Paris, 1915, 131 *seq.*

though, in this respect, owing to a combination of unfavourable circumstances, he met with no outstanding success, nevertheless the participation of the Pope, by sending troops and the granting of large subsidies, in the defence of Hungary, must always remain a glorious page in the history of the Holy See. Clement VIII. witnessed important progress in the work of Catholic restoration in Germany, Switzerland and the Spanish Netherlands, and above all in Poland, to the carrying out of which he zealously contributed. On the other hand his hopes of the recovery of Sweden for the Church were not realized, as was also the case with the expectation that the successor of Elizabeth, the Stuart James I., would follow the example of the Bourbon king. The reunion of the Greek schismatics in eastern Europe, success in which would have been of the greatest historical importance, was only partially brought about.

Thus the reconciliation of Henry IV. with the Holy See remains the outstanding event of the pontificate of Clement VIII. Only then, after the conclusion of peace with the Pope, could Henry IV. look upon his cause as won. The saving of national independence and unity, and the restoration of peace in France, were moreover favourable for the ecclesiastical situation, and the forces that were latent in this direction in the kingdom of St. Louis were soon to manifest themselves.

With the victory of the ancient Church the work of interior renewal was begun in France as well. The noblest intellects of the nation, men and women of all ranks, set themselves to work with burning zeal and unwearied energy for their own sanctification and the good of their neighbour. Religious enthusiasm and reform took more and more far-reaching forms; new Orders sprang up, whose activities were by preference devoted to practical ends, to teaching and the care of the sick, while a new spirit permeated the older Orders and the episcopate as well. The day of the "hirelings" was gone, and there began the period of reforming bishops, such as Italy already possessed, trained in the school of Charles Borromeo.

This work of Catholic reform and restoration in France began in the time of Clement VIII., and reached its height in that of Paul V., whose pontificate of fifteen years may be looked upon in this respect as a continuation of that of the Aldobrandini Pope. Like the latter, he too carried on the anti-Turkish war, the propagation of the faith in missionary countries, and the work of Catholic reform and restoration in all parts of Europe. It is fitting therefore that in the magnificent Pauline Chapel in St. Mary Major's, the tomb of the Borghese Pope, Paul V., should stand facing that of Clement VIII.; even the scenes depicted in the bas-reliefs are in harmony with each other.¹

However great were the successes won by the Church in Germany by the end of the pontificate of Paul V., it is the transformation of France which will always call for the greatest attention. With the cessation of the party wars which had violently convulsed both politics and religion in that country, the first ten years of the XVIIth century witnessed a remarkable repetition of that edifying spectacle which had been seen in Italy and Spain, and to some extent in Germany and Poland during the second half of the XVIth century. Here as there, there was shown forth in a wonderful way the varied and admirable vitality of the Catholic Church, and the divine life which is undying in her.

¹ Cf. BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 218.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, PREVIOUS CAREER AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT VIII.—THE ALDOBRANDINI.

SCARCELY a year had elapsed since the death of Sixtus V., and the Holy See was again vacant for the fourth time ; nothing but the marvellous organization of the Catholic Church could have faced so frequent a change in the government without suffering serious harm. But now, in view of the critical situation, both in the States of the Church and in the whole world,¹ it had become necessary to elect a Cardinal whose age and state of health would guarantee a longer period of activity. From this point of view the sixty-two year old Cardinal Santori, as to whose worthiness and capability there could be no question, seemed to be the man best fitted for the office. In the previous conclave he had had the greatest probability of election, and still held the first place in all the party intrigues.² His hopes seemed all the better founded in that the pontificate of Innocent IX., which had lasted for scarcely two months, had left no opportunity either to the princes or the Cardinals to enter upon any long negotiations.

Many different parties were in favour of Santori. Not only could he count upon the votes of the Spaniards, but also on those of the Florentines and Venetians, as well as upon Montalto. Even though the adherents of Santori were

¹ Mucantius wrote, "*si unquam Petri navicula vigilantibus ac perito gubernatore indiget, haec nostra potissimum tempora illum postulant.*" **Diaria caerem.*, Cod. lat. 12547, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

² Cf. besides **Avvisi* of January 1 and 4, 1592 (Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library), and the letter of Minucci in SCHWEIZER, III., 436, n. 3, the *forecast of the "*cardinali papabili dopo Gregorio XIV.*," in Cod. CXII., Capilupi Library, Mantua.

exaggerating when they declared that they could count upon five votes above the necessary number, it nevertheless seemed certain that among the fifty-two electors they could count upon obtaining the necessary thirty-five votes. When Olivares left Rome a few days before the death of Innocent IX. he indulged in the firm hope that this time his friend would obtain the tiara.¹

¹ For the election of Clement VIII. of the greatest importance is a *Report of conclavist of the party of Santori, who is excellently informed and objective in his judgment, which has served as the basis of the account printed in *Conclavi*, I., 296 *seq.* HERRE (599) has been the first to bring it forward; he has made use of the report (which he marks A) from the copy in Cod. 391, pp. 7-23 of the Milich Library, Görlitz. *Ibid.* Cod. 389, p. 230-286, the *Conclave di Clemente VIII. scritto da Lelio Maretti gentilhuomo Senese, which, circulated by means of written copies, gives some important additions; various copies exist in Rome: e.g. (1) Altieri Library, IX., b. 3; (2) Vatican Library, Barb. LI., 72, pp. 48-203; Ottob. 2798 P. 1, p. 57 *seq.*, Urb. 1663 p. 21 *seq.*, Vat. 9486, p. 225 *seq.*; (3) Casanatense Library, XX., IX. 29; (4) Angelica Library, Nuovi acquisti, 1859; (5) Papal Secret Archives, Borghese, I., 280 and Arm. III., Miscell. 127, p. 209 *seqq.*; (6) a second copy from the Altieri Library belonging to the antiquarian Luzietti (Catalogue of 1921). Maretti's work is also to be found in the State Library, Berlin, Inform, polit., 27, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cod. 10046. and in the Fabroni Library, Pistoia, Cod. 177. HERRE, *loc. cit.* also points out the value of what was written by Giov. Stringa in PLATINA-BZOVIO, *Vite de s. pontefici*, Venice, 1622, 343-345. The following have also been used for the description given here: (1) the *Avvisi; (2) *reports of the Mantuan embassy; (3) *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, p. 225 *seq.*, Vatican Library; (4) an Italian *report, unfortunately partly destroyed, in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 4, at the head of which is found only the name of Gesualdo; it is probably the work of a conclavist of the Cardinal-Dean, and gives further information as to his conduct, as well as other important information (afterwards marked B). For the *reports of Vinta in the State Archives, Florence, see FUSAI, B. Vinta, 52 *seq.* Some original *lists of the scrutinies of 1592 were found by me

After the departure of Count Olivares the direction of the Spanish embassy remained in the hands of the Duke of Sessa alone. At his earnest request Madruzzo undertook the leadership of the Spanish Cardinals in the place of Mendoza who, after being seriously ill, died on January 8th, 1592. Since Innocent IX. had died in the very midst of his intervention in the situation in France, the representatives of Philip II. were all the more interested in the coming election, and as the continuance of the negotiations that had been begun, and with them the solution of the French problem in accordance with the wishes of Philip II., depended upon the new Pope, the Spaniards worked with redoubled energy on behalf of Santori. In accordance with the instructions of their king, in the event of the candidature of Santori being, contrary to all expectations, a failure, the representatives of Philip II. were to turn their attention, first to Madruzzo, then to Galli, Paleotto and Colonna, and lastly to one of the Cardinals of Sixtus V., Ippolito Aldobrandini. But with regard to this last candidature they prudently maintained a strict silence.¹ Aldobrandini too adopted an attitude of complete reserve, but although nothing was known of his aspirations, his name was put forward in various quarters. Most men thought him too young, but there was none who dared deny that he was worthy of the tiara.²

A no less zealous activity than that of the Spaniards on behalf of Santori was shown at first by the Grand Duke of

in Cod. J. 39, p. 366 *seq.* of the Vallicella Library, Rome. A *Pianta del conclave 1592, in the collection of plans of the conclaves in the Vatican Library; the cell of Aldobrandini in this bears the number 59.

¹ See HERRE 603 *seq.*, who was the first to use a letter from Philip II. to Olivares in the Simancas Archives. This says of the man who was to be elected: "Il minimo, che si possa esigere in questi tempi, è ch'egli vada d'accordo con me."

² See *Conclavi*, I., 292; SCHWEIZER, III., 437 n. The accusation of deceitfulness, which was brought against Aldobrandini, does not seem to be sufficiently proved; see BUSCHBELL in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1909, 186.

Tuscany,¹ and in these circumstances it was of decisive importance that Montalto as well should have chosen Santori as his favoured candidate, and have clung to him firmly in spite of the fact that a small party was making extraordinary efforts against him. The following Cardinals were determined on the absolute exclusion of Santori : Mark Sittich von Hohenems, d'Aragona, Marcantonio Colonna, Paleotto, Galli, Bonelli, Bernieri, Sforza, Laureo, Canani, Sfondrato, Borromeo, Lancellotti, Aquaviva, Paravicini and Piatti, sixteen in all, whereas for exclusion in the ballot eighteen votes were necessary, or seventeen in the case of election by adoration. But though the opposition was small in numbers, it was strong by reason of its firm compactness, and in the resoluteness of its leader, Mark Sittich von Hohenems.²

The opposition could count especially on two circumstances : in the first place and above all on the personal antipathy aroused by Santori, whose severity, especially as an Inquisitor, was so universally feared, that it was thought that his pontificate would be like that of his fellow-countryman Paul IV.³ To this was added the widespread and ill-concealed irritation of many Italian Cardinals at the moral pressure exercised by the Spaniards upon the election of the Popes.⁴ As both the friends and enemies of Santori faced each other in bitter opposition the fears of a long conclave were not without foundation.⁵

¹ See HERRE, 601 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 607 *seq.*

³ "Un altro Paolo IV." Colonna was especially obsessed by this fear; see *Avviso of January 11, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

⁴ If an anti-Spanish Pope should be elected, says an *Avviso of January 4, 1592, "guai all'Aquila negra, che se li taglierebbero l'ali in maniera che forsi per lungo tempo non potrebbe più erigere il volo." Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

⁵ See besides *Avvisi of January 4 and 8, 1592 (*loc. cit.*), the *reports of Giulio del Carretto, Rome, 1592, January 2 and 4, which give many particulars. The last states : * "La discordia seguita tra il s. card. Sforza et Montalto nell'elezione del futuro pontefice fa credere a molti ch'el conclave sarà longo." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Such was the situation when on January 10th, 1592, the fifty-two electors¹ assembled in the Vatican and took possession of the apartments that had been prepared for them, the doors being closed at the first hour of the night ; the last to leave the conclave was Sessa. In his confidence in himself he said : To-morrow we shall hail Pope Santori.² This certainty was also shared by Cardinal Madruzzo ; he definitely rejected the proposal of the friends of Santori that immediately after the closing of the conclave they should proceed to an election by adoration ; this would have been a quite unusual procedure, and would have further emphasized the restriction of liberty of election signified by this method, which had been introduced since the time of Clement VII.³ When, in the morning of the following day, Madruzzo wished to proceed to the election of Santori, it was evident that his adversaries, especially Sforza, Sfondrato, Aquaviva and Borromeo, had made good use of the few hours of the night.⁴

It was six o'clock in the morning⁵ when Madruzzo and Montalto, the leaders of the combined parties, went to the cell of Santori to announce to him his election as Pope. While the conclavists of the Cardinal were availing themselves of their right to despoil his cell, Santori was conducted to the Pauline Chapel. There his election by adoration was to take place immediately, but the sixteen opposition Cardinals refused to take part in this, and retired to the neighbouring

¹ They were the same as those who had taken part in the conclave of Innocent IX., of course with the exception of himself, of V. Gonzaga, who had died in the interval, and Giovanni Mendoza. Of those nominated by Innocent IX., Facchinetti was present, and Sega absent ; see PETRAMELLARIUS, 382. On January 12, 1592, there also arrived Joyeuse who took part in the scrutiny on the 13th ; see Cod. J. 39, p. 367, Vallicella Library, Rome.

² See PETRUCELLI, II., 373.

³ Cf. PHILLIPS, V., 2, 849, and SINGER in *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung f. Rechtsgesch., Kan. Abt.*, VI., 106.

⁴ See the *Report A (*supra* p. 7, n. 1) used by HERRE, 610.

⁵ See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

Sistine Chapel.¹ Their leader was resolved to proceed to extreme measures. When the procession of Cardinals who were accompanying Santori crossed the Sala Regia, Mark Sittich von Hohenems appeared at the entrance to the Sistine Chapel. Santori went towards him and wished to embrace him, but the other rudely repulsed him with offensive words. Later on it was Mark Sittich who crushed all idea of a suspension of hostilities among the opposition.²

The thirty-six Cardinals who had gathered in the Pauline Chapel could have obtained their desired result so long as they acted with speed and energy.³ Santori was therefore treated so as to lead him to believe that he had already been elected. Madruzzo recommended to him the Emperor and the King of Spain, Pellevé France and Radziwill Poland; almost all the Cardinals present asked him for some favour.⁴

In spite of this, however, the attempt came to nothing. What was decisive was, in the first place, that the dean of the Sacred College, Gesualdo, would not hear of so hurried a procedure; he began carefully to count those present, but could not complete this because the darkness was only broken by the light of a few candles, and there was great disorder, some of the Cardinals being seated and others on their feet. At last he had to entrust the counting to the master of the ceremonies, Mucantius, and to the secretary of the College of Cardinals, but these were no more successful than the dean, because the Cardinals were constantly changing their places.⁵

¹ See the *Report B (*supra* p. 7, n. 1), Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

² *Conclavi*, I., 293 *seq.* According to this report, Mark Sittich von Hohenems hurled at Santori the words: "Va via Papa del diavolo!" The *Avviso of January 8, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, also speaks of the impetuous words of Mark Sittich against Santori.

³ This view is also maintained in the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library. Cf. *Conclavi*, I., 293, and SINGER, *loc. cit.*, 108.

⁴ See *Conclavi*, I., 299.

⁵ Report B, *loc. cit.* gives the fullest and best description of this.

In this way three whole hours passed, and while they were still awaiting the moment when it should be possible to announce the number of votes necessary for the election the young Ascanio Colonna suddenly stood up and declared in a loud voice that he would never give his vote to Santori ; he then hastened to join the opposition party assembled in the Sixtine Chapel, who received him with joy.¹

Since the example of Colonna might easily find imitators, his desertion was a severe blow for Santori. But his cause was not yet altogether lost. It was above all important that the thirty-five who were gathered in the Pauline Chapel should remain of one mind, but their number was only sufficient for an election by adoration provided that the vote of the candidate himself was included.²

In the midst of the confusion produced by the action of Colonna, Santori was reminded, though to most of them his election seemed assured, that before his elevation Pius V. had been reconciled to his adversary Morone. On the strength of this he resolved to try and come to an understanding with the opposition, by the mediation of the master of ceremonies, Mucantius, and the sacristan. When, after some time, these two returned without having accomplished anything, at the request of Santori the dean and Madruzzo personally attempted to win over the opposition ; they were joined by Sauli. While these were negotiating, Montalto, Mattei and Giustiniani also made their appearance in the Sixtine Chapel, but they were forced to realize that their remonstrances were in

¹ The words which, according to *Conclavi*, I., 297, Colonna used : " Lo Spirito Santo non vuole S. Severina ne anco lo vuole Ascanio Colonna " are not to be found either in Report B, nor in the **Avviso* of January 17, 1592 (Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library). Much more credible is the version given by the **Diarium* P. Alaeonis : " Io non lo voglio, sono ingannato et non lo farò mai che sono Ascanio Colonna." Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

² See the passage from Maretti, **Conclave di Clemente VIII.*, in SINGER, *loc. cit.*, 109.

vain.¹ Gesualdo, Madruzzo, Salviati, Caetani, Aldobrandini and Sauli then drew apart to deliberate, to the further side of the Sala Regia, where was stationed the guard of the conclave. They especially discussed the question whether Santori, at the adoration, could give his vote for himself, and canonical authorities were cited on both sides ; all admitted, however, that if he acted in such a way he could not be held free from ambition, and in face of the determined opposition of those assembled in the Sixtine Chapel it did not seem advisable to proceed to such a step, by reason of which even the validity of the election might be called in question. This view was principally maintained by Cardinal Aldobrandini, who was joined by the most eminent among his colleagues, and even by Pinelli.²

According to the canonical prescriptions the Mass of the Holy Ghost had to be celebrated before the scrutiny was taken, but as the opposition party would not go to the Pauline Chapel for this purpose, the dean allowed them to have a special mass in the Sixtine Chapel, a thing that was quite unheard of. Matters threatened to become so embittered that many feared a schism.³

A fresh dispute developed when they set themselves to carry out the scrutiny. The friends of Santori proposed open voting, no doubt with the intention of being more easily able to keep doubtful voters firm in their purpose. But the party of the opposition, represented by Sforza, Sfondrato and Aquaviva, insisted on a secret ballot, and threatened to protest if the contrary course was adopted. Although no bull prohibited open voting the party in the Pauline Chapel gave

¹ This is in accordance with the accurate Report B. The *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* speaks in similar terms.

² See Report B, *loc. cit.* and Maretti in SINGER, *loc. cit.*

³ See Report B, *loc. cit.* It is not only this report which speaks, on account of the obstinacy of the opposition, of the danger of a schism, but also the *Avviso of January 17, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Relazione, 438.

way so as not to expose themselves to the charge of departing from the usages hitherto observed.¹

Of the opposition only Sforza and Aquaviva personally took part in the ballot.² Before the opening of the votes Santori stood up and demanded that it should be entered on the minutes by the master of ceremonies that the result of the scrutiny could not prejudice his election which had already been made! In reply to this the dean had to declare that they had not as yet reached any such point. To this he added an exhortation that Santori, should he become Pope, would not entertain any feelings of rancour towards his opponents on account of their behaviour. Santori replied that in token of his forgiveness of everybody he would call himself Clement.³ The votes were then opened amid the greatest tension. These showed that only 28 votes, and with the accession of Montalto

¹ See Report B, *loc. cit.*

² This is what is stated in Report B, *loc. cit.*, whereas, according to the report in Conclavi I. 298, all the *escludenti* sent their missives to the Sistina.

³ The report in *Conclavi*, I., 299, is very brief as to this; fuller are Report B (*loc. cit.*) and the **Diarium* P. Alaleonis (*loc. cit.*). Alaleone makes Aquaviva reply to Santori's declaration: "Quod nulla fuit electio nec valide et ad verum actum et validum non venerunt." It is possible that Aquaviva spoke thus, but it was the duty of the Dean of the Sacred College to reply first. This is stated in *Report B, where the incident is recorded as follows: "Nell' scrutinio non volsero intervenire altri delli escludenti che Sforza et Aquaviva et essendo messi li voti nel calice et seduti li capi d' ordini alla tavola per cominciare il scrutinio, come si suole, il card. S. Severina si alzò et disse che li mastri di ceremonie si rogassero come lui si protestava che questo scrutinio si dovesse fare senza pregiudicio della elettione già fatta della persona sua, al che il Decano fu forzato replicare tocando al officio suo rispondere per il collegio acciochè da questa pretentione di elettione fatta non potesse nascere qualch' inconveniente che li maestri di ceremonie potevano ben rogarsi della protesta che lui faceva, ma quanto all' elettione che non si poteva dire fatta non essendosi potuto venire all' atto dell' eleggerlo." Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

and Pinelli, 30 were for Santori. Gesualdo then asked, not only once as was customary, but three times, if no one else would accede,¹ but as no one rose, he declared the session ended.

The Cardinals had been assembled in the Pauline Chapel for seven hours, and they now had to disperse in an exhausted state without having arrived at any decision. Some attempted to accompany Santori, but he repulsed them and went back alone to the cell, where he had already been acclaimed as Pope at dawn, and conducted in solemn procession to his election. He indulged in no illusions: the great dream of his life was irreparably shattered, for, well acquainted as he was with the custom of Rome, he well knew, as did the conclavists, that after such a discomfiture, in no circumstances could he look for subsequent success.² Above all he was grieved that the very men to whom he had shown the greatest favour had proved themselves his most violent adversaries.³ "The night that followed," he says in his autobiography, "was more painful to me than any misfortune that I had ever endured, and the great grief and anguish of soul that I felt produced, incredible though it seems, a sweat of blood. But when in my sorrow I humbly turn to the Lord God, pondering how deceitful and wretched is all earthly happiness, and how true joy is only to be found in the contemplation of God, I found myself freed from all disturbance and all human passion. I was further confirmed in this blessed exaltation of my spirit when, on the following morning, during the holy Mass, I thanked God for His mercy to me, a poor sinner, and for all the favours that He had bestowed upon me. I also prayed for my enemies, who marvelled greatly when I sought to comfort my inconsolable friends."⁴ A proof that Santori had completely recovered his better self was given when he humbly excused himself to the dean for his protest, and by his

¹ This consideration is brought out in *Report B, *loc. cit.*

² See *Conclavi*, I., 300, where we find this definite statement: "Un cardinale è irrettrattabile."

³ For this see SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 203.

⁴ *Ibid.* 204.

taking part in the voting that followed as though nothing had happened.¹

The efforts made by Montalto during the following days to promote the election of Santori, met with no success, as might have been foreseen.² In the same way the attempt of the Spaniards to elevate Madruzzo was wrecked by the opposition of Cardinals Morosini, Giustiniani, Sforza and Montalto ;³ the candidatures of Galli, Colonna, and Paleotto were equally unsuccessful.

The Spaniards had suffered a decisive defeat with that of Santori, and no other course remained open to them but cautiously to turn their attention to the last of their candidates, Aldobrandini.⁴ At the first scrutiny the latter had

¹ *Report B, *loc. cit.*

² The **Diarium P. Alaleonis* states on January 12 : " In scrutinio 48 cardinales ; s. Severina habuit multa vota, sed non ad sufficientiam. Ingressus card. de Gioiosa " ; on January 19 : " In scrutinio 52 cardinales ; S. Severina habuit aliqua vota et de electione nihil " (Barb. 2815, Vatican Library). According to the **Avviso* of January 18, 1592, Santori always had 20 or 23 votes, and Rovere 18 ; that of January 22 says : *the *pratica* for him continues, but yesterday Madruzzo said to Montalto that they must think of another candidate, to which the Cardinal nephew replied that he had only been for Santori out of consideration for Spain. With regard to this the envoy of Urbino remarks : **Ho saputo di casa di Caetano che Montalto vuol muovere la pratica di Aldobrandini nel qual sogetto dicono, escluso S. Severina, vogl stare fin che lo spunti et questo pensiero di Montalto è giudicato cosi nocevole per venirli fatta l'esclusione a questo signore da una buona parte delle sue creature che si teme che di subito li sia fatto in faccia Paleotto.*" Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

³ Cf. SANTORI, *Autobiografia*, XIII., 205, and **Avviso* of January 25, 1592, *loc. cit.* See also the **Este report* of January 11, 1592, State Archives, Modena.

⁴ Giov. Niccolini reported on January 27, 1592, to Florence : *"*Tengo per fermo che si darà in Rusticucci o in Aldobrandini non potendo far S. Severina, ma ho opinionè più in Aldobrandini che in altri, perchè veduto li Spagnoli che non potranno ottenere*

only received eleven votes, which gradually rose to nineteen.¹ Only Cardinal Girolamo della Rovere, who was in every way worthy, could have proved a rival to him, but he fell ill and suddenly died during the night between January 25th and 26th. To the admiration of everybody, Aldobrandini, as Grand Penitentiary, assisted his dying rival for five hours, giving him spiritual consolation.²

Even in the preceding conclaves, Aldobrandini had been Montalto's real candidate, and now, by a strange turn of affairs he found himself with an ever increasing hope of securing the success of that Cardinal. As soon as the nephew of Sixtus V. had assured himself that no serious danger threatened his chosen candidate from the jealousy of Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta and Antonio Sauli, or from the dislike of the Florentines, he took decisive steps. To that end on January 29th he went to Madruzzo, who immediately agreed as far as he was concerned, but wished first to ask his followers. These were officially informed that Philip II. had nominated Aldobrandini in the last event, so that they could not do anything but give their consent. With this the matter was decided. Even though the older Cardinals did not view with favour the choice of so "young" a Cardinal, they did not dare to oppose a candidate who was generally well thought of, and who had always led a blameless life, and had indisputable

uno della nomina et dubitando che non si caschi in uno delli esclusi parrà loro buono havere Aldobrandini tanto più che hoggi essi non lo fuggono." State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3303.

¹ Cf. the *information drawn from the original lists of the scrutinies, in App. No. 1, Vallicella Library, Rome.

² See **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, *loc. cit.* and **Avviso* of January 29, 1593, which gives the following eulogy of Rovere: "Lascia nome di dottissimo, particolarmente in lettere greche et latine, di amatore di virtuosi, religiosissimo, di vita inreprensibile, senza nievo et finalmente datato di tutte quelle belle parti (Urb. 1060, I. Vat. Libr.). These two authorities give January 25 as the date of Rovere's death (*Conclavi*, I., 302, gives the 26), which agrees with the inscription on the tomb in S. Pietro in Vincoli (CIACONIUS, IV., 161).

merits. After Madruzzo had had another long conversation with Aldobrandini on the morning of January 30th, his election as Pope took place at noon by an unanimous vote.¹ When he was asked if he accepted the election, Aldobrandini gave his assent if his elevation to that dignity would be for the glory of God and the salvation of his own soul : if not, he prayed that God might deprive him of the power of speech.²

The new Pope, who took as his name Clement VIII., and for his motto the words *Protector noster aspice Deus*,³ came of an ancient Florentine family.⁴ His father, Silvestro Aldobrandini,⁵ who was born in 1499, had obtained a deep

¹ Cf. MARETTI, *Conclave di Clemente VIII., Milich Library, Görlitz ; *Report A, in HERRE, 621 seq. ; *Conclavi*, I., 302 seq. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* ; *report of Giulio del Carretto of January 30, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua ; *report of Este of February 1, 1592, State Archives, Modena. RANKE (I⁸, 153) places the election on January 20, which has been followed by BROSCHE (I., 301).

² See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* and in LAEMMER, Melet., 237, n.1, the passage printed from the *report of the conclaves in Cod. 411 of the Library of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. The author of this report thinks : *" L'election d'Aldobrandini fu tanto notabile quanto non fu praticata e cosi giovane non hebbe alcuna di quelle oppositioni che furono fatte a S. Severina d'anni 62."

³ PETRAMELLARIUS, 378. The words are from Psalm 83, 10.

⁴ For the Aldobrandini cf. besides LITTA, fasc. 66, E. P. VISCONTI, Famiglie nobili Romani, Rome, 1830, and A. BERTINI in *Riv. d. Coll. Arald.*, IV. (1906).

⁵ Cf. MAZZUCHELLI, I., 392 ; VARCHI, Storia Fiorent., II., 163, 173, 175, 287 ; LITTA, fasc. 66 (where there is the portrait of Silvestro by Poccetti in the Florence Gallery) ; CONTE LUIGI PASSERINI, Marietta de' Ricci, Florence, 1845, c. 32 ; REUMONT, La gioventù di Caterina de' Medici, Florence, 1858, 181, and especially LUDOVICO PASSERINI, Memorie intorno alla vita di S. Aldobrandini, con Appendice di docum., Rome, 1878 (only 104 copies printed), with, Aggiunta alle Memorie, Rome, 1879, valuable on account of many letters and documents hitherto unknown, but not free from an apologetic tone with regard to

and wide knowledge of law and the doctorate under Filippo Decio at Pisa.¹ On his return to his own country he became an advocate, and though but young in years, was made chancellor of the Reformazioni. But his love for liberty and for his country brought him disaster. On account of the active part which he had taken in 1527 in the second expulsion of the Medici, Silvestro was forced to go into exile four years later, at the fall of the republic. After he had laboured, as a clever jurist, upon the reform of the constitution, first at Venice,² and then at Faenza,³ on the death of the Medici Pope, Clement VII., he repaired to Rome, where, as the result of the strained relations between Paul III. and Florence, many other Florentine exiles had also found refuge. At first, in 1535, he was sent as the deputy of the vice-legate, to Fano, and later on became vice-legate at Bologna. There, in spite of the prohibition of Paul III.,⁴ he supported the enterprise of the Strozzi against Cosimo. After the defeat of the republicans at Montemurlo (July 31st, 1537) Silvestro could no longer remain at Bologna. He then sought his fortune in the service of others: first with Duke Alfonso of Ferrara,⁵ and then with Cardinal Accolti, whom, as an experienced

his anti-Spanish sentiments under Paul IV., with regard to which *cf.* PARUTA, *Relazione*, 427. See also GUASTI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 4th ser. I., 524 *seq.*

¹ The *Diploma of his doctorate, dated May 25, 1521, in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 249, Nr. 25.

² Clement VIII. recalled this in his *brief to the Doge of February 10, 1592: "Nam et parens noster olim vestrae Reipublicae inservivit in vestris legibus considerandis, cum de iis stabiliendis egeritis, et nos cum in Poloniam legati proficisceremur cumque rediremus, amanter honorificeque a vobis accepti sumus." (Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 77, Papal Secret Archives). He said the same to Paruta: see his *Relazione*, 439. His nephews too recalled it to Paruta; see *Dispacci*, III., 3.

³ See BALLARDINI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser. XXXVIII., 349 *seq.*, 389 *seq.* *Cf.* MONTANARI, *Guida stor. di Faenza*, F., 1882, 61.

⁴ See Vol. XI. of this work, p. 319.

⁵ *Cf.* FRIZZI, IV., 439 *seq.*; PASSERINI, *Memorie*, 55 *seq.*

jurist, he defended with great ability at his trial.¹ In 1545 Silvestro became auditor-general to the Duke of Urbino, the adversary of the Medici.² His career only became more settled when Cardinal Alessandro Farnese obtained for him the office of consistorial advocate in Rome at the end of 1548, while at the same time he effected his reconciliation with Cosimo I.³ In the first days of the pontificate of Paul IV., Silvestro was given an office of some importance in the Curia, and like other Florentine exiles, he attained to great influence under the secretariate of state of the Cardinal nephew, Carlo Carafa. He took part with great enthusiasm in the enterprise against Spain. Paul IV. also employed him in his plans for reform, until suddenly, in March, 1557, he fell into disgrace and lost his office.⁴ Silvestro Aldobrandini only survived this sudden fall a short time; many of his juridical works, among them an edition of the Institutes, only appeared after his death, which took place on June 6th, 1558.⁵

Of the marriage of Silvestro Aldobrandini with the Florentine Lisa Deti (died 1557) there were born one daughter, Giulia, who married Aurelio Personeni da Passero, a merchant at Sinigaglia, and seven sons, one of whom died in infancy. Of the others, to whom their father, in spite of his troubled life and lack of means, had given an excellent education, two, Bernardo and Ormanozzo, adopted a career of arms, and the other four entered the service of the Pope.⁶ Tommaso, who was well equipped with humanistic learning, was appointed secretary of briefs in 1567 by Paul IV., an office which he held until the death of the Pope, though he very soon followed him to the grave (July 13th, 1572). Another son, named Giovanni, who at first devoted himself to the law like his father, was

¹ Cf. Vol. XI. of this work, p. 311.

² See PASSERINI, *Memorie* 82 *seq.*

³ For this cf. BONANNI in *Giorn. stor. degli archivi Tosc.*, II., 129 *seq.*; PASSERINI, *Memorie*, 100 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. Vol. XIV. of this work, pp. 85, 105, 154 *seq.*

⁵ See PASSERINI, *Aggiunta alle Memorie*, 70 *seq.*; Cf. *Catal. Bibl. Barb.*, I., 24.

⁶ Cf. LITTA, fasc. 66; PASSERINI, *Memorie*, 92 *seq.*

given the bishopric of Imola in 1569 by Pius V., and a year later the purple. A premature death carried off this prelate, who was distinguished for his learning and kindness of heart, in 1573.¹ A third son, named Pietro, distinguished himself as a jurist; on May 26th, 1556, his father renounced in his favour the office of fiscal advocate which had been conferred on him on October 30th in the previous year. Pietro lost this office under Pius IV. but recovered it under Pius V. on March 17th, 1567.²

The fourth son of Silvestro, Ippolito, who was born at Fano on February 24th, 1536,³ also owed his career to Pius V. The first stone of his fortunes was laid by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, who gave Silvestro, who was a poor man, the necessary means to enable Ippolito, who was then employed as a

¹ "Huomo di gran dottrina e bontà." Alessandro Musotti calls him in his *Memorie*, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cf. also the eulogy of Baronius in CIIACONIUS, IV., 249. Giovanni's monument in S. Maria sopra Minerva reproduced in LITTA, fasc. 66.

² See the information taken from the Acta in the Papal Secret Archives, in GARAMPI, 300 *seqq.*

³ As CIIACONIUS does not give the year of his birth (IV., 160), this is often given wrongly; e.g. AMJANI (II., 235) and E. FRANCOLINI (Ippolito Aldobrandini che fu Clemente VIII., Perugia, 1867, 4) give the year 1535, as does LITTA, fasc., 66; DOLFIN (Relazione, 451) gives February 28, 1536 (28 is a printer's error, as in Cod. 6619, p. 123 *seq.*, of the State Library, Vienna, it is clearly written 24). The date given in the text follows L. MASETTI, *La fede di battesimo di P. Clemente VIII. nato in Fano*. Documento ined., Pesaro, 1881, 5. There on p. 6 is published the testimony of the baptism from the parish record of the cathedral of Fano; this states: "Alli 4 Marzo 1536. Fu baptizato uno putto di Messer Silvestro che fu locotenente qui, hebbe nome Ippolito, fu compare Monsignor rev^{mo} di Ravenna e un Francesco Fiorentino et Galeotto Peruzo et Gasparro Cignatta. Messer Jacomo Maiurana el baptizo." Tradition points to No. 1 in the Piazzetta d'Este as the place of his birth.

clerk in a bank, to study law at Padua and Perugia.¹ After he obtained the degree of doctor at Bologna, where he had studied under the celebrated jurist Gabriele Paleotto, he returned to Rome. His family connexions, and a reputation for exemplary conduct, which he had maintained even during his years of study,² facilitated his entry into the prelature. He became a consistorial advocate, and in 1568, thanks to Cardinal Bonelli, he became Uditore del Camerlengato,³ and in 1570 auditor of the Rota in the place of his brother Giovanni.⁴ At this time the Spanish ambassador Zuñiga praised his knowledge of the law and his virtuous conduct.⁵ In 1571 Pius V. gave him as a companion to Cardinal Bonelli, when Legate to Spain.⁶ In his capacity Ippolito had an opportunity of learning something of diplomacy, as well as seeing new countries: that is, besides Spain, Portugal and France.

¹ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 452. At Padua Aldobrandini formed a friendship with Fr. Capponi; see the *autograph letter of Clement VIII. to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in the State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3715. After his election Clement VIII. said that he owed all his greatness to Farnese; see *Avviso of February 1, 1592, Urb., 1060 I., Vatican Library. According to this the annual subsidy was 1500 scudi. Cf. also *Avviso of February 5, 1592, *loc. cit.*

² "E stato sempre S.Stà di vita honesta et esemplare in tanto che negli anni più liberi della sua gioventù et nella vita laica non fu mai chi intendesse di lui cosa men honesta et commendabile," says the report of the envoy of Lucca; see *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 200.

³ See *Avviso of December 4, 1568, State Archives, Vienna. For the office cf. MORONI, LXXXII., 179.

⁴ The examination for his admission took place on April 13, 1570; see *Dicta testium examinatum pro parte r. p. d. Hippoliti Aldobrandini in the Archives of the Rota, Rome, Acta seu processus in admissione auditorum s. Rotae, I., n. 30. Cf. G. BONDINI, *Del tribunale della s. Rota Rom.*, Rome, 1854, 116.

⁵ Report of July 3, 1571, *Corresp. dipl.*, IV., 375.

⁶ Cf. Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 409.

With the death of Pius V., the great patron of the Aldobrandini family, the career of Ippolito seemed to be ended.¹ During the long pontificate of Gregory XIII. he remained in the office which he had hitherto held at Rota, of which all through his life he retained a grateful recollection.² With Sixtus V., however, there came for the poor auditor, who had hitherto had no opportunity of distinguishing himself, rapid promotion.³ On May 15th, 1585, he became Datary,⁴ and on December 18th in the same year a Cardinal.⁵ The titular church of Ippolito Aldobrandini was S. Pancrazio, and in 1586 he received the office of Grand Penitentiary.⁶ The activity which he displayed in this important office naturally brought him to the notice of the public.⁷ But it was with his appointment as peace legate to Poland in the summer of 1588 that he made his appearance on the stage of public affairs. Just as long before the generosity of Cardinal Farnese had made his studies possible, so now, with the refusal by the aged Cardinal of that legation, he was given a mission which was

¹ Pius V. tried in vain to reconcile the Aldobrandini with Florence; see in App. No. 33 the *report to Cardinal Este, State Library, Vienna.

² When Serafino, as Dean of the Rota, thanked the Pope for the appointment of the Auditor Fr. Mantica as Cardinal, Clement VIII. replied that all his life he was grateful to the Rota, "*riconoscendo l'origine della sua grandezza dalla Rota*" (*Avviso of June 12, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., Vatican Library). "Ippol. Aldobrandini *Posit., vota et decisiones," as auditor of the Rota 1581-85, in Cod. 291 (481) of the University Library, Bologna.

³ Cf. MARETTI, *Conclave di Gregorio XIV., Cod. Ib 55, p. 32 Servites Library, Innsbruck.

⁴ See the *Diary of a servant of Aldobrandini in BORGHESE, IV., 145, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 225. Cardinal Aldobrandini lived in the Via de' Banchi Nuovi, No. 39; see PRINZIVALLI, Tasso a Roma (1895), 65 *seq.*

⁶ *12 Giugno 1586. Il sig. cardinale pigliò possesso dell' Officio del maior penitentiario in S. Pietro. Iddio lo conservi ancora lungamente ad maiora! Diary of a servant, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. SCHWEIZER, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 2, cxliv.

to pave the way for him to the supreme dignity.¹ When he returned to Rome from the north, he brought with him a reputation for great statesmanship. Sixtus V., who received him first in the new Lateran Palace, was very pleased, and gave him the abbey of the Tre Fontane near Rome.² It was a fact that the conciliatory measures of Aldobrandini had greatly contributed to a satisfactory solution of the problem of the Polish succession.³ His prestige was increased by his disinterestedness,⁴ and from this time onwards he was among the Cardinals who had a serious chance of being elected to the supreme dignity. The very fact that he was inclined to act slowly and with deliberation led to his being looked upon as well fitted for the Papacy.

Indeed, Aldobrandini was not possessed of brilliant qualities ; he was, moreover, irresolute ; but his piety, kindness, calmness and his love of justice won for him in an ever-increasing degree the admiration of all men.⁵ In spite of this, when Montalto made an attempt to secure his elevation after the death of his uncle, he was unsuccessful, for Madruzzo definitely rejected his candidature.⁶ A fresh and inconsiderate attempt on the part of Montalto to obtain the tiara for his candidate after the death of Urban VII., also failed.⁷ All this, however,

¹ For the legation to Poland *cf.* Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 169 *seqq.*

² See **Vita e gesta Clementis VIII.* in the *Inform. polit.*, XXIX., State Library, Berlin. The Cardinal brought back from Poland a court buffoon ; see STIEVE, *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, I., 28, 29 ; ORBAAN, *Rome*, 19, 33 *seq.* ; BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 24. For the pleasantries of the court dwarf of the Aldobrandini, in the frescos by Domenichino, at the Villa Aldobrandini, see TIETZE, *Ausgewählte Kunstwerke der Sammlung Lanckoroński*, Vienna, 1918, 71.

³ Opinion of HERRE (418).

⁴ See MAFFEJI, *Hist.*, 29.

⁵ **Era tenuto*, says L. MARETTI (*Conclave di Gregorio, XIV.*), *da ciascun cardinale, di bontà christiana, di natura placida, amico del giusto, ma di valor mediocre et di tarda risoluzione.* Cod. Ib, 55, p. 32, Servite Library, Innsbruck.

⁶ See HERRE, 448.

⁷ *Ibid.* 485 *seq.*

did not prevent, after the death of Gregory XIV., the candidature of Aldobrandini from again being put forward, this time with the consent of Spain, though he himself did not take it very seriously.¹ While the Pope was still living, the ambassador of the Emperor Rudolph II., speaking on July 27th, 1591, of the Cardinals who were *papabili*, referred to Aldobrandini in the most favourable terms, saying that he was very acceptable to the whole of the Sacred College, that he was looked upon as able and well fitted to discharge the difficult duties of the supreme pontificate to the satisfaction of all, and that the whole of the Curia eagerly desired his election; but in spite of all this his election would meet with great difficulties because of jealousy and the recollection of old questions, by which he was probably alluding to the position of the family in Florence.² In fact, at the conclave of October, 1591, the tiara did not fall to Aldobrandini, although Montalto once more set himself to obtain it for him.³ Fifteen months later, however, this man who was the son of a fugitive and exile, and who had begun his career as a clerk in a Roman bank, ascended the throne of Peter.⁴

As Pope, Ippolito Aldobrandini still retained the reputation as a pious and hard-working man which he had always enjoyed. Every day, even when he was on a journey,⁵ after he had made

¹ Cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 412.

² *Aldobrandini è gratissimo a tutto collegio, stimato valoroso et sufficientissimo per portar questo peso con universal consolatione et è desideratissimo de tutta la corte et dal collegio stesso, ma haverà non di meno per gelosie intrinseche et memorie vecchie contrasti gagliardi, ne si spera la riuscita sua salvo in caso che vi fossero portati da timore di peggiore et più odiata elettione, et il pretesto poria essere la età ancor fresca." Dr. Tirante Bongiovanni to Rudolph II. on July 27, 1591, State Archives, Vienna.

³ Cf. HERRE, 557 seq., 568 seq., 571 seq., 575, 580 seq.

⁴ As Clement VIII. was still only a priest, he also had to receive episcopal consecration; for this see the report of Joh. Paulus Mucantius in GATTICUS, 362 seq.

⁵ See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 144.

his morning prayer on his knees before a crucifix, he celebrated Mass with the greatest devotion, and during this shed abundant tears of emotion; he then gave Communion to his more intimate friends. Every evening the learned Oratorian Cesare Baronius, came to confess the Pope. Many times in the day, when affairs of state permitted it, Clement retired to his chapel for prayer and meditation.¹ He observed the fasts very rigorously, even when he was ill, and more strictly than the rules demanded, abstaining from meat several days in the week, and only taking bread and water on Fridays. This latter mortification he also frequently imposed upon himself at other times, especially on the vigils of the festivals of the Madonna,² just as in his prayers his preference was for the holy rosary.³ Bentivoglio relates that Clement VIII. performed extraordinary penances in secret, just as though he had not been Pope, but a simple religious.⁴ These rigorous

¹ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 48 *seq.*; PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 34; DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 455; Donato in BASCHET, 209. Baronius, who was overwhelmed with work (see *Avviso of February 1, 1595, Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library) still remained his confessor, even after he became a Cardinal (see *Avviso of June 29, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *ibid.*) But as time went on, this could not continue. An *Avviso of February 12, 1597, says that Bellarmine was to become the Pope's confessor, and *another of October 1, 1597, says that Baronius had given up the office, so that he might finish the VIIIth volume of his Annals; in his place Clement VIII. had chosen as his confessor his chaplain Girolamo (Urb. 1065, *ibid.*). In 1601 Baronius was again confessor; see OSSAT, *Lettres*, II., 499. That Clement VIII. every morning gave Communion to his household is stated by an *Avviso of August 30, 1597 (Urb. 1065, *ibid.*).

² Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 44; *report of G. Niccolini of February 29, 1592, State Archives, Florence; *Avvisi of April 13, 1596, July 2, 1597, and December 5, 1601 (about three times a week), Urb. 1064, II., 1065 and 1069, *loc. cit.*, as well as the *report of Giulio del Carretto of December 4, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Cf. *Avviso of September 13, 1595, Urb. 1063, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 49.

fasts, which he practised even when on a journey,¹ were only mitigated in his latter years by order of the physicians, because, in view of his unwearied activity, they obviously injured his health.²

During Lent and Easter he redoubled his exercises of penance and prayer ; then Clement VIII. caused the pontifical apartment to be stripped ; even the canonical works belonging to the time of his auditorship, which were so dear to him, and formed the principal adornment of his study,³ were removed ; he wished to pray and meditate on the transitory nature of earthly things amid bare walls. Although various skulls in his rooms constantly reminded him that he would one day have to render an account to the Eternal Judge for all his actions,⁴ he also had this truth preached to him by two monks. During Holy Week all business was suspended, because during those sacred days the Pope wished to devote himself entirely to spiritual exercises.⁵ Sometimes he would sit in a confessional in St. Peter's for as long as three hours to hear all who came.⁶

When, on November 25th, 1592, in order to meet the grave dangers that threatened the Church from the Turks and the heretics, especially in France, the Pope prescribed the adoration of the Forty Hours and the exposition of the Most Holy

¹ See *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 134.

² See *Avviso of January 2, 1593, Urb. 1065, *loc. cit.* VENIER, *Relazione*, 33 ; MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 161. For the strict fast which Clement VIII. imposed on himself in July, 1600, to obtain the favourable issue of a political matter, see BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 16.

³ Cf. *Avviso of July 17, 1599, Urb. 1067, *loc. cit.*

⁴ To the envoy of Urbino, who expressed surprise at the skulls the Pope said, *di tenercele per raccomandarsi sempre di non lassarsi a fare cose in vita che avesse poi a darne conto a Dio dopo la morte. Urb. 1060 II., 627, Vatican Library.

⁵ See the *reports of Giulio del Carretto of April 17, 1593, and of Lelio Arrigoni of March 29, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ See in addition to the reports in BROSCHE, I., 350, the *Avviso of April 28, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library.

Sacrament¹ in the churches of Rome,² a thing that had first been zealously practised at Milan towards the end of the second decade of the century, and almost at the same time by the Barnabites and Capuchins, and soon afterwards by the Jesuits; he himself set an example, and was seen kneeling for an hour and a half without a cushion in the Pauline Chapel.³ He also gave a shining example of piety on every other occasion; he took part in all the religious functions with touching devotion,⁴ and accompanied by Baronius often visited the tombs of the saints buried in Rome,⁵ often taking part, barefooted, in the processions;⁶ as long as his health permitted, he never failed to carry the Most Holy in the procession of Corpus Domini, when the recollection which he showed deeply moved the spectators.⁷ Indeed, on every occasion he displayed a special

¹ Cf. *Katholik*, 1898, II., 151 *seq.* and the accurate monograph of A. DE SANTI, *L'orazione delle quarant'ore*, Rome, 1919.

² Bull., IX., 644 *seq.*; A. DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*

³ See in App. No. 13 the *report of Giulio del Carretto of December 4, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 34. An *Avviso of September 24, 1596, tells of the participation of the Pope in the Forty Hours (Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library). Cf. also A. DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*, 187 *seq.*, who gives the report of Mucantius on p. 372.

⁴ See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815 and 2816, Vatican Library. See also *Avviso of April 9, 1594, Urb. 1062, *ibid.*

⁵ See *Avviso of June 18, 1597: "On Sunday visit to a half deserted church near St. Sebastian's, where Clement VIII. gave Baronius, who was accompanying him, the body of a saint for his church," and March 10, 1601, "visit to the tomb of S. Francesca Romana," Urb. 1065 and 1069, Vatican Library. Cf. Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 523, for the veneration of the body of St. Cecilia.

⁶ *Avviso of August 17, 1596, "on the feast of the Ascension he went barefoot to St. Mary Major's," and May 22, 1601, "he went on foot from S. Maria degli Angeli to the Lateran," Urb. 1064, II. and 1069, Vatican Library.

⁷ Cf. *Avvisi of May 30, 1592, June 19, 1593, June 11, 1594, June 15, 1596, and June 7, 1597. Urb. 1060, I., 1061, 1062, 1064, I., Vatican Library. When the Pope, owing to his ad-

devotion to the Blessed Sacrament. In 1604, when the Pope was seventy-four years old, having met a procession, he at once got out of his litter, and accompanied the Most Holy on foot.¹ During the first years of his pontificate he gladly gave Holy Communion in person; thus in August 1592 he gave it to 300 persons at the Araceli, and in September in the same year to 1520 more,² on March 24th, 1593, he gave it to all the parish priests of the Eternal City.³

Like Pius V., throughout his pontificate Clement VIII. frequently practised the devotion of the Seven Churches, and of the Scala Santa, which he went up on his knees, sometimes barefooted, and with so great devotion as to give edification to all. Before a creation of Cardinals and in any other decision of importance, he sought inspiration in the same holy places. He never omitted these pilgrimages during the time of Carnival, and also made them frequently at other times, generally on a Sunday.³ On these occasions, no matter how cold it was, the Pope went down early in the morning by candle-light to the church of St. Peter's, where he celebrated Mass and prayed at the seven privileged altars, before setting out with only a few companions on his pilgrimage. This often ended with a visit to a hospital, where he comforted the

vanced age, could no longer carry the Blessed Sacrament on foot, he submitted to the Congregation of Rites the question whether he could accompany it kneeling on a *sedia portatile*; see *Avviso of June 5, 1602, Urb. 1065, *ibid*.

¹ See *Avviso of June 26, 1604, Urb. 1072, *ibid*.

² See *Avvisi of August 5 and September 12, 1592, Urb. 1060 II., *ibid*.

³ See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

⁴ See besides the *report of Giulio del Carretto of May 2, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, the *Avvisi of May 6 and October 17, 1592, February 26 and November 12, 1594, August 23 and November 1, 1595, February 28, June 5 and August 16, 1596, February 4, 1598, May 22 and 30, 1601, January 16 and 30, April 3, September 25 and October 16, 1602, December 3, 1603, and October 26, 1604, Urb. 1060 I., 1060 II., 1062, 1063, 1064, 1066, 1069-1072, Vatican Library. Cf. also BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 15.

sick, examined the food and distributed alms. Not infrequently the whole day was spent in this way, and the Pope returned fasting in the afternoon to the Vatican, but before he sat down to table, had a sermon preached before him.¹ As Clement VIII. took no care of himself even when he was suffering from gout, and, against the advice of the physicians, visited the churches even in the bad weather, it is not to be wondered at that sometimes, as a result, he fell ill.²

Clement VIII. proved himself a worthy disciple of Pius V., not only by his great piety, but also by his activity. From morning to evening he was indefatigable in discharging the duties of his office. He began very early in the morning; the time after breakfast was given up to audiences; at the beginning of his pontificate the Pope devoted three hours every day to these,³ and in later years received such visits again in the evening.⁴

The Pope, who was accustomed to examine as far as possible all important matters himself, had to work very laboriously.⁵ There were some days when he wrote letters in his own hand for four hours.⁶ He carefully examined the dispatches of the nuncios, and covered them with notes for the reply; thus he was himself a kind of Secretary of State.⁷ Sometimes he worked beyond his strength, and it was often reported that the Pope, when he had hardly recovered from an attack of

¹ See besides the Venetian reports in BROSCHE, I., 350, the *Avvisi of February 26, 1594 and September 4, 1596, Urb. 1062, 1064, Vatican Library.

² Cf. the *report of Lelio Arrigoni of December 30, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See *Avviso of February 8, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

⁴ Cf. VENIER, Relazione, 19.

⁵ Cf. besides DOLFIN, Relazione, 462 *seq.* in App. No. 33 the *report to Cardinal Este, State Library, Vienna. See also the *report of G. Niccolini of June 20, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

⁶ See *Avviso of August 24, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

⁷ Cf. HINOJOSA, 409, 411.

gout, was again devoting himself to public affairs and taking part in the religious functions.¹ So as to get through everything, he kept to a strict time-table : Monday morning was for the Consistory, Tuesday for the *Segnatura di Grazia*, Wednesday for audiences of the ministers of state, Thursday for the sessions of the Inquisition, while on Friday and Saturday, both morning and afternoon, the ambassadors of the princes were received.² Sundays and feast days were to a great extent given over to spiritual things, and the only recreation which the Pope allowed himself on those days was the company of good religious, especially the Oratorians. Sometimes he made his appearance unexpectedly in their houses, to share their frugal meal with the religious.³ Besides this, Sundays as well, when there were no public functions, were employed in strict visitations of churches and convents.⁴

Although he was a skilled jurist and well experienced in the business of the Curia, Clement VIII., who was very deliberate, scrupulously cautious and exceedingly conscientious, was never satisfied with his weighing and preparing everything in the most detailed way.⁵ Bentivoglio reports that on the day before the meeting of the *Segnatura*, the Pope himself often went into the *ante-camera*, to get the necessary information from those concerned as to the cases to be dealt

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 56, II., 152 *seq.*

² See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 47 *seq.*

³ Cf. *Avviso of May 31, 1597, for the visitations of the convents of S. Silvestro a Monte Cavallo and S. Andrea al Quirinale, and *that of February 20, 1602 : "The Pope dined with the fathers at S. Sabina on abstinence fare." Urb. 1065, 1070, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 455.

⁵ "E. N. S. bravo legista, come quello che fu auditore di Rota molto versato et dotto anco in altre scienze, reputato sempre il primo della signatura, et adoprato in molte congregazioni et affari della sede Apostolica sebene un poco tardo nel risolvere, ma questo se li attribuisce a prudenza et mira di fare tutte le cose sue con rettitudine et perfettamente." (Avviso of February 1, 1592, Urb. 1060 I., *loc. cit.*). Cf. the report in Stieve IV., 321, n.1.

with on the following morning, so as to study them more carefully in his own room.¹

Fortunately, Clement VIII., who is described to us as a man of great stature, majestic bearing, pale complexion, with white hair and a well trimmed white beard,² had a constitution

¹ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 48.

² "Egli è di pelo bianco, di molta carne, di statura assai grande, d'aspetto grave," writes DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 452. For the busts in the sacristy of the Lateran see Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 479. A fine bronze bust of Clement VIII. is in the atrium of the hospice of the Trinità de' Pellegrini in Rome, in gratitude for the many gifts of the Pope, and according to the *Avviso of July 11, 1597 (Urb. 1065, Vatican Library) inaugurated on that day; reproduction in *Cosmos cath.*, 1909, 503. Inscription in FORCELLA, VII., 203. For the very characteristic bust by Giorgio Albenga in the cathedral at Ferrara see FRIZZII, V., 47; AGNELLI, Ferrara, Bergamo, 1906, 28, and *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 185. The statue on his tomb in St. Mary Major's, by S. Milanese; see *Annuaire Pontif.*, 1915, 186. Portraits in oil at the Aldobrandini and Mattei palaces (M. Wurtz) in Rome, and at the Villa at Frascati. The bronze bust in the latter Villa (weighing 200 kilos) with reliefs in mint-gold, which together with the pedestal is a metre in height, and is 70 centimetres across the shoulders, was stolen during the spring of 1908, but was later on restored to its place. Of the engravings the best are those of Fr. v. Hulsius, Domen. Custos, Antony Wierix, C. Waumans, Marius Arconius, Joh. Bussemacher, H. Ulrich, Crispin de Passe, A. Tempesta and Jan Sadeler, the latter representing the Pope half-length seated in a chair, with episodes of his life above and below. Cf. W. E. DRUGULIN, *Porträt Katalog*, Leipzig, 1860, Nos. 3564-56, and *Portrait Index* ed. W. COOLIDGE LANE and NINA E. BROWNE, Washington, 1906, 312. BAGLIONE mentions (p. 172) a portrait of Clement VIII. by the Bolognese Ant. Scalvati; cf. also ORBAAN, *Documenti*, 269, note. An excellent portrait, unsigned, in Florence, is reproduced by ORBAAN, in Rome, etc. A large portrait of Clement VIII. in Florentine mosaic is in the Corsini Gallery, Florence, n. 478. The features of the Pope are also well reproduced in his many medals and coins; cf. BONANNI, I.; ARMAND, I., 170, II., 532, III., 333; FUMI, *Legazione*, 32. See also

that was sufficiently strong to endure such labours,¹ a thing in which he was helped by his well-ordered and simple manner of life.² In spite of this he had to submit to distasteful restrictions, especially with the lapse of years. This was above all due to the attacks of gout, from which he suffered during the whole of his pontificate.³ The physicians therefore insisted on his taking much exercise, and as the Pope could not obtain this sufficiently in Rome, they suggested frequent expeditions to Frascati. On account of his tendency to grow fat, they later on gave him detailed directions as to his diet, which proved efficacious.⁴ But if Clement yielded in this matter to the advice of his physicians, on the other hand he refused to allow himself to be kept from his work or from the discharge of public affairs even by his illnesses.⁵ Although he was often confined to his bed by the gout, he still granted audiences.⁶

These attacks of gout, which recurred periodically, gave timid people occasion for anxiety, and astrologers for gloomy prophecies. Although the Pope laughed at these prophecies

A. MONTI, *Le monete monumentali de' Papi*, in the *Periodico di Numismat. e Sfragistica*, VI., 6; MARTINORI, *Annali d. Zecca di Roma, Clemente VIII.*, etc., Rome, 1919; G. HABICH, *Die Medaillen der ital. Renaissance*, Berlin, 1924, LXXVIII., 12-14.

¹ "È papa Clemente di complessione assai forte et robusta," says PARUTĀ, *Relazione*, 439. Cf. FUSAI, *B. Vinta*, 53; HIRN, II., 408. "È sanissimo e pieno di vita," says the *Avviso of February 1, 1592. Cf. also *Avviso of May 16, 1592. According to the *Avviso of February 12, 1592, Clement VIII. did not as yet wear spectacles. Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library.

² See the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e Docum.*, XXII., 200.

³ According to the *Avvisi (Vatican Library) the Pope was attacked several times in the year by gout, but these attacks generally only lasted for a short time.

⁴ See VENIER, *Relazione*, 31.

⁵ See PARUTĀ, *Dispacci*, I., 56; *Avviso of November 26, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

⁶ See *Avvisi of February 29, 1592, March 12, 1597, and July 18, 1601, Urb. 1060, I., 1065, 1069, Vatican Library.

they were nevertheless displeasing to him.¹ Grave though he was as a rule, he knew, at fitting times, how to be very cheerful and amusing ;² he loved music, but only sacred music.³ He kept strictly to the prescribed ceremonial,⁴ but not infrequently gave audiences while he was walking in the corridors of the palace,⁵ no doubt to save time. Clement VIII. showed his true humility by his quiet acceptance of the sharp criticisms of mistakes he had made expressed with the greatest freedom in a memorial by Bellarmine, adding that he had also made mistakes in many other matters, and that the Cardinal must pray to God for him, to help him in his difficult task.⁶

But with all his humility Clement VIII. was always careful of his dignity,⁷ and even displayed a somewhat ostentatious pomp.⁸ He gladly assisted people, above all the sick in the hospitals, and also gave abundant spiritual and material help to those in prison.⁹ After May, 1594, he always had a

¹ See *Avvisi of March 18 and September 2, 1592, Urb. 1060, I. and II., Vatican Library. Cf. RICCI, II., 117, 152, 249 n. 4 ; A. PAOLI, *La scuola di Galilei*, I., Pisa, 1899, xiv. *seq.*

² See *Avvisi of August 25, 1601, February 15 and July 26, 1603, Urb. 1069-71, Vatican Library.

³ See *Avviso of April 4, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. Cf. also MORONI, VIII., 40.

⁴ See *Avviso of April 2, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library.

⁵ See PÄRUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 202, II., 211.

⁶ See LAEMMER, *Melet.*, 379 *seq.* Cf. more fully Vol. XXIV. of this work.

⁷ See *Venier*, *Relazione*, 145.

⁸ Cf. BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 16 *seq.* Detailed account of the court of Clement VIII. ORBAAN, Rome, 30 *seq.*

⁹ See *Avvisi of March 25 and October 14, 1592, June 5, 1593, January 28, 1595, May 1 and August 21, 1596, Urb. 1060 I., 1060 II., 1061, 1063, 1064 I., 1064 II., Vatican Library. Cf. also DE WAAL, *Campo Santo*, 58. For the regular alms see in App. No. 46, the *Note from the Chigi Library, Rome. Mention is made of the care taken by Clement VIII. that those condemned to death "habbiano sempre 36 hore a disporre del anima et cose loro in mano de Scappuccini" in the *Avviso of

number of poor men to dine in the same room where he took his frugal repast, and often waited upon them himself.¹ He was also very affable, and when three little children wished to kiss his feet when he was visiting the Scala Santa, he kissed them like an affectionate father.² He talked in a friendly way to the labourers whom he met in his garden, made them recite the Ave Maria and Credo, and then gave them a present.³ Once, when he was going to the Casaletto of Pius V., a Capuchin presented him with a commentary on the sentences of St. Bonaventure, whereupon the Pope took off his hat and embraced the religious.⁴ Clement VIII.'s study was so situated that in order to get there he had to go up some stairs adjoining the apartments of Cardinal Aldobrandini. One morning when the Pope was hastening to his work, he knocked on the door of the Cardinal, whose barber, annoyed at his master being disturbed so early, angrily threw open the door. The Pope laughed heartily at this incident.⁵

March 19, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library. The Pope also interested himself in assisting the poor Christian prisoners and in obtaining their liberation from captivity with the Mahometans; see the *Brief to "Ignatius de Bononia, O. Cap." of August 24, 1602, and *that to "Insulanus comes Bonon." of April 26, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 262; t. 47, n. 109; cf. n. 110: *"Oratori regis christ. in Constantinopoli." *Ibid.* n. 95 a *Letter to King Philip II., recommending Pierre Lusignan of Cyprus, of ancient royal stock, dated 1603, April 20, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ *"N.S. infervorendo ogni dì più nel suo carico pastorale et sante opere vuole hora che alla sua presentia si dia mangiare alli 4 poveri che S.B. fa cibare ordinariamente ogni mattina" (Avviso of May 4, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library). See also VENIER, Relazione, 33. Cf. Ios. Castalli Epulum a Clemente VIII. P. O. M. pauperibus appositum versibus conscriptum, Romae, 1596, and Ruole di Clemente VIII., p. 7.

² See *Avviso of September 25, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

³ See *Avviso of September 2, 1595, Urb. 1063, *ibid.*

⁴ See *Avviso of January 13, 1593, Urb. 1061, *ibid.*

⁵ See *Avviso of July 21, 1599, Urb. 1067, *ibid.*

Clement VIII. treated his suite as a kindly master;¹ he carefully selected his court: and appointed as his maestro di camera² a man whom he had already as a Cardinal learned to esteem on account of his exemplary conduct and his learning, this was Silvio Antoniano.³ Born in 1540, the latter had distinguished himself, even as a boy, as a poet and musician. Pius IV., to whom, it was said, he had foretold the tiara, conferred on him a professorial chair in Rome. How admirable a man he was is above all shown by his close relations with Charles Borromeo;⁴ it was at the suggestion of the Cardinal that Antoniano wrote his celebrated work on the education of children.⁵ This admirable and deeply pious man was also the intimate friend of Philip Neri. Pius V. appointed him secretary to the College of Cardinals, while Sixtus V. made him secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. Clement VIII., who consulted Antoniano in matters of every kind, made him Secretary of Briefs after the death of Antonio Boccapaduli, which took place in

¹ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 453. His customary kindness to those about him, changed about this time as the result of his advanced age, *reports Lelio Arrigoni, February 7, 1604. Fr. Maria Vialardo also says in his *report of January 1, 1604, that the Pope had at time become easily irritated: "Il Papa è divenuto fastidiosissimo con ognuno"; he disputes with his physicians. Both in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² *" Il S^r Silvio Antoniano detto il Poetino è dichiarato per Maestro di Camera. È huomo di vita esemplare, di bonissime lettere et ha servito il sacro collegio per secretario da molti anni in qua "; Giulio del Carretto, February 8, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Cf. G. CASTIGLIONE, *Vita Silvii card. Antoniani et eiusdem orationes XIII.*, Rome, 1610; *Giorn. stor. d. lett. ital.*, LIII 182. BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 216 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, pp. 405, 409.

⁵ German translation by KUNZ in *Bibl. der kath. Pädagogik*, I., Freiburg, 1888. Cf. CARBONERA, *S. Antoniano o un pedagogo della riforma cattolica*, Sondrio, 1902.

November, 1593,¹ and in 1599 rewarded his loyal services by admitting him to the Sacred College.²

When Antoniano received the purple, Lodovico Angelita was made maestro di camera,³ but the Cardinal retained the charge of the Latin briefs.⁴ He loved to introduce into these documents many passages from Scripture, nor was he deterred from this practice by the criticism that his briefs were more suitable to a monastery than to the Roman court, and were too much like sermons. In reply Antoniano pointed out that the apostolic letters of the supreme head of the Church ought to be different from those of a secular prince; however much he admired Sadoletto and Bembo, yet their briefs were not in conformity with the Papal dignity, and Bembo especially had sometimes adopted a pagan style.⁵ Clement VIII. was quite satisfied with the style adopted by Antoniano, and the latter, who was a man of touching humility, enjoyed his confidence as long as he lived. Before

¹ See *Avviso of November 10, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library. The *Briefs of Boccapaduli (*cf.* Bonamicus, *De claris pontif. ep. script.* 313 *seq.*) in Arm. 44, t. 36-38, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Addit. 26, 820 (Brevia A. Buccapadulii scripta A^o. 1592), British Museum.

² See CIACONIUS, IV., 327 *seq.*

³ See MORINI, XLI., 133.

⁴ *Cf.* OSSAT, *Lettres*, II., 202, and STEIERMARK. *Geschichtsblätter*, I., 79. Besides Antoniano, Marcello Vestrio Barbiano was also skilled as a secretary of Latin briefs; see *brevia Clementis VIII., Arm. 44, t. 34, Papal Secret Archives. OSSAT, II., 99; MORONI, XXXIV., 43, XLIX., 51, LXIII., 265, 267, LXXVIII., 162; BONAMICUS, *De claris pontif. ep. script.*, 314; G. DELL'AQUILA-VISCONTI, *Del prelato abbrev. de Curia*, Rome, 1870, 47 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., XXXVIII., 374. For the register of briefs of Clement VIII. see WIRZ, xxvi. *Cf.* *Studien aus dem Bened. Orden*, I., 200; MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, lxxxvi. *seq.* For the ciphers see Corresp. de Frangipani, I., xxxviii.

⁵ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, III *seq.*

the death of Antoniano, which took place in 1603, the Pope went in person to visit him.¹

In the palace of Clement VIII. there also lived another representative of the Christian renaissance, the Jesuit father, Giovanni Pietro Maffei, who had made a name for himself by his biography of the founder of his Order, and as the writer of the history of the missions. Clement VIII. appointed this celebrated Latinist, who was at that time engaged upon a biography of Gregory XIII.,² his own historian.³ The office of court preacher was entrusted by the Pope to the Capuchin Anselmo Marzato, who came from Naples, and was very pleased when in his sermons, which were simple and unadorned, but out-spoken, he told the truth to the court without compliments.⁴

The majordomo of Clement VIII. was Count Ercole Tassone, who had previously held that office under Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX.⁵ For his personal service the Pope only retained

¹ See *ibid.*, 113. In his position as secretary of Briefs, Antoniano saw the Pope almost daily; see *ibid.* 151. Clement VIII. paid the cost of the funeral of Antoniano, who was buried in the chapel he had founded at the Chiesa Nuova; see *Avviso of August 20, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library. The place of Antoniano as secretary of Briefs was taken by Marzio Malacrida of Forlimpopoli; see Arm. 44, t. 56, Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 597 *seqq.*

³ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 152 *seq.*

⁴ See *ibid.*, 180.

⁵ See the report of the envoy of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 198. The same report also mentions as the most important prelates at the court, the Archbishops of Monreale, Ragusa, Urbino and Bari, and Mgr. Gloriero, Clerk of the Camera. For Tassone cf. OSSAT, *Lettres*, I., 460, and RENAZZI, *Notizie stor. d. Maggiordomo pontif.*, Rome, 1784, 105 *seq.*, 159 *seqq.* It is *reported by the envoy of Mantua, August 22, 1592, that Clement VIII. had a special love for the Archbishop of Monreale (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). When Tassone died in 1597 the Florentine Annibale Rucellai became his successor, and after the death of the latter in 1601, Fabio Biondi, a friend of Sixtus V.; see MORONI XLI., 262. For Pietro Nores see *Arch. stor. ital.*, XII., xxi. *seq.*

the few servants whom he had previously had.¹ Of his suite, besides Tassone, he specially loved Giovanni Bardi, Count of Vernio,² and Marcello Nobili. The latter was to have been created a Cardinal, but he humbly refused the honour, recommending in his stead his nephew Paolo Emilio Zacchia,³ who became one of the most intimate Cardinals of Clement VIII.⁴ Among the private chamberlains of the Pope there were distinguished the Austrian, Franz von Dietrichstein, later Bishop of Olmütz and Cardinal, the noble Spaniard, Jayme di Polafei, and the Bolognese Guido Bentivoglio, who later on won a world-wide fame as nuncio and Cardinal. Other honorary chamberlains of the Pope also attained to the purple, e.g. the Frenchman, Simon de Marquemont, Antonio Caetani, the nephew of Cardinal Errico, the Eitel Friedrich, Count of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Among the chamberlains there were also to be found Poles and Flemings; all the nations were to be represented in the Curia.⁵ But these were for the most part honorary chamberlains, without stipend, because the Pope would not depart from his parsimony, even in this

¹ See the report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.* 203, and for his intimate friend Diego the report of Donato in BASCHET, 209. It appears from the Memorie of Bentivoglio, 181 *seq.*, that Clement VIII. still retained the Polish buffoon whom he had brought back when a Cardinal from Poland (see *supra*, p. 24, n. 2); this buffoon appears under various names; see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXVI., 141; ORBAAN, Rome, 33 *seq.* Cf. more fully Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 432, n. 7.

² See in App. No. 33 the *report to Cardinal Este, State Archives Vienna.

³ Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 138; MORONI, CIII., 359.

⁴ See OSSAT, Lettres, II., 93.

⁵ See BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 182 *seq.* The "Informazione al marchese di Viglienna" reports concerning Dietrichstein that Clement VIII. immediately after his election had made him *intimo cameriere*; "si compiaceva dell'ingegno accorto et faceto et della libertà di dire" (Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library). With regard to the excellent Camerlengo, Luca Masotti, see FORCELLA III., 388.

matter.¹ He rigorously exacted simplicity and a moral life from his suite, and only a few days after his election exhorted his servants to distinguish themselves by their modesty and their exemplary life. Above all, he forbade them to wear silken attire or to accept presents ; he further insisted that they should all receive Holy Communion at his hands once a month.² In June, 1592, and again in July, 1593, the Papal court was reduced, as well as the number of the officials.³

The master of ceremonies, Paolo Alaleone, cites, as an example of the Pope's patience how one day when the Cardinals were late in coming to Mass, he quietly and placidly awaited their arrival.⁴ In his dealings with the ambassadors, too, Clement VIII. was benevolent and affable. If the occasion demanded it, he sometimes lost his temper, but these outbursts of anger soon passed, and he himself generally tried to excuse himself for his vehemence, and to atone for it by his courtesy. This we are told by the Venetian ambassadors, Paolo Paruta and Marco Venier.⁵ The diplomatists thought it their duty to blame in Clement VIII., besides his timidity and want of confidence in himself, his excessive caution and pedantry, which delayed all business.⁶ The Pope was aware that

¹ *The Pope appoints new "camerieri, però tutti cantano il verso di Isaia : Multiplicasti gentem, non magnificasti laetitiam, perchè di tutti loro tre soli mangiano et il Pontifice è tanto parco nel dare alli suoi servitori, che tanto di pensioni come di recognitione a 2 principali solamente ha dato 400 scudi, a 2 altri 300." Avviso of April 4, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library.

² See the *report of Giov. Niccolini of February 3, 1592, State Archives, Florence, and *Avviso of February 5, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library. For the household of Clement VIII., see the information drawn from the *Ruoli* in MORONI, XXIII., 78 seq.

³ See *Avviso of June 20, 1592, Urb. 1060, Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 250.

⁴ See *Diarium P. Alaleonis (cf. *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 5 seq.), Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

⁵ PARUTA, Relazione, 440 ; VENIER, Relazione, 32.

⁶ *"La natura del Papa è di risolvere tardi ogni cosa et come quello ch'è stato auditore di Rota è molto atto in materie legali

similar reproaches had already been levelled at him while he was a Cardinal, and therefore, after his election, he said that if the world had hitherto found him undecided, he now intended to prove by his acts that the contrary was the case.¹ As early as February 8th, 1592, Peranda was able to report from Rome that the Pope who, as a Cardinal, had been slow and undecided, now proved to be the contrary: that his slowness had been modesty, and his indecision prudence.² In all questions of importance, however, Clement VIII. continued his habit of reflection, the result of his great delicacy of conscience and his scrupulous exactitude, which betrayed in him the jurist. He was always troubled with doubts, and it could be seen in his face that he was enduring real torture when he found himself obliged to come suddenly to an important decision. Even after he had made it, he was generally not satisfied with what he had done. He used to say that important matters cannot be satisfactorily solved in a hurry, and that all the circumstances must be well weighed.³ In this Clement VIII. was certainly not wanting. He was never tired of pondering over every question in detail, comparing it with previous cases, and taking into minute consideration the time, the persons concerned and all the circumstances. It was easy to detect the experienced Auditor of the Rota in the way in which he dealt with both juridical and ecclesiastical questions, and waited until the views of all the authorities and all precedents had been laid before him. Even in purely

a eccitare dubbi anche dove non sono," writes Annibale Chieppio on November 24, 1594. On December 10, 1594, the same reports: "Il Papa è per natura timido et dopoi aver rotta una lanci senza frutto fugge l'incontro," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf also *Avviso of November 19, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library.

¹ * "N. S^{ve} ha detto che il mondo l'ha in mente di huomo irresoluto, egli dice de voler demonstrar dagli effetti tutto il contrario." Letter of Giulio del Carretto, February 2, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See LAEMMER, Melet., 237.

³ See DOLFIN, Relazione, 453.

political matters he never abandoned the rigour and circumspection of the jurist.¹

Clement VIII. was as independent as he was reserved.² Cautious to the point of timidity, he rarely spoke at length or at once; for the most part he made his observations in single sentences,³ though on the other hand it was often easy to read his views in his face.⁴ In difficult cases it was true that he had recourse to the advice of others, but he did not trust in this very easily. He willingly listened to the Cardinals, but the affairs of government were directed absolutely by himself. At the Consulta, as well as at the Rota and Segnatura, nothing must be done without his knowledge and consent. He even himself received the ordinary petitions and signed them with his own hand.

Clement VIII. loved to make personal inquiries so as to satisfy himself as to the scrupulous fulfilment of their duties by his officials. Thus he often went to the Rota, the Apostolic Camera and the Consulta, and always so unexpectedly that the officials had a salutary fear of him.⁵ Soon after his election he had set Cardinals Salviati, Montalto and Pierbenedetti at the head of the Consulta, and it was these who at first enjoyed his greatest confidence.⁶ These, however, were

¹ See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 440, and DOLFIN, *loc. cit.*, How greatly Clement VIII. clung to a logical procedure, *cf.* *Avviso of May 12, 1599, according to which he had said that he did not wish for contradictory measures, like Pope Celestine. Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

² *Cf.* PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 27; OSSAT, *Lettres*, I., 260, 293; *report of the envoy of Mantua, June 1, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 92.

⁴ *Cf.* COUZARD, *Ambassade*, 38.

⁵ See the *memorial of Sozzin. in Ital. 178 p. 1175, State Library, Munich.

⁶ See the *report of G. Niccolini, February 3, 1592, State Archives, Florence. In his *report of January 31, 1592, Este mentions, besides Montalto, Pinelli, Castrucci and Cusano as being in favour (State Archives, Modena). *Cf.* the report of

soon succeeded by three other men, who were given the purple on September 17th, 1593 : the learned Jesuit father, Francisco di Toledo and two relatives of the Pope.

As Cardinal Clement VIII. had severely condemned nepotism, but now as Pope he discovered how difficult it is even for the best of men to avoid this reef, once he finds himself in so exalted a position.

At the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had no doubt been animated by the best intentions of refraining from any unseemly promotion of his many relatives, and the restraint which he imposed upon himself in this respect caused wonder to everybody.¹ It seemed natural that there should remain at his court the two relatives to whom as Cardinal he had already shown his favour. These were the son of his sister, Cinzio Passeri, and Gian Francesco, who was made Governor of the Borgo in March, 1592. There was nothing extraordinary in this, nor in the simultaneous appointment of Pietro, a son of a brother of Clement VIII., as Castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo.² At first Pietro was not well-disposed towards the Spaniards, whereas Cinzio passed as one of their

the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 202 ; DESJARDINS, V., 278 ; PARUTA, *Relazione*, 441 *seq.* ; DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 455. See also the "Memorie" of L. Donato in BASCHET, 206 *seq.* If in these sentences taken from a diary the Pope is in one place called "simulator maximus" there is nevertheless no proof given ; Cf. *Lit. Rundschau*. 1909, 186. The Este envoy names in 1596 Cardinals Aragona, Salviati, Toledo and Baronius as the ones whom the Pope most often consulted, but that Baronius was only his spiritual director ; see RICCI, II., 133. His long standing fondness for Salviati was clearly shown in 1602, when the Pope went in person to visit the Cardinal when he was ill ; see *Avviso of April 3, 1602, Urb. 1070, Vatican Library.

¹ See the report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.*

² See *Avviso of March 4, 1592. An *Avviso of March 18 reports that Clement VIII. had ordered that Pietro with his relatives, and Cinzio should take up their abode at the Vatican ; but according to an *Avviso of March 21, Pietro went to lodge at the Castle of St. Angelo. Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library.

adherents. It was at once supposed in Rome that both of them would be made Cardinals. Sessa and Cardinals Caetani and Madruzzo at once began to work on behalf of Cinzio,¹ while Montalto urged the claims of Pietro.² While the Pope was treating Cardinal Salviati as his principal adviser,³ conjecture was rife in the Curia as to when the purple would be conferred on them. Many thought that this would take place at Easter;⁴ then Pentecost was thought likely,⁵ and at last men consoled themselves with the thought that a nomination of Cardinals would be sure to take place at Christmas. From the beginning of May the promotion of Pietro was looked upon as certain, but no one, not even the intimates of Clement VIII., knew when it was to take place.⁶ It was insistently pointed out from many quarters what a very great advantage it would be for the discharge of public business if one of the nephews were to become a Cardinal, but for a long time the Pope showed himself absolutely opposed to it.⁷

But as time went on Clement VIII., who had but little confidence in the Cardinals, who were not always independent

¹ See the *reports of G. Niccolini of February 3 and 11, 1592, State Archives, Florence. Cf. *Avviso of February 8, 1592, Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library.

² *Report of G. Niccolini, February 21, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

³ *"Qua si governa ogni cosa secondo il parere del card. Salviati," who consults with the Pope every day for several hours. G. Niccolini, February 17, 1592, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. *Avvisi of February 29 and April 1, 1592, Urb. 1060 I., Vatican Library. See also the *report of Sporenio of March 7, 1592, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

⁵ *Report of G. Niccolini, April 16, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

⁶ See the *reports of G. Niccolini, May 1 and 19, 1592, *ibid.*

⁷ Cf. report of the envoys of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, and the report in *Arch. Veneto*, XXXVII., 2, 267 *seq.* See also *Avviso of April 15, 1592, Urb. 1060, I., Vatican Library, and the *report of Giulio del Carretto of April 29 and 30, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

of the influence of the sovereigns,¹ could not conceal from himself the fact that, to carry on the affairs of government, he could not do without men whom he could absolutely trust.² In the middle of September, 1592, he informed Cinzio Passeri, who had rendered him good service during his legation to Poland as Cardinal, and Pietro Aldobrandini of his decision to place them at the head of the Secretariate of State; they were to administer it together, but in such a way that Cinzio was to deal principally with the affairs of Poland, Germany and Italy, and Pietro with those of France, Spain and Savoy.³

As from that time forward the nephews went every morning to the Pope,⁴ it was supposed that they would soon receive the purple. When in October Pietro became Protonotary, and at the end of December received the four minor orders, everyone believed that his nomination was imminent,⁵ but some time elapsed before this took place. At Christmas, 1592, Montalto vainly made representations,⁶ and it was looked upon as certain that the appointment would be made at Pentecost

¹ PARUTA, *Relazione*, 442.

² An *Avviso of April 14, 1593, which tells of the probable promotion of the nephews at Pentecost, says: "Conoscendo S.B. essere necessario di haver nepoti insigniti di questa dignità per rispetto de negotii gravi et di portata, che trattano li principi et ambasciatori i quali hora vanno circonspectti et lenti in trattare per questa occasione" Urb. 1061, Vatican Library.

³ See in App. No. 3 the *Avviso of September 16, 1592, Vatican Library, and the *report of G. Niccolini of September 15, 1592, State Archives, Florence. Cf. *Carte Strozzi*, I., 2, 212: ZÖCHRAUER, II., 9, note.

⁴ *Letter of G. Niccolini, September 18, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

⁵ Cf. *Avvisi of October 21, November 18 and December 30, 1592, Urb. 1060 II., Vatican Library.

⁶ "Hierisera il card. Montalto stè fino alle 3 hore della notte a supplicare et scongiurare il Papa per la promotione de cardinali, almeno de nepoti, tanto che S.B. stanca gli disse, che posseva andare a riposarsi." Avviso of December 16, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

in the following year. But Clement VIII. could not yet make up his mind, and it was suspected that some one had advised him against it.¹ At length, on September 17th, 1593, Cinzio Passeri and Pietro Aldobrandini, and at the same time the Jesuit Francisco de Toledo and the aged Datary, Lucio Sassi, received the purple.² Toledo had been for many years a close friend of the Pope, who had a high esteem for his learning and piety.³ Henceforward he and the two nephews managed the affairs of state together with the Pope, while Salviati and Pierbenedetti fell into the background. After the death of Toledo⁴ on September 16th, 1596, Clement VIII. frequently turned for advice to another Jesuit, the celebrated Bellarmine, on whom he conferred the purple in 1599.⁵ Later on considerable influence was also obtained by the prelates Paolo Borghese and Pompeo Arigoni, who were admitted to the Sacred College together with Baronius on June 5th, 1596.⁶

The relations between the two nephews, each of whom was jealous of the other, had left a great deal to be desired

¹ See *Avviso of May 22, 1592, in addition to the remarks of the envoy of Urbino, Urb. 1061, p. 283 *seq.*, and *Avviso of July 10, 1592, *ibid.* Vatican Library.

² See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 13; CIACONIUS, IV., 277 *seq.*; HERRE, 643; PRINZIVALLI, Tasso a Roma, 86; HORVAT, 10. Cardinal P. Aldobrandini took charge of the Consulta on October 29, 1593; see *Avviso of October 30, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library.

³ See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 13. Montalto had worked against the nomination of Toledo; see *report of Giulio del Carretto, September 20, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. How much Clement VIII. loved Toledo was shown by the visit that he paid to him in his last illness; see OSSAT, Lettres, I., 312.

⁴ See *Avviso of September 18, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

⁵ See besides the autobiography of Bellarmine (*ed.* DÖLLINGER-REUSCH 64 *seq.*, BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie 122 *seq.* and COUDERC, I., 234 *seq.*, 243 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*

⁶ See DOLFIN, Relazione, 453.

even before their promotion,¹ and their subsequent disagreements caused the Pope much annoyance.²

The elder nephew, Cinzio Passeri,³ or Aldobrandini as he called himself after his uncle, is often spoken of as the Cardinal of San Giorgio in the diplomatic correspondence, from his titular church, San Giorgio in Velabro. He was forty years of age when he became a Cardinal. Educated at the German College, he always showed strictly Catholic principles, and for this reason as well as on account of his intelligence, Clement VIII., while he was still a Cardinal, had highly esteemed and loved him. It was therefore expected in the

¹ G. Niccolini *reported this as early as February 3, 1592 (State Archives, Florence). An *Avviso of March 21 speaks of the disagreements between the nephews. An *Avviso of April 28, 1593, describes the grand banquet which Pietro Aldobrandini had given on the Sunday to the Bavarian princes in the Castle of St. Angelo. The Urbino envoy remarks in this connexion: "Sdegnato, come si crede, che Mons. Cinthio fosse il primo a banchettarlo, li fece un apparato et banchettone che sarebbe stato bene al Re di Spagna" (Urb. 1061, p. 236, Vatican Library). For the jealousy of Cinzio see in App. No. 47 the *report of G. Niccolini, March 12, 1592, State Archives, Florence.

² See OSSAT, *Lettres*, I., 593; STIEVE, IV., 543 *seq.* Cf. the *character sketch of the Cardinal in Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

³ Cf. A. PERSONENI, *Notizie del card. Cinzio Personeni*, Bergamo, 1786; *Dell' Epistolografia di Francesco Parisi divisa in tre parti: La prima contiene le memorie della vita del card. Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, le altre due contengono le lettere scelte del cardinale*, Rome 1787. *Osservazioni sopra l' Epistolografia di Francesco Parisi in difesa e in confronto delle notizie del card. Cinzio Personeni da Ca Passero Aldobrandini raccolte dal Abate Angelo Personeni Bergamo 1788*; SOLERTI, I., 731 *seqq.* The *will of Cardinal Cinzio in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 2 Nr. 19. His monument, erected in 1707 in the right hand nave of S. Pietro in Vincoli (repr. in LITTA, fasc. 66), shows behind the tomb a winged skeleton with a scythe and a book, which are made to show the feet of the skeleton below.

Curia that Cinzio Aldobrandini would hold the first place in the court, all the more as at first the Pope thought more of him than of Pietro;¹ moreover Cinzio was very generous and took up his position as a patron of learning on a grand scale. His apartments were adorned with valuable pictures by the great masters, among whom even Dürer had a place. All men of letters were welcome guests there, and Tasso in particular owed a great deal to the Cardinal. His numerous and characteristic marginal notes on the Reports of the Nunciatures afford proof of his activity and his lively temperament.² But he was lacking in one quality necessary for his position: he was no diplomatist. In his impetuosity and heedlessness he was even guilty of offensive expressions concerning the Pope himself,³ and soon found himself in difficulties everywhere in the political world. He came to an open rupture with the ambassador of Spain, and had violent scenes with the envoys of Tuscany and Venice.⁴

Pietro Aldobrandini was a man of quite another stamp. Insignificant in appearance, short, pitted with small-pox, and suffering from asthma and a chronic cough, he made up for this by eminent spiritual qualities: prudence, zeal, strength of mind and practical common sense.⁵ In his zeal for the Catholic cause and his love of art he resembled Cinzio Aldobrandini, but unlike the latter, he had a most affable

¹ See the report of Speer, February 6, 1593, in STIEVE, IV., 186 note.

² Some in MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, *passim*.

³ An example in the *report of G. Niccolini, March 12, 1592, State Archives, Florence, printed in App. No. 2.

⁴ See the descriptions in PARUTA (*Relazione*, 443), DOLFIN (*Relazione*, 455 *seq.*) and VENIER (*Relazione*, 34) as well as that of BENTIVOGLIO (*Memorie*, 52 *seq.*). The *famiglia* of Cinzio was composed, in addition to servants, of 18 persons; see Ruolo di Clemente VIII., p. 18 *seq.*

⁵ His features are well shown on the medal reproduced by FUMI, *Legazione*, tav. 1. An oil portrait in the Villa at Frascati. The bust which was once there is now preserved in the Villa Aldobrandini at Porto d'Anzio.

disposition, and was always able skilfully to accommodate himself to everyone. In affairs of state he proved himself a born diplomatist, so that it is no matter for surprise that, although he was twenty years younger than Cinzio and of a less lively disposition he succeeded in outstripping his rival in the Pope's favour. This was also shown by fact that he was given a very much larger revenue, 40,000 scudi a year, whereas Cinzio only received 20,000 scudi. Even though Gian Francesco Aldobrandini enjoyed a certain influence as well as Cardinal Pietro, it was nevertheless the latter to whose judgment the Pope attached the greatest weight.¹

Pietro knew admirably how to adapt himself to the character of Clement VIII. and in a sense to supply his defects. If sometimes the Pope was too impetuous, he knew how to calm him, mitigate his severity, and interfere when necessary. As Pietro was on the best of terms with the diplomatists, his influence and reputation increased from day to day, and in time, after the Pope, to whom he was sincerely attached,² he became the most important personage in Rome. When Clement VIII. was ill, he capably carried on the current business. Anyone who has recourse to this Cardinal, says the Venetian ambassador Giovan Dolfin, in his summary report of the year 1598, is sure to obtain what he

¹ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 457 *seq.* Cf. PARUTA, *Relazione*, 443 and especially BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie* 51 *seq.*; Venier *Relazione*, 33 *seq.*, and the *report to Card. Este, State Archives, Vienna, printed in App. No. 33. Cf. also Ameyden in GARAMPI, *Del valore*, 336. Figures even higher than those of Dolfin are given in a *note of the revenues of Cardinal Pietro, though undated, in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 43, No. 35, according to which the annual expenditure on the Cardinal's house was 23920 scudi. Here too are entered the benefices of the Cardinal, from which he drew a net revenue of 17433 scudi; see App. No. 47. RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, II., 18) confuses Pietro with Francesco Aldobrandini.

² In his *will (Aldobrandini Archives, Rome) he made him his universal heir in 1600; see App. No. 35.

wants.¹ The preponderance of Pietro over Cinzio, which was unmistakable by the autumn of 1594,² remained unchanged until the death of the Pope. In a report of 1599, written by Cardinal Este, it is said of Cardinal Pietro that all favours and graces depended upon him; prelates, nobles, courtiers and ambassadors thronged his house, and it could be said that all matters passed through the hands of the Cardinal, that his opinion decided every question, that all orders came from his mouth, and the carrying out of everything was in his hands.³

Nevertheless Clement VIII. insisted that the position of the two nephews who administered the Secretariate of State, should be equal, at anyrate in appearance.⁴ They both had apartments in the Vatican, in the immediate vicinity of the Holy Father.⁵ If Pietro was made Camerlengo, Cinzio

¹ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 457. Cf. *Carte Strozzi*, I., 2, 368 seq., and *Avviso of October 22, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library. When Pietro was ill, business was at a standstill; see *Avviso of February 23, 1603, Urb. 1071, *ibid.* Cf. MEYER, *Nuntiaturbberichte*, 187.

² See the *report, partly in cypher, of A. Chieppio, October 22, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. App. No. 20.

³ *Report to Cardinal Este, State Library, Vienna. RANKE (*Päpste*, II., 205) gives the passage, but transfers it to 1603, while in II., 155, he places it under the date 1599. For the exact date see App. No. 33. The preponderance of Pietro is also attested by the report of 1603 in STIEVE, V., 930. In the **Istruzione della corte di Roma da Fraschetta al marchese di Viglienna*, the nephews are described as follows, Pietro: "È nelle lettere humane et nella politica assai istruito, di buono ingegno e di giudicio grave sopra l'età, dedito al negoziare, accorto et cupo"; Cinzio: "È dottor di legge et erudito nelle buone lettere, d'ingegno desto, di natura melancolica tanto che gli nuoce." Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library.

⁴ *"N.^{re} ha sempre la mira di trattare ugualmente i suoi ill^{mi} nepoti in tutte l'occasioni." Avviso of August 20, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

⁵ Pietro Aldobrandini lodged "sotto l'appartamento di N.^{re}, Cinzio "nelle secondi loggie al piano di N.^{re},"; see Ruolo di

received the legation of Avignon and the prefecture of the Segnatura di Giustizia. The reports of the nuncios were addressed to both Cardinals, and the ambassadors, after they had laid their wishes before the Pope and Pietro, had to do the same with Cinzio. The nephews were always received together by the Pope, went together to his Mass, and came away together, but whereas Cinzio was only accompanied by his most intimate friends, Pietro always had a large following. Since Pietro loved the external signs of power rather than the power itself, he made a great point of being courted, and was delighted when his antechambers were thronged with people seeking audience.¹

With him was associated in the work of the Secretariate of State the learned Bolognese Giovan Battista Canobio,² who had been employed as secretary of briefs in the time

Clemente VIII., for the year 1594, p. 7 *seq.* At that time there were also lodging at the Vatican Cardinals Gesualdo, Santori, Rusticucci, Morosini, Toledo and Sassi; later on (1599) there were also Baronius, Antoniano and Bellarmine; see BENTIVOGLI, *Memorie* 151. Cf. also ORBAAN, Rome, 25 *seq.*

¹ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 55 *seq.* (cf. 301). Clement VIII. found fault with the pompous bearing of Pietro. (See *Avviso of May 7, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library); but insisted that foreign powers should pay due honour to the nephews. Thus it was a matter of great satisfaction to him when in 1594 Venice conferred the rank of patrician on his two ecclesiastical nephews, and on his lay nephew, Gian Francesco; see CERESOLE, 15 *seq.* The cities of Macerata and Imola conferred honorary citizenship upon Gian Francesco; see Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 151, Nr. 2, 164, Nr. 2.

² See the *letter of G. Niccolini, September 15, 1592, State Archives, Florence. For Canobio cf. OSSAT, *Lettres*, I., 89, and MORONI, VI., 120, XII., 172, LXIII., 264, LXIV., 218; for his lodgings see Ruolo di Clemente VIII., p. 12. *Ibid.* 13 for the apartments of Minucci, and those of the secretary of cyphers, Matteo Argenti (cf. MEISTER, *Geheimschrift*, Paderborn, 1906, 51). The secretary for memorials was Statilio Paolini, a friend of Tasso; see PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 245; SERASSI, *Tasso*, II., 224, 229; Bergamo, 1790; PRINZIVALLI, *Tasso a Roma*, 110.

of Gregory XIII. To Cinzio Aldobrandini the Pope gave Minuccio Minucci, to whom, in the time of Innocent IX., had been entrusted the management of German affairs, but his position with the haughty nephew afforded him so little influence that he considered himself fortunate in finding, in 1596, a new field for his labours as Archbishop of Zara.¹ Very similar to that of Minucci was the position of Gian Andrea Caligari, who at first held a similar office under Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini.²

The new secretaries drawn from the middle classes in succession to Minucci and Caligari, were in complete dependence upon the Cardinal nephews, and proved to be an excellent choice. Pietro's secretary was the Umbrian, Erminio Valenti, who, even after his nomination as Cardinal in 1604, continued to manage the correspondence with the nuncios. Pietro Aldobrandini had the highest opinion of the loyalty of Valenti and praise for his amiability of character.³ Even better endowed than Valenti was the secretary of Cinzio Aldobrandini, the clever Lanfranco Margotti of Parma, who also received the purple, but not until 1608, under Paul V. Valenti became Bishop of Faenza under the Borghese Pope, where he displayed wonderful zeal as a reformer of his diocese and as the father of the poor. He died in 1618 when only forty-five years old. Margotti died at almost the same age in 1611; in the right-hand nave of S. Pietro in Vincoli may be seen his monument, designed by Domenichino, and adorned by him with a portrait of the Cardinal. The same sculptor also executed the adjacent monument to another man who was often employed by Clement VIII. and Pietro Aldobrandini in affairs of state: Girolamo Agucchi.⁴ This man had received his training in diplomacy under his uncle, Cardinal

¹ See HANSEN, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 741; RICHARD in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 529, 730.

² See RICHARD, *loc. cit.*, 731. Cf. *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 203.

³ See FUMI, *Legazione*, 70.

⁴ See SERRA, Domenichino (1909), 12 seq. *Ibid.*, 11 seq. for the portraits of Agucchi in the Corsini Gallery and the Uffizi at Florence.

Filippo Segà, the nuncio in France, after which he became major-domo to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, and retained this office until his own entrance into the Sacred College, which took place in 1604. In consequence of a grave illness he had had to retire from public affairs as early as 1600, when his brother Giovan Battista took his place at the Cancellaria.¹

Along with his two ecclesiastical nephews, his secular nephew Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, as long as he lived in Rome,² enjoyed the favour and esteem of Clement VIII. The Pope endowed his nephew with as many lucrative military posts as he could,³ and frequently gave him sums of money⁴ for the support of his large family. The annual income of Gian Francesco was estimated in 1598 at not less than 60,000 scudi; of this sum he received a stipend of 12,000 scudi as General of the Church, 6000 as Castellan of the Castle of St. Angelo, 4000 as Governor of the Borgo, and 3000 as commandant of the Papal Guard. As Gian Francesco was a good manager, his

¹ Cf. *Hier. Agucchi cardinalis vita a Io. Bapt. fratre conscripta, in Cod. 131 (75) of the University Library, Bologna, BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 177 *seq.*, 368; OSSAT, *Lettres*, II., 161; MORONI, I., 160 *seq.*, XLII., 299 *seq.*, LXXXVIII., 243 *seq.*; MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, xlviii.; SOLERTI, I., 735; *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.* VII. (1902), 487; G. LENZI, *Vita di Msgr. Giambattista Agucchi*, Rome, 1850, with a reproduction of the portrait of Agucchi by Domenichino.

² The nephew lived after 1596 in the Palazzo Gesualdo; see *Avviso of July 17, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library. For the statue of Gian Francesco at the Capitol see FORCELLA, I., n. 109. RODOCANACHI (*Capitole*, 130) attributes this erroneously to the Cardinal.

³ For his appointment as Governor of Ancona, which took place in March 1593, see PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 126; for his appointment as General of the Church see *Avviso of May 4, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

⁴ See the Papal *Chirografi of October 7, 1595, and February 3, 1596. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. Cf. App. No. 25.

material position could be looked upon as assured, even if the Pope were to die soon.¹ In May 1600 Clement VIII. gave him no less than 150,000 scudi for the purchase of large properties in the Emilia,² and a year later there was a further gift of 40,000 scudi.³

Cardinal Pietro also favoured Gian Francesco, who was shrewd enough to depend upon him, however rough he was by nature. By his wife Olimpia, a lady of great distinction, he had twelve children, six of whom were boys, the last being born after his death, which took place on September 17th, 1601.⁴ The eldest, Silvestro, was the favourite of Clement VIII.,⁵ who was weak enough on September 17th, 1603, to nominate as Cardinal this boy who was scarcely fourteen, though otherwise gifted and making

¹ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 458.

² See *Instrument of gift of May 4, 1600. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. App. No. 34.

³ See the *Chirografo of Clement VIII. to the commissary of the Apostolic Camera, Laudivio Zacchia, May 12, 1601, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 42-15.

⁴ See, besides LITTA (fasc. 66) and GROTANELLI, *Ducato di Castro*, 22 *seq.*, 26 *seq.*, 31, the *Avvisi of September 29, 1601, February 13, and March 6, 1602 (birth of his last son), Urb. 1069, 1070, Vatican Library. The Pope gave Olimpia 2000 scudi a month; see the *report of Lelio Arrigoni, October 4, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In 1601 he also gave her two houses with three shops and three cortili on Monte Giordano. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 49, Nr. 79; 96, Nr. 1.

⁵ Silvestro, who was born in 1590, received in 1598 the rank of a Knight of Malta and the priorate of Rome, which had become vacant by the death of Bonelli, but on the condition that he should make his profession at the age of 18. So *reports Bernerio to Rudolph II., Rome, April 11, 1598, State Archives, Vienna. Three years later he was given the offices hitherto held by his father, of Governor of the Borgo and Castellan of St. Angelo; see the *report of L. Arrigoni, October 4, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Avviso of October 3, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library.

his studies at Perugia.¹ The same dignity was also attained by the youngest son Ippolito in 1621, in the time of Gregory XV. Silvestro grew up with a universal good name,² but died as early as 1612; Ippolito died in 1638.³

Great hopes, which however were not realized, were built on the marriage arranged by Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini between his niece, Margherita, and the ambitious Duke of Parma, Ranuccio Farnese. The wedding took place on May 7th, 1600.⁴ Clement VIII. had given his consent unwillingly,

¹ Cf. besides CIIACONIUS, IV., 344, and OSSAT, Lettres, II., 651, the *report of Arrigoni of September 17, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *brief of October 4, 1603, Papal Secret Archives, Brevia. In June, 1602, Clement VIII. had again refused to nominate Silvestro; see COUZARD, 285. Cf. *ibid.*, 286, the opposition of Sfondrato when the nomination was made in 1603. On September 19, 1603, Cardinal Silvestro reached Rome, and was affectionately welcomed by Clement VIII.: cf. *report of Arrigoni of September 20, 1603, who adds: "è assai piccolo e di faccia non molto bello, ma pronto e di vivacissimo ingegno" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The *Informatione al Marchese de Viglienna also says of Cardinal Silvestro: "giovane di spirito vivo, mostro ingegno e capacità" (Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library). Cf. *Avvisi of October 1 and 29, 1603, Urb. 1071, Vatican Library. Em. Constantino composed a Carmen ad Silv. Aldobrandini a S.D.N. Clemente VIII. cardinalem creatum, Romae, 1603.

² Cf. COUZARD, 287.

³ Cf. RANKE, III., App. No. 116.

⁴ See OSSAT, Lettres, II., 168; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2618, Vatican Library; *Avvisi of April 15 and 29, May 10 and 13, 1600, Urb. 1068, *ibid.* Cf. BROSCH, I., 322; BENASSI in *Arch. stor. per le prov. Parm.* N.S., IX.; *Kunsthist. Jahrb. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 121 seq.; NAVENNE, Rome, Palais Farnèse, I., 26 seqq., 99 seqq.; also De nuptiis ser. Ranutii Farnesii et Margaritae Aldobrandinae Parmae et Plac. ducum Nicolai Phaelli Parm. Carmina, Parma, 1600; La Montagna Circea. Torneamento nel passaggio della ser. duchessa D. Margherita Aldobrandina sposa del s. Ranuccio Farnese duca di Parma e Piacenza festeggiato in Bologna a 27 giugno 1600, Bologna, s.d. Copies of these rare works in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome. For Ranuccio's ambition see BENASSI, *loc. cit.*, X.

but his complaisance was not fortunate, for the relations between the Aldobrandini and the duke soon developed into open enmity, which embittered the last years of the Pope.¹

Another daughter of Gian Francesco, Elena Aldobrandini,² was equally unfortunate; in the summer of 1602 she was married for political reasons to a cousin of the Duke of Sessa, Antonio Carafa, Duke of Mondragone, who was as proud as he was vicious.

As was the case for the most part with the families of the Popes of the baroque period, that of the Aldobrandini was only of short duration, and as early as 1637 the male line was extinct. "Where to-day is the greatness of the Aldobrandini" wrote Cardinal Bentivoglio in his memoirs, published in 1648, "where are those five nephews that I so often saw in the antechambers of the Pope? They are dead, as is Clement VIII. and Cardinal Aldobrandini. The male line is quite extinct; how vain are the hopes of men, and how frail the happiness of this world."³

¹ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 199-207.

² Lelio Arrigoni reports in detail concerning the negotiations previous to the conclusion of the marriage, in which Sessa took a leading part, in his *letters of March 31, April 14 and 18, May 5, 12 and 26, December 22, 1601, and May 18, 1602. An *Avviso of July 3, 1602, reports that the Romans complained of the haughty A. Carafa, who did not reply to their salutations ("et è la peggior cosa che si possa far in questa città"). On July 6 an *Avviso reports that the young couple were beginning to be in want of money; on July 10, that the duchess was very haughty (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library). As early as September 14, 1602, L. Arrigoni is able to *report concerning the immorality of Carafa, on account of which his marriage had become very unhappy (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). An *Avviso of October 18, 1603 (*loc. cit.*) reports a quarrel between Cardinal Silvestro Aldobrandini and the Duke of Mondragone. Cf. also A. BORZELLI, Giamb. Marino (1569-1625), Naples, 1898, 58.

³ See BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 56. Cf. the Discorso in RANKE, III., app. n. 116. Cardinal Pietro died in 1621, when hardly 49, Cinzio Passeri in 1610 (*cf. Litta*, fasc., 66; FORCELLA, IV., 85). Olimpia died on April 28, 1637; soon afterwards, on May 6, her

The complaints that were made of the nepotism of Clement VIII. during his life,¹ and which found an unpleasant echo among the enemies of the Church,² were not without foundation. But the nepotism of Clement VIII. cannot in any way be put on a level with that of the Rovere, Borgia and Farnese; it was far more limited. The Pope resisted all temptations to give his nephews a principality, and did not in practice do more than had been done by Pius IV. and Sixtus V.³ Nevertheless, from a strictly ecclesiastical point

son Giorgio, Prince of Meldola, Sarsina and Rossano, who had married Ippolita Ludovisi. The latter's daughter Olimpia married Paolo Borghese in 1638. In the archives of the Borghese family was to be found almost the whole of the diplomatic correspondence, not only of Paul V., but also a great part of the papers of Clement VIII. and Leo XI. This valuable collection was acquired in 1892 by Leo XIII., and included in the Papal Secret Archives, since when it has been used by the students of various countries. Cf. CARINI, *Bibl. Vatic.*, 58 *seqq.*; BROM, *Guide aux Arch. du Vatican*, Rome, 1911, 101 *seq.*; PASTURE, *Inventaire du Fonds Borghese au point de vue de l'hist. des Pays-Bas*, Brussels, 1910; MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, lxxxv. *seq.*; *Corresp. de Frangipani I.*, lxii. *seq.* On the other hand the private archives of the Aldobrandini, to which I have referred for the first time in App. No. 47, for Clement VIII., remained quite unknown. This also contains the Acta of the secretariate of State of Clement VIII., as do the Chigi Library (see GACHARD, *La Bibl. Chigi*, Brussels, 1869, 9 *seq.*), the State Archives, Florence (see *Carte Strozzi*, I., 2, 210 *seq.*, 423 *seq.*) and the Doria Archives, Rome (see App. No. 48). *Lettere scritte nel pontificato di Clemente VIII. al card. Aldobrandini are also to be found in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, E 4 and 5.

¹ See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 442; VENIER, *Relazione*, 33; *Avviso of January 8, 1600, Urb. 1086, Vatican Library. For the jealousy of the Cardinals at the grandeur of the Aldobrandini see the *report of Fr. Gonzaga, July 31, 1601, State Archives Vienna.

² See an English lampoon of 1600 in LAW, *The Archpriest Controversy*, I. (*Camden Society*, 1896), 244.

³ Richard rightly brings this out in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 730. The unfavourable judgment of Niccolò Contarini on Clement VIII., in RANKE, III., 17, is not free from exaggerations.

of view, the weakness of Clement VIII. for his relatives, which he himself admitted,¹ must be severely blamed.² Those who do not take this view will be all the more ready to form a lenient judgment of it when they take into consideration the patronage of letters and the arts of the Cardinal nephews.³ Cinzio was the generous patron of the immortal Tasso ; it was Pietro who was the creator of that great Villa which is enthroned like a queen on the heights above the beauties of Frascati, and which, with its picturesque terraces, its fantastic grottos, its groups of statues and its fountains, its rocky paths, its magnificent oaks and its splendid view, continues to charm every lover of art and nature.

¹ Paruta enlarges upon such expressions of Clement VIII., which sound like unnecessary excuses ; see *Relazione*, 441 *seq.*

² See PALLAVICINI, Alessandro VII., Vol. I., 272, 274, 290.

³ For fuller details as to this see Vol. XXIV. of this work.

CHAPTER II.

CLEMENT VIII. AND FRANCE.

THE most important and at the same time the most difficult problem which Clement VIII. found himself called upon to solve at the beginning of his pontificate was the attitude to be adopted towards the troubled state of affairs in France. The policy of active participation in the struggle against Henry of Navarre, which, in accordance with the wishes of Philip II. had been followed by his two predecessors, Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., was not so attractive as to invite imitation, for the Holy See had gained nothing by it but vast expenditure which could not be maintained for long.¹ The new Pope had to ask himself whether it was not rather advisable to follow in the footsteps of Sixtus V. If such a course was feared in Madrid even under Innocent IX., how much more justification there was for fearing such a change of policy now, with a Pope who did not strictly belong to the number of the Spanish candidates, and whose father, in close alliance with the Carafa, had eagerly prosecuted the war of Paul IV. against Spain!²

On the other hand it was soon obvious that Clement VIII., however fully he realized the dangers of continuing the policy hitherto followed, and of the overwhelming tutelage of Spain, was yet possessed of too much prudence and moderation to set himself to any *immediate* change in the course of events. A breach with Spain, which was still the first Catholic power,

¹ See Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 368, 424. At the consistory of April 15, 1592, Clement VIII. said: "Gregorio XIV. ha speso più di settecento mila scudi e ha lasciata si esausta la Sede Apost. che il depositario e creditore più di ducento mila scudi." DESJARDINS, V., 157.

² See the *Relazione* of Tommaso Contarini in ALBERI, I., 5, 439.

and with which the Holy See had so many interests in common against common enemies, was bound to be all the more distasteful to a Pope who looked at the situation quite dispassionately, the more so as he could not count upon other safe allies. To this was added the fact that in Rome itself, and even in the Sacred College, Philip II. had many adherents, who were absolutely devoted to him, and that the Spanish troops could at any moment threaten the Papal capital from Naples.¹ But to allow himself to be degraded to the position of a "chaplain" of the Catholic King was nevertheless very far from the intention of Clement VIII., a man who was profoundly convinced of his own dignity and of the duties of his high office. If sooner or later a breach with Spain should have to be faced, the matter must be approached in the most delicate manner and with all prudent moderation. To do this Clement VIII. was the very man, because of his deliberate and cautious nature.²

With what consideration he treated Philip II. is not only shown by the autograph and very kind letter which he addressed to the King of Spain a short time after his elevation,³ but also by his immediate grant of the ecclesiastical revenues, from which Philip II. received 2,000,000 ducats

¹ See *ibid.*

² Cf. HERRE, 629 *seq.*

³ The letter mentioned by T. Contarini, *loc. cit.* was, together with that addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the only one written *manu propria*. Innocent IX. had acted in the same way. See Arm. 44, t. 36, p. 92b, Papal Secret Archives, where Antonio Boccapaduli further *reports that under Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V. briefs containing the announcement of the election were only sent to the Emperor, the Kings of Spain, France and Poland, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany; in the case of the other princes replies were sent to their congratulations. I drew up, Boccapaduli continues, briefs for those *duces* to whom Innocent IX. had sent such (list, *loc. cit.* nn. 65-70), but Clement VIII. would not have them sent. Philip II. himself addressed from Madrid on February 18, 1592, an *autograph letter to the Pope in which he assured him of his devotion and support as a most loyal son of the Church. Orig. in Doria Archives, Rome.

a year. On February 9th, 1592, the *Sussidio* and *Excusado* were granted for five years, and the *Cruzada* for six.¹

Philip II. could also for the moment feel satisfied as to the position which the Pope had taken up with regard to the French. When on February 15th, 1592, Clement VIII. replied² to the letter addressed to Innocent IX. by the commander of the Spanish troops, Alessandro Farnese, Duke of Parma, he promised him his help, for nothing stood nearer to his heart than the Kingdom of France.³ At the same time he pointed out that the nullifying of the plans of the religious innovators depended upon the choice by the states of a king of absolute and unquestionable Catholic sentiments. At the same time the Pope wrote in the same sense to the Dukes of Guise, Lorraine, Nemours and Mayenne, calling upon them to fight against the Huguenots and promising them further help.⁴ Soon afterwards the representative of the Holy See in France, Filippo Sega, who had been nominated Cardinal on December 18th, 1591, by Gregory XIV., and Ercole Sfondrato, the commander of the Papal troops, were expressly exhorted to support the troops of the League.⁵ In his letters the Pope urged the concord which was lacking among the enemies of Henry of Navarre, especially because of the jealousy felt by the Duke of Mayenne for the Duke

¹ See *"Indice de las concessiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado." Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome.

² *Farnesio duci Parnae, regis Hispaniarum gubernatori Flandriae et generali, Arm. 44, t. 36, p. 120, Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Nihil enim est, de quo laboremus magis quam de Galliae regno, *ibid.*

⁴ See, also dated February 15, 1592, the *briefs to the "dux Guisiae, dux Mercurii (in eligendo rege optimo et vere christianissimo, de cujus virtute et pietatis sinceritate nulla, ne minima quidem suspicio unquam fuerit aut esse possit), dux Lotharingiae, dux Nemursii, card. Lotharingiae, dux Mayne," Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.* nn. 86-92.

⁵ To the *dux Marciani (E. Sfondrato) e al card. Placent. (Sega), dated February 17, *ibid.* nn. 93-94.

of Parma. The reduction of the monthly subsidy of 15,000 scudi for the Papal troops which was ordered in accordance with the advice of the French Congregation on April 15th, 1592, from purely financial reasons, did not imply any substantial change in the policy hitherto adopted; the simultaneous appointment of Sega as legate *a latere* for France could only be favourable to Philip II.,¹ in view of the sentiments of that prince of the Church. For this reason the friends of Navarre in Rome were much disturbed at this choice.²

In the bull of legation for Sega the election of a Catholic king and the close union among themselves of the Catholics were pointed out as being the most efficacious remedies for the state of affairs in France.³ Urgent Papal monitoria were

¹ See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library, and letter of Cardinal Monte in DESJARDINS, V., 157. In his *brief to A. Farnese, May 4, 1592, Clement VIII. says that he cannot give more than 15,000 ducats. Aim. 44, t. 37, n. 288, Papal Secret Archives.

² See *report of Carretto, April 18, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See *Relatione del card di Piacenza (Sega), legato in Francia fatta a Clemente VIII, di quanto passò nella sua legatione, Cod. S. 2, 12, pp. 29-51, Angelica Library, Rome. In the same manuscript *Registro di lettere del card di Piacenza all'ill. card. P. Aldobrandini, from December 29, 1591, to October 19, 1594. *Ibid.* S. 2, 11, a collection of *documents relating to the legation of Sega; cf. NARDUCCI, 459 *seq.*, 466 *seq.* Similar *copies in Barb. LXIII., 15 and 16, where there are, as in Ottob. 3211 *seq.*, also the replies of P. Aldobrandini (Vatican Library). The originals of the *letters of Sega to the "vesc. di Bertinoro, secret. di stato et card. P. Aldobrandini," from December 29, 1591, to October 19, 1594, in Nunziat. di Francia, t. 36. *Ibid.* t. 37, the "Cifre" from Sega to Aldobrandini from August 12, 1592, to July 3, 1594, together with the *letters of Gondi from August 21, 1594, to April 5, 1596, and *letters of the "vescovo di Biziers" from February 12, 1594, to October 23, 1595. The same collection in Borghese, I., 232-234, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* XI., 74: *Minutae bullarum Clementis VIII pro card. Placentino legato in Francia 1592; Nunziat. di Francia, t. 39: *Primum

addressed to the Catholics on April 27th and May 7th, 1592, to the effect that, for the welfare of the kingdom and the preservation of the ancient faith now threatened by the innovators, a truly Catholic king must forthwith be raised to the throne.¹ Sega was instructed to act in the matter of the election in such a way, that in the event of a result unfavourable for Philip II., the blame should not attach to the Pope, who only demanded of the candidates that they should be strictly Catholic and acceptable to the French.²

When, on April 20th, 1592, Henry of Navarre was forced to raise the siege of Rouen, Clement VIII. congratulated the inhabitants of that city on having been saved from the menace of conquest by the enemies of the Catholic faith,³ *registrum supplicationum legationis card. Placentini in Francia legati 1592-1594*; t. 40: **Secundum registrum etc. 1592-1594*; **Registrum expeditionum legationis card. Placentini in forma bullarum fact, 1592-1594*; *letters of Sega also in t. 32. The Chigi Library, Rome, contains in M. II., 58: **Lettere emesse in cifra nel pontif. di Clemente VIII. alli legati e nuntii di Francia (1592-1604), and 62 seq.*; **Lettere in cifra delli ill. legati nel regno di Francia nel pontif. di Clemente VIII. (all originals). Ibid. M I., 11 and 12*: **Letters from France 1594-1597.* Certain *documents which belong here are also in Cod. 6423, pp. 20-31, of the State Library, Vienna.

¹ On April 27, 1592, *briefs were drawn up for "Carolus a Lotharingia dux Mena (Mayenne), dux Guisia, dux Nemoren., Parl. Paris, Parl. Tolos., Parl. Divion.," on May 7 for "archiep. Lugdun." and ten other French bishops, also for the "canonici Paris." and five other chapters, for the Parliament of Paris and five other Parliaments, for "gubernat. et consiliar. Paris.," for the "universit. Paris.," for seventeen other cities, for the "card. a Lotharing.," for "Gondius et Giocosa" and ten grandees; see Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 271-275, 292-296, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 580 n. 1; STAHELIN, 490. The briefs were settled upon at a meeting of the "Congregatio Galliae" on April 29, 1592, Papal Secret Archives, I., 31, n. 44.

² See the **Relatione of Sega, loc. cit.*

³ *Brief to the "popul. Rhotomag.," and to the "clerus Rhotomag.," both of June 16, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 405 seq., Papal Secret Archives.

while he bestowed the highest praise on the Duke of Parma,¹ to whom the raising of the siege was due. In the briefs of June and July, 1592, addressed by the Pope to the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Gondi, and the Duke of Epernon,² he expressed himself with the utmost severity against the excommunicated Henry of Navarre. Epernon was exhorted with all possible insistence no longer to assist the Bourbon, who had relapsed into Calvinism, and it was clearly shown that a Huguenot could never be accepted as King of France.³ When these exhortations proved unavailing, Clement VIII., at the end of September, threatened to inflict ecclesiastical censures on Epernon.⁴

In the meantime military operations continued in France without any result, and the miseries of the country increased from day to day. With both parties a desire for the restoration of peace and national unity became irresistible. In very many quarters this wish increasingly took the form of a desire for the conversion of Henry to the Catholic Church.

¹ *Brief of June 28, 1592, *ibid.*, n. 419.

² In the *brief to Cardinal Gondi of June 1, 1592, the hope is expressed that he will become more and more deserving by his protection of the Catholics "inque detestando perfidissimo Ecclesias desertore et divini iudicio ac Romani Pontificis sententia damnato, cuius causae qui possit quisquam catholicorum favere, satis mirari non possumus. Sed est haec maxima fraus Satanae, ut nihil sit tam turpe tamque impium, quod non ille aliquo honesti quasi velo quodam obtendat." Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 363, Papal Secret Archives.

³ The *brief of July 10, 1592, says of Henry of Navarre: "Cur igitur a catholicis descivit ad Calvinistas et impurissimos Ugonotos? Cur summum Galliae regno, quo ille aspirat, interre dedecus parat? Quem ille unquam nominabit regem Galliae Calvinistam? Cur a furia illa Anglicana, ad quam defecit, cui nomen dedit, cuius opibus sustentatur, edoctus molitur catholicos omnes tollere, alios alia specie, omnes falsis criminibus, et si nullum aliud suppetat, laesae maiestatis?" Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 424, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *Brief dated Tusculi, 1592, September 30, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 43, Papal Secret Archives.

Such a step seemed to many the simplest, and after a time the only possible way to a solution of the question of the succession to the throne.¹

The discontent among Henry's Catholic supporters increased to such an extent that he had reason to fear their desertion. They said that too long had they tolerated a Huguenot king, to the prejudice of their consciences; that subterfuges and excuses must come to an end, and that Henry himself no longer knew what valid reason to put forward in justification of his failure to fulfil his promise of being instructed in the Catholic religion. It was also complained that in defiance of this promise, which he had made at the time of his accession, he continued to promote zealous Huguenots to office and rank. Stronger and stronger grew the cry that the king must be urged to return to the Church within a definite period, and give the necessary guarantees for the preservation of the Catholic religion; should he refuse to do this, other arrangements would have to be made, and a Catholic king would certainly be found who would receive all the votes of the parties, and who would correspond to the just desires unanimously expressed by the whole of Catholic France.²

It was also of decisive importance that a sudden change also took place among the leaders of the League, who were becoming more and more estranged from the Spaniards. Many of the leaguers declared their readiness for a compromise in the event of Henry of Navarre becoming a Catholic. They therefore had recourse to one of Henry's most zealous adherents, Philippe Du Plessis Mornay, who, by a strange irony of fate, though he was a fervent Huguenot, was destined to pave the way for the reconciliation of Henry to the Church.³ After difficult negotiations an agreement was at last arrived at. Henry of Navarre promised to have himself instructed

¹ See STÄHELIN, 422.

² See DAVILA, xii; STÄHELIN, 414 *seq.*

³ Du Plessis Mornay had no idea of the double game of his sovereign, who was deceiving him; see TH. SCHOTT in *Herzog's Realenzyklopädie*, V., 86 *seq.*

within a definite period, with the desire and intention of being led by this instruction, which, however, was to imply no prejudice to his dignity, to the Catholic Church. He further said that he was ready to allow the Catholics of his party to send an embassy to the Pope, to ask his advice and his authority for the said instruction.¹

Once Henry of Navarre had convinced himself that only as a Catholic king could he rule over the whole of France, and that his reconciliation to the Church would bring about the longed-for peace, he resolved upon a decisive step. Proceeding straight to his purpose, on October 8th, 1592, he wrote with his own hand a letter to Clement VIII. as follows: Most Holy Father, being resolved, not only by a firm promise, but also with the whole of our life, to show the obedience which we owe to Your Holiness and the Holy See, we desire to resume in all things the ways and means by which Our ancestors, the Most Christian Kings, paid due honour to the Holy Father, and with filial respect maintained that close and sincere friendship which is of so great importance for the kings and nation of France, for the welfare of the whole of Christendom, and for the preservation of the Holy Church and her religion. We therefore intend, immediately after assuring you of Our obedience, to have ourselves represented with Your Holiness by an official ambassador, and respectfully ask, Most Holy Father, that you will agree to this and accept Our representative, to allow him to be near you and to honour him with that benevolence and favour which Our ancestors, by their services to the Holy See, have deserved for Us, and handed down to Us as an inheritance. We for Our part certainly in all matters trust him entirely, and We pray Your Holiness to show Our ambassador, in all that he shall say and do in Our name, the same confidence as to Our own person. May God protect Your Holiness."²

¹ See VILLEROY, *Mém. d'Etat*, 616 *seq.* ; DU PLESSIS, *Mem.*, V., 208-287. STÄHELIN, 470 *seqq.*

² *Recueil de lettres miss. de Henri IV.*, Paris, 1843-76, III., 674.

The new ambassador in Rome announced in this letter was the Marquis de Pisany, Jean de Vivonne, who had previously represented Henry III. with Sixtus V.,¹ but, in order to prepare the way for the resumption of official relations, the Bishop of Paris, Cardinal Gondi, who, disgusted by the demagogic excesses of the deputation of the Sixteen, had abandoned his see, had first to go to Rome. Both diplomatists set out at once for Italy. Gondi went to Florence to ask for the mediation of the Grand Duke, who was highly esteemed in Rome; Vivonne had two-fold instructions: first, as the representative of the Catholic aristocracy who supported Navarre, he had to justify their attitude and demand the recall of Segar; secondly he had to present the same request in the name of Navarre, and express his desire to return to the Church.²

Both Florence and Venice urgently advised Clement VIII. to receive the envoys of Navarre, but the Pope felt that he could not thus easily trust a man who had already apostatized from the Church. To this was added the fact that he, although he was himself favourably disposed towards Henry, would be doing a wrong to the leaguers who were fighting for the Catholic cause, and that he would have to expect from the Spaniards the same remonstrances which had already worn out the strength of Sixtus V. before his time. From the first the Spaniards openly and decisively threatened a breach of diplomatic relations should Gondi come to Rome.³

At length a way out was found which neither offended Spain nor entirely repulsed Henry of Navarre. Gondi and Navarre were given to understand that as the representatives of an excommunicated man they could not be received by the Pope, but that at the same time there was no obstacle in the way of their sending their secretaries to

¹ Cf. as to this Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 274.

² See BREMOND, 329 *seq.*

³ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., II, 15. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 244 *seq.*

Rome.¹ This was done, but the negotiations were without result, though the representative of Venice, Paolo Paruta, took every possible opportunity of persuading the Pope to change his mind.²

However much Clement VIII. had at heart the destinies of France, for the salvation of which he had ordered special prayers,³ he did not think that the time had yet come to change the policy hitherto adopted. His principal reason was the mistrust, which is easy to understand, which he felt of the sincerity of the intentions of Henry of Navarre. "God knows," said the Pope to the ambassador of Venice at the end of January, 1593, "that if We could give peace to France, We would go there Ourselves, and even submit to martyrdom. But how can We put faith and confidence in Henry of Navarre, when even one of his adherents has told Us that even if St. Peter himself looked upon the conversion of that prince as certain, We ought not to believe it? And that is our own conviction. He is and will always remain a heretic: he wants to do like the Queen of England, who has saved herself by such expedients. By his negotiations with Us, he only wishes to force the League to submit to him."⁴

¹ The communication to Gondi was conveyed by the Franciscan, Alessandro Franceschi; see the *brief to Cardinal Gondi, dated Frascati 1592, October 6, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 82, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. the *dispatch of Donato, October 23, 1592, State Archives, Venice, used by RANKE (*Päpste*, I., 158). The supposition of Ranke, that Gondi was at that time actually in Rome, is entirely wrong, as is clear from PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 103.

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 3 *seq.*, 6 *seq.*

³ See *Acta consist. of November 27, 1592, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library. Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 26, and *Avvisi of November 18 and December 5, 1592, Urb. 1060, II., Vatican Library.

⁴ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 91 *seq.* Clement VIII. also took up a definitely hostile attitude towards Henry of Navarre in the *briefs to "Alph. Corsus" of December 29, 1592, and to cardinal "dux Guisiae" of January 19, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, pp. 157, 184, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* *briefs "in Galliam ad diversos nobiles catholici nominis qui cum furia illa Navarraea sunt,

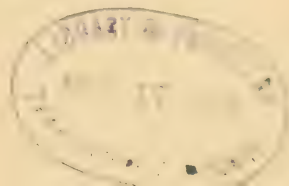
While the Pope, who in all this affair had the whole of the French Congregation by his side,¹ was uttering these words, the States General, in so far as they belonged to the League, had assembled in Paris itself (January 26th, 1593). By the command of the Pope, Segá had laboured to secure as large an attendance as possible.² He hoped that this assembly would give to France a truly Catholic king, a thing in which Rome saw the only chance of the salvation of the Church in France.³ But matters did not turn out thus. Instead of the Duke of Parma, who had died on December 3rd, 1592, there appeared as the plenipotentiary of Philip II. in France the Duke of Feria, who was known to no one there. There very soon

cohortatio per legatum [Segá] ut se ab illa peste seiungant, quod iam pridem factum oportuit atque utinam nunc fiat," dat. February 1, 1593; there follow 28 addresses. Cf. the *letter of Aldobrandini to Segá, February 4, 1593, Ottob. 3211, I., 111, Vatican Library.

¹ " *Die III februarii 1593 fuit congregatio Franciae coram S^{mo}. . . . In ea S^{mus} proposuit aliqua negocia et literas de rebus Franciae et instantiam quae fit a marchione Pisanensi oratore Navarristarum, ut possit venire ad S.S. pro principibus sanguinis regii et aliis catholicis qui Navarram sequuntur, et interim degit Veronae, et omnes fuerunt in sententia ut non admitteretur multis de causis et quia nec card. Gondius est admissus iisdem rationibus, et quia ita expediebat." This decision was renewed once more on March 6, 1593: " *Omnes unanimiter concluserunt non esse a S. D. N. multis de causis et rationibus admittendum, excepto uno card. Aquaviva, qui censuit esse recipiendum et deinde dimittendum, et ut ei respondeatur ex praescripto." Autograph notes of Cardinal Santori, Papal Secret Archives, I., 28.

² Cf. *report of Segá (*supra* p. 62, n. 3), Angelica Library, Rome.

³ " *Se questa [la creatione d'un Re catholico] non succedesse, il che a Dio non piacerea, da giuditio humano non par che si passa vedere ne sperare il fine se non molto tardi e con gran diminutione della s. religione et affliction publica." Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini to Segá, February 15, 1593, Ottob. 3211, I., 121, Vatican Library.



arose differences between him and the proud and ambitious Duke of Mayenne, but even though this caused anxiety to Sega, he found much greater cause for it in the turn of affairs in the theatre of war. There the significance of the loss of Farnese was soon made manifest ;¹ although Noyon, in the siege of which the Papal troops were also taking part, had to surrender to the Duke of Mayenne, yet the victorious army could not advance on Paris, owing to lack of food and the disagreements of the commanders. The Spaniards returned to Flanders, and the Papal troops were disbanded.²

A rapprochement between the moderate elements of the League and the Catholic adherents of Navarre thus had an extraordinary effect. At the beginning of May it led to the opening of negotiations at Suresnes, with the consent of Mayenne, for the purpose of discussing "the best means for the preservation of religion and of the tranquillity of the country."³ Sega had given his consent to this because he had been charged to bring about an agreement between all the Catholics.⁴ Like the greater part of the leaguers he hoped by these negotiations to win over the Catholic adherents of Navarre from his side. But of this there was no chance, because the Catholics of the party of Navarre only came to the conferences to prevent the danger of the choice of a new king, and to gain time for the conversion of Navarre.⁵ While they were threatening the king to abandon him if he delayed in taking this step, the moderate partisans of the League declared their readiness, on the same terms, to join his party. Henry decided to take advantage of this political situation, and on April 26th, 1593, he addressed an autograph letter to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in which he confirmed what Cardinal

¹ Cf. ISACKER in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XII., 705.

² Cf. *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 812, and XII., 709 ; these give more detailed accounts of the heavy expenses of Clement VIII., who from this time forward limited himself to maintaining 450 men in Paris.

³ See STÄHELIN, 518 seq. ; L'ÉPINOIS, 584.

⁴ See the *report of Sega, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 228.

Gondi had already reported as to his conversion to the Church, and pledged his royal word that he was ready, following the example of the previous Kings of France, openly to profess the Catholic religion two months after the Duke of Lorraine had come to an acceptable agreement with him.¹ This private promise was followed on May 18th, after the negotiations at Suresnes had come to nothing, by a public declaration from Henry to a number of the French bishops, that he was ready to be instructed in the Catholic religion at an assembly to be convoked on July 15th, at Mantes.²

The adversaries of Henry realized that a decision was imminent, but they were not happy in the tactics they adopted. Sega rightly saw that it was a disadvantage to them that the Duke of Fria had neither troops nor money at his disposal, but could only promise them in the future.³ The proposal put forward by Philip that they should elect his daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia as Queen of France, did not at first arouse opposition, but men wished to know who was intended as the husband of the Infanta. The premature reply of Fria : "The Archduke Ernest" could not fail deeply to wound the national feeling of the French, and the proposal was rejected. Sega, who for that reason had earnestly discouraged such a step, thus drew down upon himself the dislike of Fria and Mayenne, and the position of the Papal representative became more and more difficult.⁴ On June 28th the Parliament intervened and addressed a solemn exhortation to Mayenne to prevent, under the pretext of religion, the crown from passing into the hands of a foreigner, while it protested against any violation of the Salic Law.

The powerlessness of the States General to give the country a national king and the general desire for peace, made the

¹ Lettres missives, III., 763.

² See *ibid.*, 771.

³ See *report of Sega, *loc. cit.* Cf. also the expression of Inigo Mendoza in RANKE, *Franz. Gesch.*, I., 560 n. 2.

⁴ Cf. De Leva in PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., xiii *seq.* See also L'ÉPINOIS, 595, 597, who believes that Sega was wanting in energy.

situation more favourable for Henry than ever,¹ for he had the troops which the League lacked, and with the capture of Dreux was threatening Paris. Henry was not slow to profit by this state of affairs, and he concluded an armistice with the people of Paris in order to effect, at the neighbouring Saint-Denis and with all due solemnity, his return to the Catholic Church, the one thing which would ensure his final success, and which would restore order and peace to France which had been so sorely tried.²

¹ Cf. the **Considerazione in nome del duca di Umena*, after the conversion of Navarre, in Cod. S. 2, 11, p. 362 *seq.* of the Angelica Library, Rome, and addressed to Clement VIII.: "Noi eravamo," it is here stated, "senza forze et mezzi per procedere all' elettione di un Re, rimedio nondimeno necessario per oppore questo titolo et dignità a quello del Re di Navarra. . . . Questa conversione veniva in un tempo nel quale ognuno era stracco della guerra, in mala opinione di soccorso delli nostri amici, dalli quali non aspettavano meglio per l' avvenire che quello havevano esperimento per il passato."

² That political motives were of primary and decisive importance in the conversion of Henry IV., is asserted by those Catholic writers of France who also admit a serious change in his religious convictions, such as DE MEAUX (*Luttes relig.*, 261 *seq.*) and Y. DE LA BRIÈRE (*La conversion de Henri IV. in Etudes*, XCII. (1902), 91 *seq.*, and *La conversion de Henri IV. St. Denis et Rome*, 1593-1595, Paris, 1905). In this matter it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to arrive at the truth, because of the insufficiency of certain proof. I am inclined to agree with Bremond, who says: "Le fond des croyances religieuses de Henri IV est encore et sera toujours un mystère." In this connexion a contemporary, the Jesuit Benedetto Palmio, in a memorial drawn up for Clement VIII., stated that the interior intentions of Henry were known to God alone (RICCI, II., 119). Although the king after his conversion showed himself *exteriorly* a Catholic, this did not exercise any influence upon his private life, tainted by his constant intercourse with mistresses, nor upon his foreign policy. Therefore Schott is of opinion: "An interior change had no place whatever in the fickle Béarnais." (*Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, V., 110). A. ANTIN (*L'échec de la Reforme en France au 16^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1918) comes to the

On the morning of July 25th there assembled in the church of Saint-Denis, venerable for its antiquity and as the burial place of the Kings of France, a splendid gathering of secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries, among the latter Bourbon, Cardinal and Archbishop of Rouen, the Archbishop of Bourges, Renaud de Beaune, and the Bishops of Nantes, Séez, Maillezais, Chartres, Le Mans, Bayeux and Evreux. Henry knelt before the high altar and at once took the solemn oath "that he would live and die in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church, the true Church of God and the infallible mistress of truth, that he abjured all opinions contrary to her holy doctrine, and that he paid obedience to the Pope, as the kings, his ancestors had done."¹ Then the Archbishop of Bourges absolved him from the major excommunication, launched against him eight years before by Sixtus V., reserving however the confirmation of the Holy See.²

Sega had protested in advance against any such absolution, and even Cardinal Bourbon was of opinion that an excommunication inflicted by the Pope could only be removed by the Pope, whereas the Gallicans maintained that absolution from public heresy pertained to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But the majority of the bishops who were adherents of Henry, did not dare to go so far as this, and obliged him to seek confirmation of the absolution in Rome. By way of justification for what they had done, they urged the constant danger of death in which Henry was placed during the war, and the manifest advantages to religion and the kingdom.³ So as

following conclusion: "Ce qu'on appelle sa conversion n'est donc ni un calcul grossier ni une décision d'ordre religieux. C'etait un acte de sagesse et, pour reprendre le terme au sens où on l'a défini, un acte de haute politique" (p. 194).

¹ For the formula of the oath see STÄHELIN, 610 n. 2.

² See the "Procès verbal (signé des eveques) de ce qui s'est passé a St. Denis," in CIMBER-DANJON, *Archives curieuses*, I., ser. XIII., 343 *seq.*; Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, *Etudes*, CI. (1904), 75.

³ See Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, *Etudes*, CI., 71. Cf. FERET, *Henri IV. et l'Eglise*, Paris, 1875, 65-78.

to gain time for the negotiations in Rome an armistice of three months was concluded on July 31st, 1593.

Henry had at once communicated his return to the Church in carefully thought out circulars, not only to his own followers, but also to those who had so far been his adversaries.¹ In cleverly drawn up broadsheets it was especially explained to the Catholics who had hitherto opposed Henry solely on religious grounds how much cause they had to rejoice at his return to the Church. By the grace of God, by this act the way was open for a return to a state of peace, and an end was put to the disasters which had threatened the ruin of the kingdom. The most happy results would also ensue for the Catholic religion; the intrigues of Spain would be crushed, since God had had pity upon France. No longer would she have to seek for a king abroad, for she had one who by the Salic Law was the descendant of St. Louis, who was in the flower of his age, full of kindness and gentleness and humanity, brave and fortunate in battle, and distinguished by his moderation in his victories. Henry, it was further stated, had proved by his deeds how ready he was to love the princes, to protect the clergy and their rights, to favour the nobles, to promote the welfare of the cities and to further the happiness of the country folk. The document ended with a burning appeal to the French Catholics thus to put an end to the divisions, both political and religious, which had inflicted such disasters on the country.²

The fact that it was thought necessary to issue such documents, appealing strongly to religious and national feeling,

¹ See *Lettres missives*, III., 822 *seq.* Cf. DAUX in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXVIII., 217 *seqq.* Henry IV. assured the reformers that his conversion would not affect the edicts which guaranteed their religion.

² See *Advis aux Francois sur la Declaration faicte par le Roy en l'Eglise S. Denis en France le vingt-cinquesme Juillet 1593.* A Tours chez Jamet Mettayer imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, 1593. Avec privilege du Roy. A copy of this pamphlet was in the Library of I. v. Görres, whose niece, Fraulein Sofia Görres, courteously placed it at my disposal.

as well as to material advantages, shows how much opposition there was still to be overcome. Henry himself clearly recognized that in order to consolidate his success, it was necessary to take special steps to satisfy the Holy See.

The anxieties concerning the destinies of France which filled the mind of Clement VIII. from the beginning of his pontificate, continued undiminished during the first half of 1593. Repeatedly, in March and May, he had implored, with prayers and processions, the assistance of God for that noble but unhappy nation which had rendered such great service to the Church.¹ When he refused to receive Gondi and Vivonne, the Pope had done so not only on account of the threats of Spain, but for other reasons as well; but from March onwards there came a change in his views. It was known how much he was angered by the pretensions of the Spaniards: "These times are evil," he said towards the end of the month to the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta, when the viceroy of Naples was preventing the importation of grain into Rome," for everything is in the hands of a single power, that of the King of Spain." Towards the end of May he told the same diplomatist that he was not Spanish in his sympathies, and that all that he had at heart was the salvation of the religion and kingdom of France.²

To all those who viewed the situation clear-sightedly there was an evident and increasing estrangement between Rome and Madrid.³ This was increased by the strong pressure brought to bear by the adherents of Philip II. to stifle any tendency favourable to the reception of Vivonne. After the subsidy to the League had been suspended in May, and the Papal troops in France had been disbanded, it seemed in June that there was also a hope that Vivonne might be

¹ See *Acta consist. of March 10, 1593, Cod. Barb. XXVI., 5, III.; *Avvisi of February 17, March 17 and May 29, 1593 Urb. 1061; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, May 20, 1593, Barb. 2815; all in Vatican Library.

² See PARUTA, Dispacci, I., 147, 216.

³ See the Relazione del cardinal Monte, March 12, 1593, in DESIARDINS, V., 158. Cf. PARUTA, I., 164, 174, 222, 252.

received by the Pope.¹ At the end of the month Clement, in connexion with the conferences at Suresnes, hinted that if these were successful a rapprochement with Navarre might become possible. But two months later the Pope seemed to have reverted to his former opinion that it was not possible to put any confidence in so shifty and astute a man as Henry of Navarre.²

In the middle of August there reached Rome, by means of a courier of the banker Capponi, the first news of the return of Henry to the Catholic Church which had taken place at Saint-Denis.³ All those who, like Monsignor Serafino Olivier and the Jesuit father, Toledo, had foretold such a solution as imminent, were delighted, while those of Spanish sympathies could not hide their consternation, although they challenged the truth of the news. The Spanish ambassador Sessa, who had announced the election of the Duke of Guise as certain, not only to the French Congregation but also to the Pope, found himself in great perplexity.⁴

Clement VIII. rejoiced heartily at the discomfiture of that powerful diplomatist, who brought forward fresh claims in the name of his king at every audience, and importunately demanded energetic intervention on the part of the Holy See on behalf of the designs of Spain, as "was demanded by the service of God."⁵ This was clearly seen when it was reported that the Pope had openly manifested his pleasure at the news,⁶

¹ See *ibid.*, I., 241.

² See *ibid.*, I., 281. Cf. *ibid.*, xxi. for the hope expressed by Clement VIII. for the death of Henry IV. in battle, which would put an end to the whole difficulty. According to PARUTA (I., 93) Clement VIII. had expressed himself in a like manner in January, which shows how great his embarrassment was.

³ See the anonymous report to Vinta, August 20, 1593, in DESJARDINS, V., 159.

⁴ See *ibid.*, 162 *seq.*

⁵ See HERRE, 633.

⁶ See the above mentioned report to Vinta. PARUTA (Dispacci, I., 305) reports: "Così da alcun cardinale, che già di ciò le avea parlato e che so che intende queste cose per il buon verso, ebbi

which was bound to give him all the more satisfaction in that it meant a decisive step towards the solution of the problem of the succession, and the re-establishment of peace in sorely tried France, always supposing, however, that the conversion was a sincere one. The Spaniards at once set to work to call it in question, but as they had frequently deceived Clement VIII, concerning the state of affairs in France, he was far from putting full confidence in them. He wished first to wait for more definite news, and told some of the Cardinals that if the absolute majority in France declared for Navarre, and the latter made his submission to the Holy See, he could not, as things stood, roughly reject him. Thus reported the Mantuan envoy, Giulio del Carretto, in a cypher letter of August 21st.¹

On the previous day Paolo Paruta had had an audience of an hour with Clement VIII., in which he had set forth with all possible eloquence the motives in favour of a reconciliation with Navarre, dwelling especially on the danger of a schism in France. The Pope listened to him quietly, and then enlarged upon the enormous difficulties that stood in the way of any decision. To absolve Henry, he said, meant to make him king. The Sorbonne and Roman theologians as well declared that this was impossible, and that they could base their opinion on definite canons. Paruta was of opinion that in making laws it is not always possible to foresee every case, and that this was a matter that was as important as it was abnormal; he also quoted the proverb that the exception proves the rule. Clement VIII. then referred once more to the previous conduct of Henry in the matter of religion, a thing which called for the greatest caution on his part. Paruta replied that only God can read the hearts of men, but that

certa informazione non essersi il Pontifice per questi avvisi molto alterato, avere quietamente ascoltato chi le avea già parlato sopra questa materia per la confirmazione delle cose fatte dall' assemblea de' vescovi di Francia, ma tuttavia restare ancora il suo animo involto nei soliti dubbi e perplessità."

¹ See the text of this *letter of August 21, 1593 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 7.

it did not seem likely that Henry would again apostatize from the Church now that he had experience of the difficulties that such an act had brought upon him. A chance remark of the Pope gave the Venetian ambassador an opportunity of enlarging upon the threats of the Spaniards : there was no reason to fear them, he said, as France had always shown herself the true defender of the Holy See. Then, departing in a remarkable way from his habitual reserve, Clement VIII. replied : " Our family has always been on the side of France, and I remember what my father did in that respect in the time of Paul IV. From that you may infer my own private inclinations, but I must act with caution and first wait for the state of affairs in France to be made clearer." The Pope remained of this opinion, though Paruta begged him not to act with too great severity, saying that just as Clement VII. had lost England, so Clement VIII. might still lose France. " We intend," the Pope concluded, " to await for a while the development of affairs in France ; if God favours the cause of Henry, then neither shall We oppose him, and will bow to the inevitable."¹

On August 28th, 1593, Paruta reported that the Pope was persisting in his attitude, by no means unfavourable to Navarre, and that he was openly showing his annoyance with the Spaniards ; he complained of their cesaropapalism, which violated his own rights, and their trying to make the Orders Spanish, especially the Jesuits. No less did Clement complain of the fact that the Spaniards were intercepting all the letters that came from France, so that he was driven to believe that they were opposed to any election of a king in France, but rather wished to keep that kingdom in a state of schism, so as to be able to dominate it.²

It was impossible to prevent the arrival of news from France for long, but it was disastrous, not only that the leaguers looked upon the act of Henry as an unworthy comedy,

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 306-309.

² See the *report of Carretto of August 28, 1593 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 8.

intended to deceive, but that even the Papal legate, usually so shrewd, reawakened in the Pope his former suspicions. To all this was added the fact that Clement VIII. might, as a matter of right, expect a formal request for absolution on the part of Henry.¹

Henry of Navarre himself realized that an arbitrary absolution on the part of a number of French bishops would not be tolerated² by a Pope who was so penetrated with the sense of the dignity and rights of the Holy See. On August 9th he sent by his majordomo Brochard de la Clielle, "as a proof of his filial submission" a letter to the Pope, in which he informed him of his return to the Church, and declared his firm purpose of persevering to the end in the Catholic religion.³ This messenger, however, was only the forerunner of a solemn embassy, at the head of which was Louis Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers, and of which one of the bishops who had taken part in the absolution, Claude d'Angennes of Le Mans, was also a member. On August 15th Nevers wrote to the Pope that he was coming with the request that he would confirm the absolution given by the bishops, in so far as it was necessary for its validity, and also to ask permission to make the *obedientia* in the name of His Majesty.⁴ Cardinal Gondi and Vivonne, who were still in North Italy, were at the same time instructed to work with redoubled zeal upon the governments of Florence and Venice, so that those states, which were anti-Spanish in sentiment, might bring their influence to bear upon the Pope in favour of Henry.⁵

¹ See L'EPINOIS, 603 *seq.*

² See the *Memorial "De causis quibus se defendunt episcopi Galli quod Navarraeum relapsum absolvere potuerunt." The author comes to the following conclusion: "Maneat igitur propter defectum substantialem tum absolventium tum absoluti absolutionem Henrico Borbonico ab episcopis Franciae impertitam inanem, irritam, nullam esse iudicandum." Papal Secret Archives, II., 91.

³ See Lettres missives, IV. 11 *seq.* Cf. BREMOND 339 n. 2.

⁴ See L'EPINOIS 603.

⁵ Cf. Y. DE LA BRIÈRE in *Etudes*, CI., 75.

What attitude was the Holy See to adopt towards the ambassadors of Henry of Navarre? This question occupied the attention of the whole of the Curia and the diplomatic world of Rome to an extraordinary degree. Almost everyone took a part in it, and even those who lived in the silent cloisters were divided into Spaniards and Navarrists.¹ What was at first discussed was only the question whether the Pope could receive the Duke of Nevers,² but soon every question connected with the absolution of Henry IV., and above all the sincerity or insincerity of his conversion was freely canvassed. Theologians and canonists were insatiable in drawing up memorials long and short,³ filled with quotations from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers of the Church, Canon Law, and Church History in support of their views, and to refute, often in violent terms, those of their opponents.

Of the great number of dissertations on the subject, two are deserving of special mention: one by the celebrated Spaniard, Francisco Peña (Pegna)⁴ a canonist attached to the Rota, and the other by Cardinal Allen. The Cardinal, who was on intimate terms with Philip II., acrimoniously

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 32.

² Cf. the **Quaestio an missus ab Henrico Borbonio quondam rege Navarraeo ad excusandum quod non fuerit relapsus nec pro tali est habendus, a S. Pontifice audiendus*," in Vat. 5530, pp. 52-111 (the writer replies to the question in the negative). On the other hand Vat. 4676, p. 1 *seq.*: **Ristretto delli inconvenienti che risulterano dal negare N.S. l' assoluzione della quale il sig. Duca di Nevers supplica S.S.^{ta}*, Vatican Library.

³ LÄMMER (*Analecta*, 82 *seq.*; Melet., 21) has consulted a part of these memorials which are in the Vallicella Library, Rome (especially in Cod. K. 45 and M. 13). *Others in Cod. 673 (35 B 2) of the Corsini Library, Rome, in Borghese, III., 75, and Arm. 2, vol. 91 of the Papal Secret Archives, and in Barb. 5182 of the Vatican Library. Cf. also Vat. 6549, p. 94 *seq.*: " *An Henricus Borbonius poenitens sit a S. Pontifice admittendus." Other *Memorials in two recently discovered volumes in the Papal Secret Archives, which are only now receiving the signature. Cf. *infra* p. 81, n. 2 for the memorial of Peña.

⁴ As to this see LÄMMER, Melet., 65 *seq.*

maintained the insincerity of Henry IV., saying that both his conversion and his absolution had been a mere farce. Allen demanded that Bourbon should personally present his request for absolution to the Pope, as his representative was worthy of no confidence whatever.¹ Peña, in a memorial which was presented to the Pope by Sessa on September 11th, 1593, first examined the question whether, for the sake of the restoration of peace in France, Henry ought to be reconciled, and then went on to discuss whether the Bourbon was truly worthy of absolution, and whether he ought to be granted an audience. This question Peña answered in the most rigorous sense, and quite unfavourably to Henry IV.² At the same time Tommaso Bozio sought to prove from history what evil consequences had always followed for the Church when faith had been placed in heretical princes who had only professed their Catholic sentiments for the sake of obtaining worldly power.³

Very few held themselves aloof from the passionate excitement that prevailed, but among these the Pope held the first place. With wonderful prudence and caution he had so far observed the reserve that was necessary so as not to give the Spaniards any excuse for justifiable complaints, and at the same time not openly reject a sovereign like Henry IV. who was every day becoming of more importance. But now a decision could not longer be deferred, though before he gave expression to it Clement weighed, with the prudent calmness

¹ Cf. BELLESHEIM, Allen, 196 *seq.*

² *Discursus sive tractatus cui titulus: Iudicium de tribus praetensis capitulis Henrici Borbonii et fautorum eius, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. App. No. 60. The corresponding codex: "Relationi e scritture diverse nella causa di Henrico Borbone, raccolte da Francesco Pegna e molte scritte di sua mano" was catalogued in 1883. N. 33 is now: A.A., I-XVIII., n. 4020. This also contains many other *Dissertations, which my deceased friend, A. Sauer, who died as parish priest of Heinrichau in 1916, had intended to deal with.

³ Scriptum Patris Thomae Bozii de non admittendo Navarro, *ibid.* Papal Secret Archives.

that was so characteristic of him, all the arguments for and against this case that was as vital as it was abnormal. This he did all the more because the politico-ecclesiastical question had also become a case of conscience.¹

A bull of Sixtus V. had solemnly declared that Henry of Navarre, as a relapsed heretic, had, according to the laws then in force, forfeited his rank and his right to the throne of France.² The annulment of this decision could belong to no one but the Pope. The French bishops who had joined the party of Henry, were, according to the admonitory bull of Gregory XIV.,³ themselves excommunicated, and, by their arbitrary action had incurred the major excommunication. In these circumstances, according to the existing laws, it was absolutely out of the question for Clement VIII., without further ado, to treat Henry as a lawful king, by receiving the embassy of obedience sent by him. To the difficulties on the ground of Canon Law, which Nevers sought to evade by giving a different sense to the word obedience,⁴ were added others by the fact that Henry had in no way been recognized as king by the whole of France. A considerable part of the population, and among them the most fervent Catholics, were still adherents of the League, which, in the time of Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., and even during the first days of Clement VIII., had been supported by the Holy See with troops and money, and in which alone the Papal legate, Sega, still saw the salvation of the Catholic religion and of the kingdom. These, as well as the Spaniards, declared that the conversion of Henry was a farce and a trick. In the light of all the news that had reached him, Clement VIII. was bound to consider the possibility, and even the probability of Henry relapsing into heresy.⁵ If this should occur, after he had recognized Henry as king, the Catholics would rightly

¹ See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 276.

² Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 283.

³ Cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 371.

⁴ Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, 41, n. II.

⁵ Cf. the report of Sega, cited by MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 277.

attribute to him the blame for having helped to place the crown of St. Louis upon the head of a Huguenot.¹ Therefore the Pope was in every way bound to exact from this man who was now asking for absolution, definite proof of his changed opinions, and satisfactory guarantees for the future. There was no question that a rejection of Henry was bound up with grave dangers, and his adherents in Rome, and especially the Venetian ambassador, Paruta, never tired of painting these in the darkest colours. The cautious Clement fully realized these dangers, nor was he insensible to the threats of the Spaniards, who looked upon the absolution of their mortal enemy as a direct declaration of war on the part of the Holy See. These, however, were not the reasons which ultimately guided his decision, but the duty imposed upon him by his position as the supreme representative of the Catholic religion.

With full consciousness of his responsibility before God for the use he made of the power of binding and loosing granted to him, his reply to those who begged him to take into consideration the dangers that might result from his attitude, always was: “ We must do Our duty, come what may.”² “ God knows that care for religion is Our only guide,” he protested to Paruta, “ would to God that all those who are interested equally kept this one aim before them ! We seek for no advantage for Ourselves, for We are inspired solely by zeal for the cause of God.”³

In view of the influence which Philip II. exercised over the College of Cardinals, Clement VIII. could not look for an impartial judgment there, but on the other hand he was unwilling to act alone in this important matter. He therefore took counsel with the French Congregation and with the Roman Inquisition, as well as with the learned Jesuit Toledo, upon whom he conferred the purple just at that time,

¹ Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 16.

² See *ibid.* 26.

³ See *ibid.* 117 and G. RONDONI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5, Ser. V., 150, who remarks: “ the attitude of Clement VIII. forces one to admire him.”

and made him a member of both these Congregations.¹ Toledo was charged to explain to La Clielle, who arrived in Rome in the middle of September with Henry's letter of August 9th, why it was impossible to receive the embassy for the *obedientia*, at the head of which was the Duke of Nevers.²

To Antonio Possevino, another Jesuit well disposed towards France, and experienced as a diplomatist, was entrusted the task, by the advice of Santori, of dissuading Nevers from setting foot in the States of the Church. In the instructions given to Possevino it was stated that however much the Pope rejoiced at the return of Henry to the Church, it was nevertheless in the circumstances impossible to receive the duke as ambassador of the King of France.³ Nevers had already

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 34, 41, 49, 82. According to the *Protocol of the "Congregatio Franciæ" given by Cardinal Santori, *Miscell.*, I., 28, Papal Secret Archives, the members who assembled on January 27, 1593 (in domo S. Severinae) were as follows: Lancelotti, Caetani, Pinelli, Mattei, Aquaviva, Pietro Aldobrandini "nepos et secretarius S.S^{tis}." At the session held in the presence of the Pope on April 25, there were in addition Salviati and Aragona; the ordinary meetings, from April 26 onwards, were held at the palace of the latter. From October 24 onwards Toledo also appears as present. See the *Protocols relating to the important sessions of September 15, 16 and 17 in App. No. 10.

² See L'ÉPINOIS, 604. For the mission of Clielle see especially BREMOND, 340.

³ For the mission of Possevino see his report in ZACHARIA *Iter. litt.*, 305, and the article by L'ÉPINOIS in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXIV. (1883), 68 *seq.*, where the Instructions for Possevino are utilized for the first time, being taken from Borghese, III., 74a. Dated the same day as the Instructions (September 19, 1593) is the *brief to the Duke of Mantua, which accredits "A. Possevinus S.I. vir prudens et gravis" (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). L'ÉPINOIS (*loc. cit.*) is mistaken when he says that the Instructions were drawn up by Aldobrandini; Santori composed them at the request of Clement VIII.; see the *Protocol of Santori in App. No. 10, Papal Secret Archives.

arrived in the Valtellina when this message reached him. "If the Pope does not receive me," he replied, "it will mean the ruin of France, the loss of millions of souls and perhaps a schism." To the question whether Clement could not receive him at least as Duke of Nevers, Possevino, in conformity with his instructions, had to reply in the negative, though he offered to seek further instructions from Rome, by means of a courier.¹

In the meantime Clement VIII. was being attacked in the most troublesome way by the Spaniards in order that Nevers might not be received in any capacity. Threats of open violence were even made in this quarter, recalling the events of the times of Clement VII. and Paul IV.² Not a day passed without one of the adherents of Philip II. presenting himself in the Papal antecamera for audience; the Spanish ambassador, Sessa, took turns in this with his secretary, Cardinals Sfondrato, Caetani, Deza and others, as well as the agent of the Sieur de Diou, the ambassador of the League, who was ill. All repeated the same thing: the salvation of France depended on the rejection of Henry, whose conversion was the merest hypocrisy; the moment Nevers set foot in Rome the ambassador would leave, and in a short time they might look for the appearance of a Spanish army in France, to effect the election of a truly Catholic king.³

The opposing party, however, Cardinals Toledo, Salviati, Sforza and d'Aragona, and the ambassadors of Tuscany and Venice, were working with all their might. They pointed out that the appearance of a Spanish army in France was very improbable, that Philip was only aiming at the ruin of France, so that he might dominate her; if Nevers were repulsed the French Catholics would separate themselves from the Holy See by a national council and elect a Patriarch.⁴ The

¹ See L'EPINOIS, *loc. cit.*

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 32.

³ See in App. No. 9, the *report of Carretto of October 9, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See *ibid.* Cf. the report of G. Giglioli of October 6, 1593, in RICCI, I., 163.

Pope was in a state of the deepest anxiety, because in any case, however he decided, whether for or against Henry, the gravest dangers were to be expected. "We find Ourselves in a dark wood; both parties are trying to drive us to extreme measures. A good king in France would be the greatest happiness for the Church, but a bad one would be her ruin" he said.¹ The danger of a schism had already been repeatedly pointed out by Paruta, and this made the deepest impression on Clement VIII,² who once again had the pros and cons examined by the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition. Opinions were divided: three of the Cardinals belonging to the Inquisition were for a rejection, while three others were undecided. The other seven were for the reception of Nevers, though with a number of limiting conditions.³ Clement VIII., who took counsel in everything with Toledo, decided upon this latter course.⁴ On November 6th the Cardinals belonging to the French Congregation and the Inquisition met at the Vatican under the presidency of the Pope, and it was resolved to send a messenger to Possevino, who was to inform Nevers of the way out of the difficulty that had been decided upon. According to this, Nevers might come to Rome, not as the ambassador of Henry, but as a private individual and without any state; during his

¹ Letter of Palmio of October 9, 1593, in RICCI, II., 119 *seq.* *Ibid.* a similar report of the same, of October 16.

² See the *report of Carretto, October 9, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ " *Die dominica 24 Octobris 1593 S. D. N. Clemens VIII congregavit coram se cardinales congregationis Galliae et congregationis Inquisitionis et lectis quibusdam litteris missis a legato Franciae et a Possevino regavit an dux Nivernensis esset recipiendus et audiendus. Tres cardinales Deza, Ascolanus et Sfondratus tenuerunt quod non, tres tuerunt dubii, reliqui videlicet septem tenuerunt pro admissione." Autograph notes of Fr. Peña in Cod. D. 56 (recently marked differently, *cf. infra*) Papal Secret Archives. See also the *Protocol of Santori in App. No. 11.

⁴ *Cf.* the report of Giglioli, October 6, 1593, in RICCI, II., 163.

stay, which was limited to ten or fourteen days, he was forbidden to visit the Cardinals or to receive visits from them.¹ These conditions, which the as yet obscure situation in France made necessary,² were accepted by Nevers.

The Spaniards made unceasing efforts, by means of their spies, to find out what was happening at the Vatican.³ The Pope, at the meeting on November 6th, had imposed secrecy as to the discussion under the threat of the major excommunication, reserved to himself.⁴ This new state of affairs obliged the Spaniards to discuss the steps they were now to take; Sessa, although he had failed to attain his principal purpose of absolutely preventing the coming of Nevers, limited himself, in his paltry way, to making the protest,⁵ with which formerly Olivares had threatened Sixtus V., of retiring to Naples if Nevers should remain beyond the allotted time in Rome. But only some of the Spanish party approved of this drastic procedure, which might produce exactly the opposite effect, and force the Pope to a reconciliation with Henry. The others pointed out how greatly the situation had changed in the meantime: Henry had been converted, and the Pope might take his stand upon the opinion pronounced by the French Congregation and the Inquisition; he would have on his side Venice, Tuscany and Mantua, which would make the position of the Spaniards in Italy very hazardous. Although they met three times to discuss the matter, the Spanish party came to no other decision than to surround Nevers and his adherents in Rome with spies,

¹ See the *Protocol of November 6, 1593, in App. No. 11, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. also PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 95, 99, and in App. No. 12, the *report of Carreto, November 6, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² Cf. De Leva on PARUTA, I., xxiv.

³ Thus *reports Carretto, November 9, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See the *Protocol of Santori in App. No. 11, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ Cf. Vol. XXI. of this work, p. 369.

so as to have exact information as to what was happening.¹

Possevino reached Rome on November 19th, and Nevers arrived there in the evening of the 21st. His arrival was looked for at the Porto del Popolo, where a large crowd of sight-seers had assembled. But the duke wished to avoid all publicity, and with a small retinue, among them the Bishop of Le Mans and two other prelates, as witnesses of Henry's abjuration at Saint-Denis, entered the city by the Porta Angelica, whence he went to his lodgings in the Palazzo Rovere in the Borgo,² formerly the residence of Madruzzo. He presented himself before the Pope the same evening. At this audience, which lasted for more than an hour,³ Nevers at once asked for an extension of his stay in Rome, and for permission to treat with the Cardinals, but met with a curt and decided refusal. Clement VIII. reported this to the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition on November 22nd, who approved of the refusal of Nevers' request, and also decided not to allow the duke's further demand⁴ that some of the Cardinals should be present at his negotiations with the Pope. On November 23rd and 25th Nevers had two more very stormy audiences, each of which lasted for three hours. The Pope reported concerning these to the French Congregation on November 28th. The Congregation approved his extension of Nevers' stay in Rome until December 5th, and his refusal to allow him to visit the Cardinals or receive visits from them, as well as from the French prelates. At this meeting the secrecy as to the discussions was once again imposed. At the same time the Pope complained of some of the Cardinals that they had

¹ See the *report of Carretto, November 19, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See the *report of Carretto, November 20 and 21, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; PARUTA, *Dispacci* II., 111 *seq.*; **Diarium* P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

³ "Amplius quam per horam," says Santori in his *Notes, Papal Secret Archives, I., 28.

⁴ See *ibid.*

expressed themselves differently towards the Spanish ambassador, to himself, the Pope, and to the Duke of Nevers, and that they had advised the reception of the duke as the ambassador of Henry.¹

The widespread view that Clement had allowed himself to be intimidated in his attitude towards Nevers by the Spanish threats, is not justified. The Pope, as well as the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition whom he consulted, had no other motives than prudence, which forbade any premature recognition of Henry, their duty to the Church,² and their consciences. This obliged them, even against a prince who was on the point of ascending the throne of France, strictly to observe ecclesiastical laws, in accordance with which absolution could only be pronounced after they had convinced themselves that the penitent was sincere and deserving of it. In the meantime the credentials presented by Nevers contained no request for absolution, just as though this was looked upon as in no way necessary.³ This circumstance obliged the Pope to be more severe than he would have been if things had been otherwise. Therefore the strong remonstrances made by Nevers were quite unavailing, as were those of the ambassadors of Venice and Mantua, who tried, with all possible insistence, to prove to the Pope

¹ See *ibid.* Cf. also the reports of PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 115 *seq.*, and the *reports of Carretto of November 25 and 27, and December 4, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The envoy of Urbino reports on November 27 concerning the audiences of Nevers: *" Il Papa affatica in convertir lui et ritirarlo alla lega. Et perchè una volta scappò al Duca di dire, il Re mio signore, S.S., che è di sua natura piacevolissima, s'incollerì di maniera che fu sentita gridare anco fuori della camera " (Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). For the unreliability of the *Mémoires de Nevers*, often used uncritically, see BREMOND, 344, n. 2, and *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XXXV., 226 *seq.*

² This is expressly stated in the *letter of Maurizio Cattolico, dated Rome, December 27, in Cod. M. 13, Vallicella Library, Rome.

³ See *Lettres d' Ossat*, I., 67.

that if he allowed the duke to go away without having decided anything, he would only have favoured the cause of the heretics and the Turk, and done harm to the Catholic religion, the Holy See, the Roman Curia, the kingdom of France, the League, Italy and the whole of Christendom.¹ In reply the Pope declared that no consideration, not even the danger of losing an annual revenue of 200,000 scudi, which he drew from France, would be allowed to influence his conduct, but only the duties imposed upon him by his office.

Clement VIII. spoke in an especially open way to Paruta, to whom he said: "What has the King of Navarre done to deserve absolution? What signs of true repentance, and what satisfaction has he given? Brought up as a heretic he has twice relapsed into heresy, he has destroyed a large number of churches in France, he has exiled bishops, caused the death of priests and religious, introduced Calvinism into France, and fought against Henry III. and the French Catholics. Is it enough if in compensation for all this, he now once makes the sign of the Cross? In the first place he must give evidence of his firm and manifest intention of remaining a Catholic, and make adequate satisfaction; then only will he be able to speak of absolution and of habilitation to succeed to the throne. He is absolute master in Navarre, but has he protected the rights of the Catholics there? How have other princes expiated their crimes?"—and so saying the Pope pointed to the reconciliation of Barbarossa, represented in the adjoining Sala Regia. "If I," he went on, "in defiance of Canon Law and tradition, here and now absolved Henry from censures, what blame and reproach should I not deserve in the case of his relapsing into heresy? Therefore We must abide by the laws and tradition; we are afraid of nothing: if evil results from our conduct, the fault is not ours."²

Nevers received the same reply: "Only the fear that the

¹ See the *report of Carretto, December 8, 1593, which covers ten pages, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 125 *seq.*

conversion of Henry may not be sincere " the Pope explained to him, " holds us back from absolving him, and thus giving him an opportunity of once more persecuting the Catholics as king."¹ When Nevers suggested that the Bishop of Le Mans and the two other prelates who had taken part in the absolution of Henry should be questioned about it, he received the reply that these had incurred excommunication by their arbitrary conduct, and must first justify themselves before the Inquisition. The three French prelates refused to do this and openly made use of threatening language concerning a national council and setting up of a French patriarch, a thing which could not fail to prejudice the position of Nevers.²

On December 5th the duke made a further attempt to make the Pope change his mind. He threw himself at his feet and adjured him with tears in his eyes to grant absolution to his sovereign for the sake of the salvation of so many souls. " We cannot do it," the Pope replied, " because it would be against our conscience, and we are responsible before God. It is said that we are favouring the Spaniards, but Our Lord knows the truth ; He knows that we are only held back by the fear of doing something unlawful, and we do not wish to burden our conscience. We can see no results from this conversion." The Pope also expressly refused to receive the Bishop of Le Mans and the other French prelates.³ If Clement would not accede to the request of the duke that he would point out to him in writing what marks of repentance and what satisfaction his sovereign should have given, this was because if he had done so he would have departed from the sphere of private negotiations, which were all that he had allowed.⁴

* An attempt made by the duke to bring about a change in the position by the help of Philip Neri, who was

¹ See L' EPINOIS, 608.

² See PARUTA, II., 123, 131.

³ See the *Notes of Santori in App. No. 11, Papal Secret Archives. PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 133 ; L' EPINOIS, 609.

⁴ See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 129.

highly venerated by Clement VIII., proved unsuccessful.¹ This was not surprising as, on December 17th, the secretary of the Cardinal legate, Sega, had arrived in Rome,² bringing the worst account of the behaviour of Henry, so that any further discussion as to his sincerity seemed to be labour lost.³ "Would to God" said Clement VIII. to Paruta at that time, "that we could trust Henry; we would be ready to do anything; if only he had given some sign of his conversion we would willingly send not one but many legates to France. But Henry is contradicting himself: in his letter to us he promises to prove by his actions that he is worthy of absolution. Where are these actions? We are informed only too clearly of what he is doing and of how he is living. To the request of Nevers that we should tell him what Henry ought to do, we have replied with St. Chrysostom: Poison is cured by the antidote (*Contraria contrariis curantur*). Henry, who has sown Calvinism in France, ought to know how to behave as a Catholic." After the Pope had spoken at length on this subject, he rose, and going to a table, took up a book, saying: "We will tell you what the Canon Law prescribes in the case of relapsed heretics." Then he read the ordinances, especially those passages where it is stated that relapsed heretics cannot be re-admitted to the sacraments, if they do

¹ According to the *Avviso of December 11, 1593, Nevers visited on Wednesday "P. Filippo della Chiesa Nuova" who was ill in bed, and spoke with him concerning Henry (Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). Cf. the report of Mellini, December 10, 1593, in DESJARDINS, V., 178, according to whom the Spaniards were trying to win over some of the Oratorians and Jesuits to their plans. This serves to complete the dispatches of Niccolini used by CAPECELATRO, *Life of St. Philip Neri*, p. 545 [Engl. Ed. of 1926].

² Thus says Carretto in his *report of December 18, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 145, 153. Other news that came was also unfavourable; see the *letter of "Monsieur Cenatt" from Paris, November 16, 1593, in the *Notes of Fr. Peña (*supra* p. 81, n. 2), Papal Secret Archives.

not give manifest signs of their conversion and repentance. He then added: "Can we therefore, not only absolve the King of Navarre, who has so far done nothing of the kind, but also make him King of France?" After this strong declaration Paruta only remarked that in any case it was not advisable entirely to break off the negotiations and drive Henry to desperation. The Pope then replied: "We do not say that we are rejecting him absolutely, but only at the present moment."¹

In all his negotiations with Nevers Clement VIII. had conscientiously taken counsel with the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition. He alluded to this in the important allocution which he addressed to the consistory on December 29th, 1593.² On this occasion the Pope severely rebuked those Cardinals who had loudly complained that they had not been consulted on this important question. This, he declared, was not necessary because it was only a question of a simple point of law. In spite of this, in order to avoid any further complaints, he explained his course of action in detail. First of all he complained of the tenor of the letter in which Henry had announced the Duke of Nevers as his ambassador for the *obedientia*, because this letter made it appear that the king, like another Charlemagne, had delivered the Holy See from its enemies. Nevertheless he had received the duke, though only as a private individual. Nevers had added nothing that was new; he had for the most part devoted himself to making long speeches about the egoism of certain Christian princes, and the impossibility of

¹ See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 158.

² See Acta consist. according to the Cod. Vallicell. I., 61 in LÄMMER, Melet., 238 seq., and the *Relatio gestorum et dictorum per S. D. N. Clementem VIII. in concistorio celebrato die lunae 20 dec., 1593, in the *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives, which refer to the information of Cardinal Piatti. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 181 seq. PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 153, 171: L'EPINOIS, 611 seq. The envoy of Urbino *reports on December 22, 1593, the severe and threatening "parlata del Papa" at the consistory. Urb. 1961, Vatican Library.

their electing a king for France. The absolution of Henry asked for by Nevers, could not be granted because his conversion was neither complete nor sincere, and was even looked upon by many as fraudulent ; moreover Henry had not made that satisfaction that was to be looked for from one who was sincerely converted, but rather was doing things which gave reason for fears lest he should soon become once more an enemy of the Church.

In a detailed statement the Pope explained how in this question three different things were involved : sacramental absolution (in foro conscientiae), canonical absolution (in foro exteriori) and his habilitation to succeed to the throne. As to the first and most important point, Clement VIII. showed that he could not absolve Henry for three reasons : first because he had not yet done penance for all that he had done against the Church ; secondly, because the heretics themselves would laugh at so easy a granting of absolution, and every heretical prince would think that in order to obtain everything from the Holy See he had only to make the sign of the Cross and hear the Mass ; thirdly and lastly because the most serious dangers would result if Henry, as he had always done before, returned again to Calvinism. Rather than expose Christendom to such dangers, he, the Pope, would prefer martyrdom. " The Church of God " he concluded, " is not guided by political considerations but by the Canons and the prescriptions of our predecessors."

At his audience on December 5th, 1593, Nevers had insistently forced the Pope to accept, though he had at first refused to do so, a memorial on the consequences of a refusal of the absolution of Henry.¹ He now, through Giulio di Carretto, the envoy of the Duke of Mantua, asked for a reply to this. At a meeting of the Cardinals of the French Congregation and the Inquisition, held at the Vatican on December 28th in the presence of the Pope, it was resolved, after a

¹ *Ristretto degli inconvenienti che seguiranno se non si accetta et assolve Navarra. Fr. Peña drew up against this a *Confutation which is contained in his *Relationi e scritture (*supra* p. 81, n. 2), Papal Secret Archives.

violent speech by Santori,¹ not to reply in writing, and to proceed, in accordance with the law, against Le Mans and the other French ecclesiastics, should they any longer refuse to appear before the Inquisition or the French Congregation. This, however, they did not do. The suggestion that they should justify themselves before Cardinals Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, Santori and Toledo was also abandoned, and they were allowed to depart together with Nevers.² On January 10th, 1594, the duke received a visit from Cardinals Pietro and Cinzio Aldobrandini, and then had a farewell audience of Clement VIII. The Pope gave him a cross of gold and other valuable presents, and spoke to him very kindly, but remained firm in his insistence upon clear proofs of the true conversion of Henry,³ so that the duke, deeply discouraged

¹ In this Santori says of Henry: "Non edit, non mandata talia quae a catholico principe facienda sunt. Si audit aliquando missam, audit frequenter haereticorum praedicationes, ut referunt, habet consiliarios et familiares haereticos, alit et in sinu retinet Ugonottos perfidos et perniciosos homines. Misit ad praetensam Angliae haereticam reginam, misit ad status Flandricos haereticos, misit ad protestantes haereticos Germaniae." *Protocol of Santori of the session of December 28, 1593, Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. the *Notes of Santori of January 6 and 7, 1594, *loc. cit.* Santori here mentions negotiations between Toledo and Nevers, of which no one learned the result. That the advice of Toledo had a decisive influence upon the dismissal of Nevers is stated by the author of the dissertation hitherto unknown: *Responsio canonica ad scriptum nuper editum in causa Henrici Borbonii, quo illius fautores persuadere nituntur episcopos in Francia iure illum absolvere potuisse ab excommunicatione in casu Sedi Apost. reservato. Vat. 9364, Vatican Library.

³ See the *Notes of Santori, Papal Secret Archives, in which the visit of Nevers to the two nephews on January 11, 1594, is mentioned; *Avviso of January 12, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library; *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, *ibid.* Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 170, 181 *seq.*; L'ÉPINOIS, 612 *seq.*; BREMOND, 344; Y. DE LA BRIÈRE IN ÉTUDES, CI., 79. For Nevers' fear of a schism see *Avviso of January 8, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 179 *seq.*

at the ill-success of his mission, and fearing a schism in France, left the Eternal City with his companions on January 14th, 1594. The Spaniards were exultant, and published a satire on Henry's ambassador.¹

On his return journey Nevers met Cardinal Joyeuse, the ambassador of Mayenne and the League, and Baron Senecey, who were on their way to Rome to ask for the intervention of the Pope. While Nevers gave expression to his disgust at his want of success in a violent memorial, the Bishop of Le Mans drew up a justification of the absolution pronounced at Saint-Denis. As he declared in writing his readiness to justify himself in Rome, Clement VIII gave orders for the suspension of the process that had been begun against him.² In view of the fact that Henry had publicly abjured Calvinism,

¹ *Sonetto al duca di Nevers, in *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives.

² Santori in his *Notes, says of Nevers: "Et non longe ab Urbe obviam factus ill. d. card. de Gioiosa, qui ex Francia profectus pro foederatis, eo die pervenit ad Urbem, noluit illum salutare. Sed episcopus Cenoman. dom. card. salutavit atque peractus est, ut in Urbe fidem faceret, quod ipse esset et fuisset semper catholicus, ut dominatio sua ill. in Francia noverat.—Die XV. eiusdem sabbato vespere venit ad me dom. de Creil, syndicus Sorbonae Parisiensis, nomine dicti d. episc. Cenoman. significans quod et si ipse ex Urbe recederet, non oportebat ipsum citari per affixionem ad valvas uti haereticus vel suspectus, sed quod quandocunque vocaretur vel citaretur aut moneretur, venturus est e Francia in Urbem ad docendum quod ipse est catholicus, et reddendam rationem totius eius anteactae vitae, et ego mandavi ut scripto mihi daret hanc illius significationem, prout fecit postridie die XVII. eiusdem. Id ipsum significavi S. D. N. in congregatione s. Inquisitionis die XX eiusdem mensis Ianuarii et legi schedulam dicti syndici et Stas Sua pro nunc supersederi in negotio et schedulam reponi in processu mandavit." (Papal Secret Archives). An *Avviso of January 19, 1594, says, concerning the meeting of the duke with Cardinal Joyeuse, that on that occasion certain Frenchmen exclaimed "Fate largo, lasciate passare la lega et li Spagnoli gridando: Viva il Re, cioè Navarra." Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

had solemnly declared his return to the Catholic religion, and sought for a reconciliation with the Pope, as far as the great mass of the people was concerned the question whether the act of absolution was valid without the assent of the Pope, as well as that of the sincerity of his conversion, were only of secondary importance. The number of those who considered that by this act the civil war was ended, and who wished to rejoice in the peace, steadily increased.

The numerous caricatures, the biting epigrams and the poisonous libels in which the members of the League were held up to scorn and contempt,¹ contributed not a little to turn public opinion in favour of Henry. The most celebrated production of this kind was the so-called *Satire Ménippée*, distinguished by its language and style, which was first published by means of broad-sheets at Tours.²

The armistice had hardly elapsed, when Henry had promised a complete amnesty to all who submitted to him. This prudent policy of forgiveness and forgetfulness led to good results, and the number of his adherents increased. It was in vain that Segar addressed a public letter to the French Catholics, in which he pointed out the failure of the mission of the Duke of Nevers, and called upon them not to anticipate the judgment of the Holy See.³ His voice was unheeded, while on the other hand the coronation and unction of Henry, which took place on February 27th, 1594, in the cathedral of Chartres, made the greatest impression throughout France.⁴

¹ Cf. CAPEFIGUE, VI., 333 *seq.*

² The primitive text of the *Satire Ménippée* was published by CH. READ, Paris, 1878. It appeared in print, in 1594, with the date 1593; see the editions of LABITTE (1841), FRANK (1884), MARCILLY (1889) and GIROUX (1897). Cf. BAUMGARTNER, *Weltliteratur*, V., 282.

³ See the *report of Segar in Cod. S. 2, 12, II. of the Angelica Library, Rome.

⁴ Epistola d'Yves vescovo di Chartres toccando la consacrazione del Re Ludovico le Gros fatta in Orleans per Daimbert arcivesc. di Sens nell'a. 1109, per la qual si mostra che la consecratione di Re di Francia puo esser fatta non solamente a Rheims per

The number of the cities which submitted to him increased visibly.

A change in favour of Henry also made itself apparent even in Paris, the headquarters of the League. Segal no longer felt himself safe there. Nevertheless he persevered and sent his nephew to the Netherlands to ask for help.¹ In the meantime Brissac, who had been appointed commandant of Paris by Mayenne, handed over the city into Henry's hands. Amid the popular acclamations: "Long live the King! Long live the peace!" on March 22nd, 1594, in all the splendour of his armour, and with the famous white feather in his hat, Henry made his entry into the capital, from which the Spanish troops and the leaders of the League had to withdraw. He proceeded at once to Notre Dame, where a Mass of thanksgiving was celebrated. In an edict of March 20th he had promised to forget all that had happened, and declared his intention of living and dying in the Catholic religion.²

The Parliament declared that all the decrees they had issued from 1588 onwards had been wrung from them by force, and even the Sorbonne now recognized Henry. The secular and regular clergy made him an oath of fealty, and only a few of the religious, principally Capuchins and Jesuits, resisted on the ground that they did not wish to anticipate the decision of the Pope.³ Segal, as the representative of the Pope, was treated with consideration. Henry set himself to win over

l'arcivescovo di detto luogo, ma anco in ogni altro luogo et pe tutti gli altri prelati di questo regno. Borghese III. 72^b p. 548 seq., Papal Secret Archives.

¹ See the *report of Segal, *loc. cit.*

² See *Revue retrospective*, 1838, 5 seq.; DESJARDINS, V., 694 seq.; L'ÉPINOIS, 618 seq.

³ See L'OUQUERAY, II., 344 seq., where are to be found particulars of the attitude of the Jesuits, and of the attempt made by the new rector of the university, Jacques d'Amboise, to drive the whole Order out of France. For the attitude of the Capuchins see DESJARDINS, V., 148 seq. and DUAIS, *Capucins et Huguenots dans le Languedoc* (Extrait de la Controverse et du Contemporain), Lyons, 1888.

this inveterate enemy, but the Cardinal legate declared that it was impossible for him to have any dealings with one who was not yet absolved by the Pope. Therefore Henry refused him permission to go to Amiens or Rheims, but after eight days gave the legate permission to retire to the neutral Montargis, in order to await the instructions of the Pope, even after that city had submitted to Henry.¹

¹ See the *report of Segá, *loc. cit.* The return of Segá to Rome took place long after the decision had been come to, i.e., on the 12th, or better the 13th of November, 1594 (see *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library, and PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 482), his solemn entry on November 15. Cf. PARUTA, II., 487 *seq.*, who reports that Clement VIII. did not trust the Cardinal, who was aiming at the tiara, and that Segá "con diversi parla diversamente." Cf. also DESJARDINS, V., 194. Segá was often spoken of as the future Pope (see STIEVE, Politik, I., 275, n. 2), but he died as early as May 29, 1596. Clement VIII. had sent him his blessing three times; see *Avviso of May 29, 1596, which extolls Segá as "worthy of the Pontificate, if jealous death had not intervened" (Urb. 1064, Vatican Library). The tomb of Segá is in S. Onofrio; see FORCELLA, V., 311.

CHAPTER III.

THE ABSOLUTION OF HENRY IV.

THE steady progress made by Henry could not fail to have its effect, even on the envoys of Mayenne and the League, who had been in Rome since January 1594. These were now convinced that the star of the Bourbon was steadily in the ascendant. This is clear from the memorial which they presented to Clement VIII. on March 14th, 1594. The Pope, so this important document states, would have to sacrifice millions, and Philip II. make his armies three times as large, in order to bring the war against Henry to a victorious conclusion. From the impossibility of such an effort, and from the general proclamation of Henry as king, which must be looked upon as imminent, because of the great desire for peace among the French people, the writers conclude that the Pope, so that he may not be excluded from all influence, must immediately take the conclusion of a peace into his own hands. As the conditions for this they propose that he should submit to Henry the Catholic education of the Prince de Condé, the heir presumptive to the throne, the acceptance of the Tridentine decrees, and the energetic restoration of unity of faith in France.¹ If only an evasive reply was given to such proposals for the moment, the occupation of the French capital by Henry² must convince the Pope that one of the great obstacles to direct negotiations, namely the want of a *fait accompli*, no longer existed. Henry of Navarre

¹ See L'EPINOIS, 613 *seq.* Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 189 *seq.*

² The "Congregatio Franciæ et S^{ti} Officii" dealt with the capture of Paris at a session which was held on April 13, 1594, at the Vatican under the presidency of the Pope. *Notes of Santori, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives.

was looked upon as the true King of France, even by the French Catholics.¹ But the second great obstacle, the doubt of the sincerity of the conversion of that prince, remained unchanged in the mind of the Pope. This can occasion no surprise, all the more so as the majority of the great cities of France trusted so little in Henry in the matter of religion that in their acts of submission they insisted on his documentary guarantee that he would prohibit any other worship than the Catholic.² If Clement VIII., after a long internal struggle, at length decided to enter into negotiations with this shrewd man, to whom the majority of Frenchmen had rallied, this was principally due to the evident danger, always becoming more threatening, of a French schism, a thing at which Paruta especially often hinted.³

France was a country peculiarly adapted for such an event, as the schismatic tendencies of the XIVth and XVth centuries had taken deeper and more tenacious root there than in any other country. Hence had come the so-called pragmatic sanction of 1438,⁴ the abolition of which under Pius II., and by means of the concordat under Leo X.,⁵ had only resulted in this growth, barely cut down, always springing up again with fresh vigour.⁶ It was above all the parliaments which thought themselves called upon to carry on the opposition to the Holy See for the protection of supposed ecclesiastical privileges and national interests.

It was there that the opposition to the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent had chiefly taken root, on the ground that they were incompatible with the "liberty of the Gallican Church." This new idea, which was exactly

¹ Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 276.

² Cf. MARIÉJOL, *Hist. de France*, VI., 1, 391.

³ See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 429; cf. *Dispacci*, II., 229 *seq.*, III., 28, 43.

⁴ Cf. Vol. I. of this work, p. 335.

⁵ Cf. Vol. III. of this work, p. 150; Vol. VII., p. 145.

⁶ So PHILLIPS (III., 341) rightly supposes.

contrary to what the words implied,¹ became a "catch-word" which flattered the national pride, in favour of the old schismatical tendencies directed against the authority and rights of the Holy See. These tendencies were already sufficiently clear in the time of Sixtus V.,² and received a powerful impetus when Gregory XIV., deceived by the Spaniards and the League, took steps in the matter of the succession which the prudent Sixtus V. had avoided. By making himself the executor of the wishes of Philip II., Gregory XIV. aroused a national opposition, which even extended to the clergy. All those French Catholics who preferred to see upon the throne of France even Henry of Navarre rather than a claimant pleasing to Spain, now extended the hatred they felt for Philip II. to the Holy See and its rights. Some of the episcopate, led by the Archbishop of Bourges, openly placed themselves at the head of the opposition,³ while an ever increasing number of persons became familiar with the idea of having a patriarch elected by the bishops, who should govern the French Church, in practical independence of Rome.⁴

Schismatical tendencies of this kind were bound to fill the Huguenots with joyful hopes. They repeated in yet stronger terms all that had been said, in view of the intervention of Gregory XIV., by the French Catholics against the authority and status of the Holy See: with a zeal as great as if they had been speaking of their own sect, they defended the Gallican liberties and the election of an independent patriarch; but, they said, the only way to attain to this was an open and sweeping reform, and such a transformation of the Church

¹ See PHILLIPS, III., 342, who describes the true significance of this in the words of Charlas (*De libertatibus ecclesiae Gallicae*, I., Rome, 1720, 36): "Oppressionem iurisdictionis ecclesiasticae a laica et depressionem auctoritatis Romani Pontificis a clero Gallicano."

² See the important dispatch of Giov. Mocenigo, January 21, 1590, in ROMANIN, VI., 412, n. 5.

³ See Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 377 *seq.*

⁴ See STÄHELIN, 328 *seq.*

as had already been effected by one section of the nation.¹ By means of broad-sheets they solemnly assured the French Catholics that they did not wish by cunning or by force to inveigle them into Calvinism, but only, on the ground of their common welfare and a loyal service of the king, to extend a helping hand to them for the good of their native land; if only they would better inform themselves, they would discover that " those of the reformed religion " were not so wicked as they were said to be by the representatives of the Pope.²

It was in a similar sense that the *Eirenicon* of François de Dujon was drawn up, which, however, at the same time showed what they had the hardihood to propose to the French Catholics. " Beyond doubt " this work states, " the Roman Church is the Babylonian harlot, with which it is forbidden to have any part ; but in every ecclesiastical community, no matter how corrupt it may be, there are souls that belong to Christ, and to these brotherhood, communion and cordial affection may not be denied."³

In many quarters there was a talk at the time of a union of the various sects into a single Church. To the great grief of Beza there were to be found, even in his own party, men who were even prepared to give up their Calvinist principles to that end.⁴ These attempts at union were based upon the

¹ See *Response aux commonitoires et excommunications de Gregoire XIV. jettés contre . . . Henri de Bourbon, Roi tres chrétien de France*, in *Mém. de la Ligue*, IV., 384 *seq.* ; extract in STÄHELIN, 346 *seq.*

² See *Traité en forme d'Apologie pour les Français faisant profession de la Religion reformée contre les calomnies et impostures de Ministres du Siège Papal*, in *Mém. de la Ligue*, V., 193 *seq.* Cf. STÄHELIN, 348 *seq.*

³ *Εἰρηνικόν* sive *de pace Ecclesiae catholicae inter Christianos, quamvis diversis sententiis, religiose procuranda auque continuanda*, Geneva, 1593, published in the same year in a French translation at Leyden ; see STÄHELIN, 352 *seq.*

⁴ See STÄHELIN, 353 *seq.*, 356 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.*, 364 *seq.* concerning the *Confessio Henrici IV.*, 1592.

promise made by Henry, at the time of his succession to the throne, that he would cause himself to be instructed by a general council, a promise, however, which was withdrawn, and finally replaced by a conference with Catholic bishops. If Henry of Navarre intended by this to give up all schismatical projects, it was all the more uncertain how far the curt rejection of the Duke of Nevers gave cause to fear a final breach between Rome and Paris.

In these circumstances it was highly significant that in 1594 Henry of Navarre should have accepted the dedication of a work in which Pierre Pithou, an ex-Calvinist and an advocate in the Parliament, recommended to the first of the Bourbons the precious Gallican liberties, and pointed out as the weapons for their protection, in addition to a peaceful agreement, the royal "placet," the appeal to a general council, and the appeal against abuses.¹

It is beyond question that there were in Henry's entourage several men who would not have shrunk from schism. Even before the mission of the Duke of Nevers, Henry himself had said things to the Grand Duke of Tuscany which sounded like a threat of this kind.² The duke's friends, whose hopes were completely disappointed, and whose pride was deeply hurt at the definite refusals of any kind of negotiation on the part of the Pope, now began to turn their thoughts to a separation from a Pope who thus decisively rejected any advances. "May I be allowed to remind Your Majesty," wrote Guillaume de Gadagne, "that your predecessors often thought of ordering the setting up of an independent patriarch in France for much less reasons than those that are now in question. A great part of your Catholic subjects, and even many ecclesiastics, would joyfully hail such a step. If the Roman Church will not open her doors to Your Majesty, then Your Majesty

¹ For the work of Pithou which aroused such excitement, *Les libertéz de l'Eglise Gallicane*, and to which we shall return later, cf. PERRENS, *L'Eglise et l'Etat sous Henri IV.*, vol. I., 157 seq.; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V., 68 seq.; THOMAS, *Concordat*, III., 172 seq.

² See STÄHELIN, 711. Cf. L'EPINOIS, 621.

may rest content with a French Catholic Church, in the bosom of which you can remain and make it independent.”¹

At the end of May, 1594, a letter reached Rome from the Duke of Nevers in which he spoke of the danger of a French schism as imminent. In France, he said, they are on the verge of excluding the Holy See from any conferring of benefices, and of re-establishing the pragmatic sanction; if all hope of reconciliation is taken away from Henry he will be bound to give his consent to the French church being made independent of Rome.²

The supposition of the inaccessibility of Clement VIII. was not altogether justified, as the Pope, in February, 1594, had summoned Cardinal Gondi, the Bishop of Paris, to Rome, and had told him that he was prepared to receive an envoy from Henry.³ Naturally this information was given absolutely confidentially. The Pope maintained a complete silence, and except for Cardinal Toledo, did not discuss the French situation with anyone; thus the rumours spread by the Spaniards, that the Pope was entirely on their side, were generally believed. It was only a few who knew the sentiments of Clement VIII. who looked upon this as impossible.⁴ At the beginning of May the rumour was spread that Gondi was about to leave Rome, a thing which gave rise to all manner of conjectures.⁵ The Pope then ordered special prayers in all the religious houses in Rome, that God might enlighten him in a decision of the greatest importance. At the same time it was learned that Clement VIII. had imposed the most strict silence on the Cardinals, under pain of the major excommunication,⁶ as to all that he had told them on the subject. Gondi, left Rome on May 25th: many deduced from this that his mission had been a failure, but Paruta on

¹ See STÄHELIN, 711.

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 333.

³ See BREMOND, 345.

⁴ See the opinion of Camaiani in L'ÉPINOIS, 623, n. 1.

⁵ See the *report of Annibale Chieppio, May 7, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 302.

the other hand saw in the Cardinal's departure an evident sign of the friendly attitude of Clement VIII. towards Henry.¹ The Venetian diplomatist formed still higher hopes when, at the beginning of June, the Pope recalled Sega without appointing any successor, so that there was no longer any Papal representative with the League.²

During the critical days that followed the Pope continued to observe the greatest prudence and caution as to the French question. He clearly saw that there were two rocks to avoid : excessive severity, which might bring about a schism, and excessive leniency, which might injure the rights and authority of the Holy See.³ Even when he was looked upon as the slave of the Spaniards, and the news from France became most threatening, he maintained his silence, waiting for the situation to be cleared up.⁴ It was extremely difficult to understand the true state of affairs because the passions with which the matter was being discussed were very heated. " Here in Rome " complained one of the ambassadors, " many lies are being told about France, and as many more in France about the Curia." ⁵ But Clement VIII., for his part, intended to treat the matter dispassionately. Therefore, with the exception of his two nephews who were directing the Secretariate of State, he took counsel with no one except Cardinal Toledo, who was absolutely impartial.⁶

Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini had written on June 13th, 1594, to the Duke of Nevers that if Henry would give proofs of the sincerity of his return to the Church, the world should

¹ See *ibid.* 325. At his farewell audience the Pope embraced the Cardinal and kissed him " più volte." See *Avviso of May 25, 1594, which is confirmed by the envoy of Urbino ; Urb. 1062, p. 290, Vatican Library.

² See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 336.

³ See L'EPINOIS, 621.

⁴ Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 263, 388, 427.

⁵ See the letter of the envoy of Urbino in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, X. (1870), 738 *seq.*

⁶ See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 433. Cf. also the *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives.

see that the Pope had never closed the door, nor absolutely refused absolution. He assured him that His Holiness had never been actuated in this affair by human interests, but purely by his religious duty, and above all by his anxiety for the salvation of souls and for the security of the Catholic religion in France.¹ Gondi supported this statement when he reached Paris in July. There he found that the opinion was generally held that the Pope was absolutely opposed to France and her king, and that he had thrown himself entirely into the hands of the Spaniards. Henry himself shared this opinion, and Gondi had great difficulty in convincing him.² But at last Henry declared his readiness to send an ambassador to Rome, and this time a member of the ecclesiastical body. Gondi proposed for this difficult mission a man who a few years before had returned from Calvinism to the Catholic Church and had become a priest, and had also converted many other heretics by his sermons. This was Jacques Davy Du Perron, who had been made Bishop of Evreux, a man who charmed everyone by his eloquence, as well as by his practical knowledge of the world and his theological learning, and who had taken part in a prominent manner at the abjuration at Saint-Denis.³ Henry declared his readiness to accept the suggestion of Gondi.⁴ As Du Perron had also gained the confidence of Segar, the Pope, who

¹ See L'ÉPINOIS, 623.

² Cf. besides the report of Bonciani from Paris, August 13, 1594, in DESJARDINS, V., 289 *seq.*, the important cypher letter of Gondi, August 21, 1594, in MARTIN, Relations, I., 378 *seqq.*

³ For Du Perron cf. the biographies by BOURIGNY (Paris, 1878), FÉRET (Paris, 1876), and BLONDEL (Sens, 1899) as well as RÄSS, Konvertiten, II., 266 *seq.*, 441 *seq.*, III. 384 *seq.* FOUQUERAY, II., 441 *seq.* For the period and birthplace of Du Perron see *Rev. hist.*, V., 195 *seq.* Like other Protestant writers, even STÄHELIN (437), who is strongly opposed to Du Perron, admits that the preachers whom Henry caused to dispute with him, could not vie with this learned man. Cf. also G. GREUTE, *Quae fuerit in card. D. du Perron vis oratoria*, Paris, 1903.

⁴ See the report of Gondi, August 21, 1594, in MARTIN, *loc. cit.*

at the end of July had angrily rejected the arguments of Cardinals Deza and Pinelli against the reconciliation,¹ agreed to the choice of this man as mediator,² all the more so as Gondi, in his report of August 21st, 1594, sent by special messenger, had openly and frankly stated that the negotiations must now be brought to an end without delay, as this was the last attempt of Henry to come to an agreement ; any delay would cause irreparable harm.³

The Cardinal was convinced of the good will of his king, and was able to adduce many things in his favour : Henry had the firm intention of removing the Prince de Condé from his Huguenot surroundings and of placing him under the care of the Catholic Vivonne : in Bearn he had already done away with many anti-Catholic ordinances, and when he went there he would entirely restore the rights of the ancient Church : he intended to banish his sister Catherine de Bourbon, and to forbid the Calvinist sermons at the Louvre. Gondi further stated that Henry assisted daily at the Holy Mass, and that like his ancestors he took part in all Catholic functions. With regard to the acceptance of the decrees of Trent, Henry had to take into account the opposition of the Parliament and the Gallican clergy, but in time the Pope could count on this as well, as the king did not share the anti-Roman sentiments of his counsellors and the Gallican clergy.⁴

¹ * " Die XX. vel XXII. Iulii an. 1594 cum consessi sunt cardinales Inquisitores in monte Quirinali et Deza et Pinellus loquerentur de Navarraeo et Deza diceret a fructibus eius esse cognoscendum, [S^{mus}] valde commotus se sermonibus immiscens dixit : Non est ita, sed spectandum illud : sinite crescere usque ad messem. Quod ipsum S^{mus} obiecit card. Alexandrino in colloquio habito cum S^{mo} super absolutione Navaricini principio mensis Augusti 1594." Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.*, Papal Secret Archives.

² See Bonciani in DESJARDINS, V., 290.

³ See the cypher report of Gondi, August 21, 1594, in MARTIN, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See besides the letter of Gondi, August 21, 1594, *loc. cit.*, the report of Bonciani in DESJARDINS, V., 291 *seq.*

Gondi, however, soon discovered for himself that these views were too optimistic, for in October Henry suggested to the Cardinal that he should dissolve his marriage with Margaret of Valois. He insisted on this although Gondi told him that only the Pope could do such a thing. Henry's reply was that if the Cardinal would not pronounce the annulment, he could find others who would do so.¹

In the middle of October the mission of Du Perron seemed very uncertain ; it was known that Henry had been dissuaded from such a course in many quarters, e.g. by the English ambassador, whose queen feared a rapprochement between France and Spain ; by the Huguenots, who foretold that many Catholic ecclesiastics would desert the cause of the king, unless this step was abandoned ; and lastly by those Catholics who could not be appeased for the rejection of Nevers by the Pope. He was advised to have the annulment of his marriage pronounced by the French bishops. The Florentine ambassador in Paris remarked at the beginning of November, 1594, that the situation was very similar to that of England in the time of Henry VIII.²

Gondi was in a very difficult position : in the letters he addressed to Rome, he painted the good will of Henry towards the mission of Du Perron in glowing colours, and tried to explain³ the delay in his departure, but the truth was that the Huguenots were doing their utmost to prevent his mission. It was also beyond question that the Parliament was trying to get the conferring of benefices into its own hands ; the number of Catholics who had turned their hatred of the Spaniards against the Pope was always growing and a schism seemed imminent.⁴

¹ See the report of Bonciani, October 2, 1594, in DESJARDINS, V., 293.

² See the reports of the same, October 19 and November 4, 1594, *ibid.*

³ See the *reports of Gondi to Clement VIII., dated Paris, October 20 and November 3, 1594, Nunziat. di Francia 37, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See BONCIANI, *loc. cit.*

If Clement VIII. on the one hand had to reckon with the danger of the separation of the Church of France from Rome, on the other he had no less reason to fear falling into complete dependence upon the Spaniards, who, with their unwonted arrogance, brought pressure to bear in the Curia, incessantly inveighing against Henry, and uttering grave threats in the event of his absolution.¹ The Pope was convinced that the Spaniards, as well as Mayenne and the League, were influenced, not by motives of religion, but by purely material considerations.² He had long hesitated, but from the beginning of October he made no secret of the fact that, should Du Perron bring the necessary guarantees, he would suffer no one to prevent him from acting in the French question in accordance with his duty, and from being reconciled to Henry.³ Even the Cardinal legate, Sega,⁴ whom he had recalled to Rome on November 13th, 1594, now advised him to do this.

¹ Cf. PARUTA, *Relazione*, 382, 385, 429.

² * "No cree el Papa que por interes de religion España se aia movido a emprender la guerra, sino que todo es temporalidad, y lo mesmo afirmó de Umena y de los otros que havian seguido la Liga," wrote Fr. Peña in his notes at the end of a written report of a long conversation which he had with Clement VIII. at the Quirinal on July 31, 1594, concerning the absolution of Henry IV., Papal Secret Archives.

³ See *Avvisi of October 8 and 12, 1594. According to the latter, the Pope said: "Basta, noi staremo aspettando la venuta di Monsu di Perona, et se Navarra sarà quel buon christiano che dice essere, faremo quello comple al debito nostro, senza guardare in viso a nissuno havendo noi studiato et consultato diligentemente in questo negotio" (Urb. 1062, Vatican Library). Chieppio describes in his *report of December 22, 1594, printed in App. No. 21 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), how the Spaniards only changed their tactics, without abandoning their purpose.

⁴ *Discorso del card. di Piacenza sopra le rebenedittione de Re di Navarra, in Cod. S. 2, 12, p. 53 *seq.*, Angelica Library, Rome, and in Nunziat. di Francia 36 p. 420 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. Among other things, Sega here says: "Il mio parere è dunque, Beat. padre, che nel presente stato delle cose sia per essere espediente et convenga l'assolvere il Re di Navarra

Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, who had been sent to Madrid at the beginning of December, 1594, in connexion with the war against the Turks, was instructed¹ to prepare the King of Spain for the step, the necessity for which was becoming more and more inevitable. The nephew, in putting forward the proposal, said that the Pope intended to make use of the negotiations concerning the absolution to bring about peace between Spain and France. But this very thing was taken by the opponents of the reconciliation of Henry with Rome at the French court, as a pretext for once more dissuading the king from sending Du Perron, whose arrival was looked for in Rome as a certainty as early as the end of October.² The matter was put forward in such a light as to make it appear that Clement intended to sell the absolution, by forcing the king to make concession favourable to Philip II. The Gallican members of the Parliament and the old Huguenots like Du Plessis Mornay, urged the giving up of all negotiations with the Pope more eagerly than ever.³

But Henry, cautious as ever, was careful not to let himself be led into any such course of action, being clearly convinced that a religious schism would prevent the tranquillity of France for a long time to come, even if it did not render it

et il reconciliarlo alla s. chiesa cattolica et Romana, ma con decoro, gravità et maturità tale che quantunque si rilassi in qualche cosa il rigore della disciplina ecclesiastica non si possa nondimeno far argomento giamai da chi si sia che la S. Sede ci sia stata tirata più tosto da qualche timore che da carità paterna ne Navarra entrare in pensiero di poter con questa scusa accostarsi al tentativo di divortio. . . . Si deve dunque a mio giudizio procurare la maggior sicurezza che si può alla depressione et estintione dell'heresia et alla conservatione et propagatione della religione cattolica et della giurisdittione ecclesiastica in Francia."

¹ For this mission see HINOJOSA, 386 *seq.* Cf. further *infra*, p. 279.

² See in App. No. 21 the *letter of Chieppio, December 22, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See *Études*, CI., 83.

impossible. To him, who wished to be in every way the successor of the Most Christian Kings, it seemed far more advantageous to restore the old relations with Rome, to take away from the members of the League their last excuse for opposing him, and to contest the influence of the Spaniards at the Curia.¹ In any case, however, he did not intend again to expose himself to the risk of failure, such as had attended the mission of Nevers. Therefore Du Perron should only go when the ground had been already prepared in Rome; this difficult task was entrusted by Henry to Arnaud d'Ossat,² an ecclesiastic learned in the law, who had already done good service as a mediator in the missions of Clielle and Nevers.

Arnaud d'Ossat, who was both a good Catholic and a patriotic Frenchman, had already gone to Rome in 1580, in the time of Gregory XIII., as secretary to the French ambassador, Paul de Foix; he had then become a councillor of the Cardinal Protectors of France, Este and Joyeuse, and lastly the agent of the queen-dowager, Louise. He was intimately acquainted with Roman circles and was on good terms with many influential persons in the Curia. He was moreover possessed of extraordinary diplomatic talents: keen intuition, psychological insight, clear judgment,³ and great executive ability. He was a past master at "seizing upon the right moment, drawing advantage from unfavourable

¹ See RANKE, *Französ. Geschichte*, II., 17 *seq.*

² Besides the short biography by Amelot de la Houssaye, anterior to his edition of the *Lettres du card. d'Ossat*, issued in 1668, on which is based the interesting work of MME. D'ARCONVILLE (2 vols., Paris, 1772), and what is said by TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE in his *Lettres inéd. du card. d'Ossat*, Paris, 1872, 6 *seqq.*, see the monograph by A. DEGERT, Paris, 1894. For the tomb of Ossat see D'ARMAILHACQ, *St. Louis des Français à Rome*, Rome, 1894, 215 *seq.*

³ It is remarkable how he at once correctly estimated the French policy of Gregory XIV.; he wrote on January 22, 1591, of the support given by the Pope to the League: "C'est une aide que n'aidera pas tant l'un parti comme elle offensera l'autre." TAMIZEY DE LARROQUE, *Lettres, inéd.*, 32.

complications, and finding a way out of the most difficult situations."¹ Only a man such as this could successfully remove the obstacles which threatened the success of the mission of Du Perron.

Although the Spaniards brought all their powers to play, and now sought to convince the Pope that a schism was to be feared in France especially in the event of the absolution of Henry,² Ossat set himself to his task courageously, because he was convinced that Henry was in a far more advantageous position than the Pope. He was fully prepared for the negotiations to proceed slowly, in accordance with the custom of the Curia : you must bear this patiently, he wrote to Paris, but at the same time insist upon a frank procedure as the primary condition of success.³

Ossat met with a reception from Clement VIII., who had just then again ordered special prayers and processions for the well-being of France,⁴ which could not have been better. His first private audience on December 15th, 1594, was very successful, and Ossat delivered a letter from Henry dated November 8th. In this it was stated that no worldly considerations but the grace of God alone had determined his

¹ See WILCKENS in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 544. Ossat well described himself, when he once wrote : "Ce que la fortune sembloit me presenter de la main gauche, je le prit de la droite." *Lettres*, I., 86.

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 54.

³ See *ibid.* 72-76. As early as July 3, 1593, Ossat had written to Pisani that it was *"*sicurissimo che detta assoluzione senza contrario non si otterrà in meno d'un anno per la lunghezza della corte et che le conditioni da darsi per forma di penitenza ne vorranno anco spatio di più d'un altro.*" *Borghese*, III., 72b, p. 154, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ Cf. **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, December 7 and 9, 1594, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library ; *Carte Stroz.*, I., 2, 227 *seq.* ; **Avviso* of December 10, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library ; *PARUTA*, *Dispacci*, II., 509. In a **brief* of January 11, 1595, to the Bishop of Nevers the Pope says that he hopes in the intercession of the holy patrons of France. *Arm.* 44, t. 40, p. 7, Papal Secret Archives.

return to the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion, that in this he intended to live and die, and to regulate all his actions by it, and thus win the favour of His Holiness. And since, according to the information given him by Gondi, there were still certain hopes unfulfilled, he had resolved to take the necessary steps, without looking to the past or the future ; he therefore begged His Holiness to forgive him if, by force of circumstances he had not yet carried out this good work as he would like to have done. The Pope must not attribute this to any change of sentiments, nor to lack of goodwill, respect or submission, for he would fulfil his duty, as Ossat would explain in greater detail.¹ The skill of this intermediary was easily able to dispel the unfounded doubts, as well as to remove a number of outstanding difficulties. He persuaded Clement VIII. and Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini of the inopportuneness of treating of the peace between Spain and France at the moment, and of the impossibility of fighting openly against the Huguenots, and of detaching Henry from his Protestant allies in any political sense, so long as Spain was fighting him.²

As guarantee for the sincerity of the conversion of Henry, and at the same time as satisfaction for his behaviour in the past, the Pope's principal demands were : the education of the heir presumptive to the throne, the Prince de Condé, in the Catholic religion ; the restoration of the ancient Church in Bearn, and the publication of the decrees of Trent in France. Ossat declared that in principle Henry was quite ready to agree to these, but in the case of the second and third asked for the necessary time ; this was granted without any difficulty. Du Perron was to draw up the practical solution.³ But, as Ossat foresaw, the negotiations on another point were likely to prove very troublesome. As the bull of Sixtus V. in 1585, had, in accordance with the existing law, deprived Henry of all his dignities, and especially of his right of succes-

¹ *Lettres missives*, IV., 243.

² *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 65 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*, 91 *seq.*, 94 *seq.*

³ See *ibid.* 91 *seq.*

sion to the throne,¹ it seemed to Clement VIII., as a rigorous jurist, that it was necessary, not only to grant him absolution from heresy and centures, but also a dispensation from the defect of inability to succeed. Such an act, however, was looked upon by Henry as incompatible with the dignity and independence of the French crown, whereas he was in effective possession of a great part of France, and looked upon himself as the legitimate and national sovereign of his kingdom. Since in this matter he could rely upon the support of the Parliament and the Gallican clergy, he definitely rejected the need for rehabilitation. Ossat told Cardinal Aldobrandini that his sovereign was ready to accept any satisfaction as a sincere penitent, but that to seek for rehabilitation as king at the hands of the Pope was opposed to his rights, to the decrees of parliaments and states general, and to the convictions of all Frenchmen, including the clergy.²

Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, on the other hand, pointed out with great frankness that a rehabilitation could not be avoided, as the Holy See had expressly by its judgment deprived Henry of the right to succession, and that in the absence of such an act Henry would indirectly be denying the authority of the Pope, which he had promised to recognize. The Cardinal thought, however, and in this he was confirmed by the Pope, that a way of solving this difficulty to the satisfaction of both parties could easily be found.³

When the negotiations had happily reached this point news reached Rome at the end of January, 1595, of the attempt of Jean Chastel upon the life of Henry IV., and of the consequent banishment of the Jesuits from France; this threatened once more to endanger the whole affair.⁴ Chastel

¹ Cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 283.

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 77, 92 *seq.*, 95.

³ See *ibid.* 95 *seq.*, 105.

⁴ Cf. for what follows the detailed description in conformity with the acta in FOUQUERAY, II., 379 *seq.*, who also gives (p. 722 *seq.*) the interrogatory of Chastel, from the National Archives, Paris. For a criticism of the modern narratives, which are contrary to history, especially that of HUBER (*Jesuitenorden*,

had been educated by the Jesuits, and the Gallicans, who hated the Jesuits on account of their loyalty to the Holy See, and especially of their Spanish origin, resolved to make use of this circumstance. Not a shadow of proof of the complicity of the Order in the attempt could be found, and it was a sheer act of injustice¹ when the Parliament proscribed the Jesuits—who had not even been interrogated—as “corruptors of youth, disturbers of the peace, and enemies of the king and the state” and banished them within three days from Paris and within fourteen from France, and forbade everyone under pain of high treason to attend their schools abroad. In this decree it was declared that anyone who maintained that the king did not belong to the Church without the Papal absolution was a heretic.² In order to cause the Jesuits to appear in the eyes of the people as accomplices in the attempt of Chastel, the Parliament did not even shrink from the unjust condemnation to death of an innocent person. During the stormy days of the League, the question of tyrannicide and of the rights of Henry had been discussed in the most heated way, and many of the publications that appeared at that time had been in the highest degree compromising, both for the Sorbonne and for the Parliament. Almost everyone was in possession of works and articles of this kind. After Henry’s conversion the Rector of the Jesuit College in Paris had ordered such works to be placed among the prohibited books, and later on there appeared an edict by Henry, ordering their destruction. A father named Jean Guignard had nevertheless kept such documents in his room. There they were found, and a charge of high treason was based upon the fact. It was to no purpose that Guignard claimed that these works belonged to an earlier period, and

159 *seq.*), see DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 404 *seq.* Cf. also BROU, *Les Jésuites*, I., 141 *seq.*

¹ “Une scandaleuse iniquité, un grand acte de lâcheté politique,” says Sismondi, who is far from being a friend of the Jesuits, in *Hist. des Français*, XXI., 323.

² See *Lettres d’Ossat*, I., 112 n. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 302.

appealed to the amnesty proclaimed by Henry ; on January 7th, 1595, he was executed in the Place de Grève.

On the following day all the Jesuits in Paris had to leave the city, and their property was confiscated. The same thing took place in five other colleges in the district of the Parliament of Paris. The Gallicans and the University, which was jealous of the successes of the Jesuits, were exultant. Henry, by the advice of the Huguenots, and looking upon the Jesuits as the "slaves of Spain," although he did not believe in the complicity of the Order, suffered this injustice to be done, though he took no action against those parliaments, such as those of Toulouse and Bordeaux, which refused to follow the example of the Parliament of Paris.¹

The news of the unjust and disgraceful exile to which the Parliament of Paris had subjected the Jesuits naturally aroused sorrow and indignation in the Curia. In the meantime a detailed cypher report of what had happened was received from Cardinal Gondi, who attested the innocence of the Jesuits.² The Spaniards, upon whom Henry had openly declared war on January 17th, 1595, formed renewed hopes of being able to prevent the reconciliation of Henry with the Pope, but however much Clement VIII. was affected by this incident, he refused to allow himself to be drawn into any precipitate step. Quite dispassionately he expressed to Ossat his righteous grief at the unjust proceedings against an Order that had rendered the greatest services to the Church, and which had also promoted the reconciliation of Henry with the Holy See. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini expressed himself even more frankly, though he was careful to avoid speaking too strongly. In like manner the Pope continued

¹ See FOUQUERAY, II., 396 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, 423 *seq.* For the unjust judgment of Henry on the Jesuits see the report of Bonciani in DESJARDINS, V. 296. Cf. *ibid.*, 302 for further proof of the innocence of the Jesuits, and p. 304, the affair of Guignard. See also BROU, *loc. cit.*, 151 *seq.*

² *Dated January 10, 1595, in Nunziat. de Francia, 37 p. 243-245, Papal Secret Archives. A passage of this in the edition of the Dispacci (I., xxxviii.) of Paruta,

to show his love for France, and his good will towards an agreement with Henry.¹ He was confirmed in this attitude when the exiled rector of the Jesuit college in Paris appeared in Rome at the beginning of March, 1595. The Spaniards then spread the most alarming rumours concerning the intentions of Henry, who was supposed to have also driven out the Capuchins, Minims and Carthusians, to have convoked a national council, and elected a Patriarch for France.² They hoped that a description by an eye-witness of the wrongs that had been inflicted on the Jesuits, would finally dissuade the Pope from his pacific policy. They had not however counted on the fact that with the Society of Jesus the general interests of the Church counted for far more than the interests of the Order itself. Together with the rector of Paris, the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, presented himself before the Pope, and truthfully described the destruction of the college, but did not draw therefrom the conclusions wished for by the Spaniards; on the contrary, he begged the Pope, in accordance with the teaching of the Apostle, to return good for evil, and not refuse to be reconciled with Henry, pointing out to him the danger of a French schism.³ A conciliatory policy, in view of the important issues at stake, was also recommended by Baronius, and others of similar views.⁴ Clement VIII. himself considered moderation the best course, and went so far as to inform the Capuchins, Minims and Carthusians, through their Cardinal Protectors, that they might recite the customary prayers for the sovereign.⁵ Even the report of Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, who returned from Spain on May 16th, that Philip II. was more opposed than

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 109 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*, 118 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 121; DESJARDINS, V., 207 *seq.*

³ See the report of P. de Mena in PRAT, V., 66 *seq.* For the work of the Jesuits in the matter of the reconciliation of Henry see *ibid.* I., 233 *seq.*

⁴ See *Anonymi de causa Borboniana . . . tractatus in Cod. K. 45 of the Vallicella Library, Rome. Cf. LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 81 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, Melet., 21.

⁵ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 127.

ever to the reconciliation of Henry with the Church,¹ in no way altered the Pope's opinion. The inconsiderate disturbances made by the Spaniards in Rome made even less impression on him; they secretly declared that the Pope had not the right to give absolution to Henry, that he could not do so of himself and that if he did, instead of gaining the obedience of France, he would lose that of Spain. The Spaniards shamelessly sought to bribe the members of the College of Cardinals, and to deceive the Pope as to the true state of affairs, spreading the report that Henry's cause in France was irreparably lost, and that the League was still very powerful.² But Clement did not allow himself to be deceived: all the effrontery and threats of the Spaniards had no other effect than to increase his desire to put an end to their tyrannical influence in Rome.³

There was thus no longer any threat to the reconciliation from that quarter, yet danger arose in another. The starting of Du Perron had been repeatedly announced by Ossat, and yet the news remained unconfirmed. Ossat had to employ all his skill to explain and excuse a delay that was becoming more and more inexplicable.⁴ At the Curia they became nervous, and the suspicion arose that Henry was going to allow the mission of Du Perron to lapse, and that in the end, in France as had been the case in England, things would end in a schism.⁵ Ossat found himself in a very painful position, and only breathed again when the long delayed departure and speedy arrival of Du Perron was at last announced.⁶

Du Perron reached the Ponte Molle in the evening of

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 140. Cf. the *report of L. Arrigoni, dated Rome, May 20, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 139 *seq.*

³ See *ibid.* 140.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.* 129, 131, 136 *seq.*, 138.

⁵ *Ibid.* 147, 150, 151. See also DESJARDINS, V., 197 (cf. 307, 316); PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 148.

⁶ According to Henri VI., *Lettres inéd.* au chancelier Bellièvre, ed. HALPHEN, Paris, 1883, 160, the departure of Du Perron was also delayed by want of money.

July 12th, 1595. So far he had avoided all possible risks with the greatest care,¹ but now by the advice of Ossat, he took the deserted road across the fields to the Porta Angelica, and went directly to his hired lodgings in the Palazzo Patrizi. While the curious crowds were still awaiting at the Porta del Popolo the arrival of this long expected envoy, he was hastening to the neighbouring Vatican to have audience of Clement VIII. The Pope was as deeply moved as Du Perron himself. The latter adopted a very modest attitude, and Clement was so delighted that he said he had found a man after his own heart. The audience was hardly ended when the Pope, despite the late hour, gave orders that the Roman clergy should go in procession on the next three days to St. Peter's, the Lateran and St. Mary Major's, and that in these three basilicas, as well as in the national church of S. Luigi, the Forty Hours should be held, in order that the Holy Spirit might enlighten the Pope to decide justly in the matter of the absolution of Henry IV. After this Clement VIII. retired to his chapel to pray.²

The Spanish ambassador, Sessa, and his adherents could not conceal their dismay and consternation at the arrival of Du Perron, but they would not yet accept defeat. Sessa redoubled his efforts with the Cardinals, in order to prove to them how dangerous the absolution of Henry would be for Christendom. On July 14th he spent three hours with Cardinal Toledo, and on the following day attacked the Pope himself.³

The first official audience of Du Perron and Ossat was fixed for July 16th. They both came with letters from Henry, accrediting them as his special envoys to present to the Pope

¹ Cf. DEGERT, 134 *seq.*

² See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 216; PARUTA, *Dispeci*, III., 216 *seq.*, 222; L'ÉPINOIS, 628; **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, July 13, 1595, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library; Mucantius in DE SANTI, *L'orazione delle quarant'ore*, Rome, 1919, 202 *seq.*; **Avviso* of July 15, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

³ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 222, 223 *seq.*, 229 *seq.*; *report of Lelio Arrigoni, July 29, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

his due declarations and excuses, to ask for absolution for their sovereign, and to sign the promises demanded by the Canon Law. The audience passed off to the satisfaction of both parties. Ossat had carefully prepared the ground, and Du Perron was given permission to visit all the Cardinals with the exception of Bonelli, who was known to be an inveterate partisan of the Spaniards.¹

On July 29th the Pope ordered a continuation of the processions and prayers,² and on the same day Du Perron and Ossat had a second audience. They reported as to their conversations with the Cardinals and submitted an official request for the absolution of Henry. Although the latter was now in a far more powerful position than he had been at the time of the mission of Nevers, yet the tone of this document was far more humble and submissive.³ It began with an account of the steps taken for the reconciliation of the French king with the Church. It told of the mission of the *Sieur de Piney* in the time of Sixtus V., and of the refusal of Clement VIII. to receive Cardinal Gondi and Vivonne. As Henry was continually exposed to the danger of death, it went on to say, he had turned for absolution to the French bishops, and these had absolved him from censures and from excommunication, after which he had abjured his errors and made a profession of the Catholic faith. As the Duke of Nevers had not been able to obtain the Pope's approval of this act, which had been dictated by necessity, His Majesty, trusting in the paternal kindness of the Pope, now had recourse

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 158 *seq.*; *Lettres missives*, IV., 359 *seq.*; *L'ÉPINOIS*, 627. The Instructions for Du Perron and Ossat, dated May 9, in *Lettres et negotiations de Du Perron*, I. 135 *seq.* Cf. *POLLENZ*, 726 *seq.* A clear *Description of the negotiations of Du Perron, sent by Lorenzo Soranzo to Marcantonio, Bishop of Ceneda, is to be found in the Vallicella Library, Rome; see LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 82.

² See *Avviso of July 29, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library, Cf. the *report of Arrigoni, July 29, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Opinion of RANKE (*Päpste*, I.⁸, 167).

to His Holiness, and for the love of Jesus Christ, for the complete tranquillity of his soul, for the satisfaction of his subjects, and for the restoration of the peace of his kingdom, humbly asked for his holy blessing and for his supreme absolution from the censures which he had incurred. The king submitted his own person to the requirements of the Pope and of holy Mother Church, as is prescribed in such cases. He begged that allowance might be made for the errors and dangers which had occurred in the ecclesiastical situation in France, where many dioceses, abbeys and parishes had remained vacant, and Church property sequestrated, and where heresy, atheism, barbarism and paganism had run riot, and where a terrible schism, threatening the loss of millions of souls, had gained a footing.¹

The Pope asked for a copy of the petition, to which he promised to give a reply to the bearers after he had carefully examined it.²

The first question which Clement VIII. had to put to himself was whether, and to what extent, he was bound to consult the College of Cardinals as to his decision about the absolution of Henry. Entirely to ignore the advice of the Cardinals in a question of such overwhelming importance did not seem to be prudent. But a full discussion in consistory seemed an even greater risk, since Sessa and his agents would leave no means untried to deceive and intimidate them. They had even allowed themselves to utter threats against Cardinals Cinzio and Pietro Aldobrandini, who were in charge of the Secretariate of State. According to the opinion of many, the situation was so involved, on account of the intrigues of the Spaniards, that if Henry's petition were brought before the consistory for discussion,³ it would meet with a refusal.

Therefore Cardinal Medici, after consultation with Du

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 160 *seq.*

² See *ibid.*

³ Cf. Niccolini in *DESJARDINS*, V., 211, 219 *seq.*, 223 *seq.*, 231 *seq.*, 233 *seq.*, 235 *seq.*, 240 *seq.*; *DU PERRON*, *Ambassades*, I., 149.

Perron, Ossat, and the Tuscan ambassador, Niccolini, advised the Pope not to bring the petition before the consistory, but to discuss it with each Cardinal separately, at special private audiences, forbidding any communication on the subject between them under pain of the major excommunication. This method allowed of open discussion between the Pope and the Cardinals, while it placed a barrier in the way of further Spanish intrigues.¹ For this reason Clement VIII. adopted this advice, and at a secret consistory on July 17th he only referred briefly to the arrival of Du Perron, "the envoy of Henry of Bourbon," whose mission he did not as yet fully know; he then announced the meeting of a General Congregation on August 2nd.² On July 29th Sessa sent to the Pope a full memorial against the absolution of Henry.³ To the great surprise of all, Clement VIII. did not say a single word about the French question at the consistory on July 31st,⁴ but on the same day he summoned the Spanish Auditor of the Rota, Francisco Peña, to his presence. At this long audience the celebrated canonist once again devoted all his learning to turning the Pope against Henry of Navarre,

¹ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 214 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*

² The *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican (now Papal Secret Archives) record on July 17, 1595: "Deinde N. D. N. dixit advenisse ad urbem Peronium Henrici Borbonii legatum; quatenam autem mandata afferat, adhuc S^{ti} S. non esse satis exploratum; cum ea sibi exposita fuerint, cardinales statim se facturum certiores." According to the version of the *Acta consist. in Cod. Barb. xxxvi., 5, III., the Pope said: "Vos scitis negotium Gallicanum; nos adhuc non dedimus audientiam isti qui venit (dabimus autem quam primum); vix cum advenit in Urbem, fuit ad asculandos pedes nostros, et nihil de his rebus locutus est; cum redierit ad nos, audiemus et videbimus quid afferat, et deinde faciemus congregationem generalem." Vatican Library. Cf. also Niccolini in DESJARDINS V., 223.

³ Memorial of the Duke of Sessa, July 29, 1595, in Borghese, III., 72b, p. 665 *seq.* Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 243.

but Clement VIII. remained of the contrary opinion, on the ground of the great danger of a schism.¹

At the General Congregation, which was held on August 2nd at the Quirinal, all the Cardinals were present except d'Aragona and Paravicini, who were prevented by illness. Amid the greatest tension of all present, Clement VIII. began to speak, telling in detail the course of the negotiations which had so far taken place with "this prince"—so he described Henry IV.—and spoke so frankly that at certain points Sega and Joyeuse were seen to redden. The Pope remarked that after having for so long supported the League, he had nevertheless been forced to watch the steady rise to power of Henry. He was now master of Paris and of almost all the great cities, and in the event of a rejection of his request for reconciliation was threatening a schism. The Pope then caused to be read by his secretary Canobio the text of the king's letter of November 8th, 1594,² translated into Italian, then the credential letters of Du Perron and Ossat, and lastly the petition presented by these two. When the secretary had retired, the Pope adjured the Cardinals, in emphatic words, to weigh well a matter of such great importance as had not occurred for centuries, and not to be guided in their decision by human considerations, by their sympathies for Spain or France, but only as their consciences should direct them for the cause of God and the good of souls. Each of them should ask himself what he would do if he were in the place of the Pope. In order to give them time for reflection, and in order that they might speak freely, he would not ask for their replies at a general meeting, but from each of them separately at a special audience.

In his discourse the Pope had not only repeatedly hinted

¹ Fr. Peña has fully described all this audience in the 2nd volume of his **Notes in the Papal Secret Archives*, A. A. Arm. I.-XVIII., n. 4021. Cf. also the letter of the envoy of Urbino, A. Geronimo, Rome, July 29, 1595, in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, X. (1870), 740.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 113 seq.

at the danger of a schism, in the event of a refusal of the absolution, but he had openly expressed his own opinion by declaring that this was a question *de iure positive*, in which they had to take into consideration that absolution from censures is different from absolution from sins, and that the man now seeking it was not a private individual, but one who was in possession of almost the whole of the kingdom of France, comprising many millions of souls, and that for such a case no law could be brought forward as affording ground for the refusal of the absolution. Repeating his admonition to lay aside all human motives, and to think only of God and His cause, the Pope brought his discourse to an end.¹ He had spoken in so masterly a way that even the Cardinals who were not well disposed towards him could not withhold their praise, and only those members of the Sacred College who were passionately devoted to Spain showed their displeasure.²

On the days between August 7th and 23rd the Pope received all the members of the Sacred College in their exact order of seniority ; for the most part each audience lasted for an hour and a half or two hours.³ Throughout the whole of this important period the Pope called for redoubled prayers, and himself fasted and prayed incessantly. Twice, on the feast of Our Lady of the Snow (August 5th), and the Assumption of Our Lady (August 15th), he went early in the morning, barefoot and with a small retinue, from the Quirinal to St.

¹ For the General Congregation of August 2, 1595, *cf.* the *Acta consist (see App. No. 23) and the *Relatione di quello disse il Papa nella congreg. generale alli 2 de agosto 1595 in the 2nd vol. of the Notes of Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives ; also the detailed report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 243 *seq.* ; PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 243 ; Lettres d'Ossat, I., 161 *seq.* ; DU PERRON, Ambassades, I., 858 *seq.* ; *Avviso of August 5, 1595. Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

² See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 249.

³ See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 163 ; Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 254 *seq.*, 256 *seq.* ; *report of Arrigoni, August 19, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Mary Major's, where he celebrated Mass, and after remaining for a long time in prayer, returned with bent head and tears in his eyes to his palace, without noticing the crowd which was waiting for his blessing. On the three Sundays, August 13th, 20th and 27th, he said Mass at S. Maria degli Angeli, and then went up the Scala Santa barefooted, and with a devotion that edified all Rome.¹

In the meantime the fanatical supporters of the Spanish policy were unceasingly declaring that the rigorous decrees of the law must be observed, and that it did not matter whether France perished or not.² The Pope thought otherwise, and he laid the agitation of his own soul before the Auditor of the Rota, Francisco Peña, who was on close terms with Sessa, and was working indefatigably on behalf of the view held by the Spaniards. When this violent upholder of the false idea that a relapsed heretic could not be absolved, adjured the Pope on his knees in the name of Sessa to refuse Henry absolution, the Pope dismissed him with the words: "The schism is already here, so we must act without delay."³

When he had seen all the Cardinals, there began the decisive conferences between the Secretary of State, Pietro Aldobrandini, and Cardinal Toledo, with Du Perron and Ossat. No one else was summoned to these conferences, which lasted for eight days, which aroused the jealousy of Monsignori Serafino and Lomellini,⁴ who had taken part in the earlier negotiations concerning the affairs of France. Both the Pope

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 165; Agostino Valiero in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 45; Mucantius in DE SANTI, *loc. cit.*, 204, and especially the **Avvisi* of August 12, 16, 19, 23 and 30, 1595 ("con tanta devotione et compositione che non si potria esprimere"). Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

² See Agostino Valiero, *loc. cit.*

³ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 250. Cf. also the **Notes* of Peña, August 17, 1595, in the 2nd vol. of his collection. Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, v. 227.

and Ossat insisted on the strictest secrecy, seeing in this one of the principal conditions of success.¹

The representatives of Clement VIII. were excellently prepared for the negotiations, as the Pope, with great foresight, had ordered Domenico Rainaldi to collect² all the documents in the libraries and the Vatican archives, concerning France and her relations with the Holy See, the prescriptions of ecclesiastical law as to the relations between an ecclesiastical and a civil power, and previous cases of the absolution of an heretical prince.

With regard to certain points, especially the question of the rehabilitation of Henry, it was not found possible even now to reach an agreement, as Du Perron and Ossat had been ordered to offer the strongest resistance on this point. But they were successful in coming to an agreement on the more important questions. The chief credit, according to the declaration of the French negotiators themselves, was due to Cardinal Toledo.³ The prudent representative of Venice, too, Paolo Paruta, brought his influence to bear on both parties in the cause of peace, and advised them to restrict themselves to the principal questions, in order thus to arrive more quickly at a solution.⁴ Both Ossat and Du Perron were able to show, with all the eloquence at their command, that a great kingdom must not be lost for the sake of a few words, nor the salvation of innumerable souls and the authority of the Holy See,⁵ be seriously imperilled by delaying the decision.

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 183 *seq.*

² D. Rainaldi presented to the Pope the result of his researches with a dedication; see Dominici Rainaldi **Adnotata varia de regno Galliae et consultationes de absolutione Henrici IV.* Regin. 382, Vatican Library. Cf. LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 58 *seq.*

³ Du Perron (*Ambassades*, I., 13) wrote that Toledo had shown himself a good Frenchman, just as Pellevé had once shown himself a good Spaniard.

⁴ Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 224 *seq.*, 273.

⁵ The Pope, so said Ossat, wishes to consider "per salvar parole di non perder un così gran regno ne con diffierir l'assolutione

In this they found themselves in complete agreement with Clement VIII. When they appeared before him at an audience on August 28th the Pope assured them that if necessary he was ready to go himself to France for the absolution of Henry.¹ Even if, on certain points, Clement VIII. would have liked to have obtained more, he could nevertheless be contented with what had been obtained, since, as Paruta reported to Venice, his wishes had been satisfied on all the principal points.²

On August 30th the Pope announced in consistory, in view of the fact that more than two-thirds of the Cardinals had expressed themselves favourably, his irrevocable determination to grant the absolution, since Henry's representatives had consented to all the essential conditions. Besides these concessions, which were communicated to the Cardinals, he hoped, he said, to obtain yet more, but those mentioned were sufficient. To the question of Cardinals Gesualdo and Colonna whether these concessions would be carried into effect before the absolution, Clement replied that this was not possible in every case.³

Like the Pope, the French envoys too had been unable to obtain all that they had aimed at in the beginning, especially in the matter of the simple confirmation by the Pope of the absolution pronounced by the French bishops. On this point Clement VIII. remained inflexible, and with reason.

lasciarsi più lungamente le cose della religione in confusione ne tante milioni d'anime in via di dannatione ne la propria sua autorità et della Sede Apost. in rovina et perditione.

*Memorial di Mons. du Perron et Ossat al sig. card. Toledo " in Borghese, III., 72b, p. 398 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 163 *seq.*, 168 *seq.* A dissertation

*Persuasione al [papa] Clemente VIII. di andare in Francia, in Cod. 35 F. 29, p. 169 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome.

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 274.

³ See in App. No. 24 *Acta consist., Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5 III., Vatican Library; Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 260; PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 274 *seq.*; *report of Arrigoni, September 2, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

If the absolution of the bishops was valid, then the Pope's confirmation was useless, but at the same time Clement VIII. had the practical common sense to realize that the French bishops took their stand in their illicit act on theological grounds which had a certain appearance of right, especially in the eyes of Henry, who was not experienced in such matters. For this reason it must be stated in the bull of absolution that : though the bishops' absolution had been granted *festinanti* *et minus rite ac recte*, the Pope had nevertheless rejoiced in it, in that it might result in the desired conversion.

In like manner the way in which the actual formula of absolution was drawn up showed a rigorous adherence to fundamental principles, together with all possible consideration for the penitent. In this the bishops' absolution was declared null, invalid and illicit, and was expressly annulled, but at the same time it was declared that the acts in themselves Catholic and religious, which had been performed after that absolution, and which could only be performed by one who had been absolved, were approved and looked upon as valid, as though Henry had been absolved by the Pope himself.¹

If in the matter of the absolution Clement VIII. adhered strictly to ecclesiastical law, in the matter of the rehabilitation of the king on the other hand he displayed a prudent leniency. He refrained from any express mention of this point, as well as from the declaration that Henry, in the event of his relapsing, would forfeit the crown. In face of the invincible opposition of the French representatives he also had to pass over² other clauses asked for at first, such as the recognition of the nominations made by Mayenne, the unconditional acceptance of the Tridentine decrees, and the suspension of the exile pronounced against the Jesuits. The Holy See,

¹ See Bull., X., 305, 307 *seq.*

² Cf. Y DE LA BRIÈRE in *Etudes*, CI., 182. According to Ivencius (Hist. Soc. Jesu P. V. I, 12, n. 39) the General of the Jesuits himself, Aquaviva, did not wish the restoration of peace in France to be delayed on account of the demand for the re-establishment of his Order.

as had so often been the case in the past, contented itself with what was attainable. But this was so much that, as Paruta wrote to Venice, every impartial observer was of the opinion that if only the king carried out what he had promised, for a long time past no Pope had won a more important or more glorious success.¹

There can be no question that it was not easy for Clement VIII. to give way on certain points, but in the end his sacerdotal spirit won the victory over all his hesitation, for he had nothing more at heart than the salvation of souls.² The preservation of the Catholic religion in France was only possible by a reconciliation with Henry, whose representatives were ready to give the necessary guarantees for this and for the Catholic behaviour of their sovereign. It only remained then to decide the single question whether the conversion of Henry was absolutely sincere. Clement VIII. was still in doubt as to this, but his confessor, the great Baronius, dispelled his doubts, and in a special memorial pointed out to the Pope that it is only possible to judge of the conversion of a sinner by external signs, and that in the case of Henry these had been sufficiently given by his remaining steadfast in his request for absolution, and insistently repeating it, in spite of the curt refusal he had received at first. To read the secrets of hearts, so Baronius ended his memorial, is not given to human judgment, but belongs only to the wisdom of God.³

Besides Baronius, two other men whom he looked upon as the most worthy whom the Church possessed, had had a decisive influence on Clement's decision: Philip Neri, the founder of the Oratorians, whom Clement VIII. had long

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 295.

² Cf. the opinion of G. RONDONI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, 5th ser., V., 153.

³ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 235. Cf. also DESJARDINS, V., 242; BARNABEI, *Vita Baronii*, 61 *seq.*, Capecelatro, St. Philip Neri, [Engl. ed, 1926], p. 548; LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 142 *seq.*; CALENZIO, 355 *seq.* for particulars of the dissertations of Baronius on this subject, preserved in the Vallicella Library, Rome.

held in the highest esteem, and Cardinal Toledo. A short time before his death, which took place on May 26th, 1595, Philip Neri had worked hard for the reconciliation;¹ while Ossat thought so highly of the part played by Toledo, who was so learned in ecclesiastical law, that he said that after God and the Pope, Henry owed his absolution to the persevering labours of the Jesuit. He saw the hand of God in the fact that one who was a Spaniard by birth should have been the one to overcome the indescribable difficulties which came principally from the Spanish party.²

The additions which still had to be made to the articles already decided upon referred principally to the guarantees for the personal Catholic behaviour of Henry.³ As to this it was agreed as follows: I. Henry's plenipotentiaries were to make the customary oath of obedience to the prescriptions of the Holy See and the Church. II. They were to abjure, in the presence of the Pope, Calvinism and all other heresies, and make a profession of the Catholic faith. III. The king was to restore Catholic worship in the principality of Bearn, and

¹ Cf. Capecelatro, St. Philip Neri [Engl. ed., 1926], p. 540 *seqq.*

² See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 165. Fr. Peña was of like opinion with Ossat in his *Notes, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives. Of the treatise composed by Toledo on the absolution of Henry IV. Agostino Valiero says in his work *De paterna caritate Clementis VIII. (cf. *infra*, p. 138 n. 1): "Quo in libello, ut in aliis doctissimos homines superare consuevit, ita se ipsum superasse visus est" (Cod. BH, 5 of the Library at S. Pietro in Vincoli). The autograph copy of Toledo's first *Parere sulla ribenedizione di Enrico IV., was found by me in Borghese, III., 75, p. 38 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* p. 52 *seq.*, from the hand of Toledo, the beautiful *Dissertation: "An Henricus Borbonius quarto iam ad sedem Apost. veniens sit recipiendus." Not all the French Jesuits were for Henry, as RANKE (Franz. Gesch., II., 17) supposes. Thus the ex-rector of the Jesuit college at Rouen, Jean Machault, as early as February, 1595, had sent to Rome through the nuncio Malvasia a memorial, suggesting the rejection of Henry and the appointment of a truly Catholic king; see CAUCHIE in Mélanges G. Kurth, I. (1908), 279 *seq.*

³ See PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 293.

appoint bishops there without delay, whom he was to maintain at his own expense until such ecclesiastical property should be restored to them as would enable them to live in a fitting manner. IV. Within a year the king was to remove the Prince de Condé from the hands of heretics and entrust him to Catholics to be educated in the Catholic religion and Christian piety. V. The arrangements concerning prebends and other matters were to be maintained and observed. VI. In the case of bishoprics, abbeys, and other benefices as to which the king had the right of nomination, the king should not propose heretics nor persons suspect of heresy. VII. He was to publish and observe the Council of Trent, with the exception of such things as could not be carried into effect without disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom, should there actually be any such. VIII. The king was to take under his special protection the ecclesiastical body, and not to allow any of the clergy to be opposed or molested, nor have their property sequestrated, but was to provide that throughout the kingdom, wherever it might be situated, it should be forthwith restored. IX. If the king had bestowed on Catholics or heretics, property or castles belonging to the Church, he was to revoke such gifts. X. He was to prove by word and deed his favour towards the Catholics in his disposal of offices of honour and the dignities of the kingdom, so that all might realize that he wished but one religion to exist and flourish in France, namely the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion which he himself professed. XI. He was daily to recite, unless legitimately prevented, a corona of the Blessed Virgin, and on Wednesdays the Litanies, and on Saturdays the Rosary in honour of the Madonna, his heavenly protectress; he was to observe the days of fasting and the other commandments of the Church, to assist daily at Mass, and on feast days at a sung Mass. XII. Four times a year at least he was to go to confession and publicly receive Holy Communion. XIII. In each province of the kingdom and in Bearn he was to establish a religious house of men and another of women, either of some contemplative Order or of the reformed Mendicant Friars. XIV. He was to confirm in France, at

the hands of the legate or of another representative of the Holy See, his abjuration and profession of faith, as well as the promises made by his representatives, and send the deed of ratification to the Pope. XV. He was to inform the Catholic princes of his joy at being received into the grace of the Roman Church, and that he had bound himself by oath to remain for ever in her bosom. XVI. He was to order throughout the kingdom a day of thanksgiving for this great favour that had been granted him by God.¹

With the acceptance of these articles by Henry's representatives, the "hydra of difficulties," to use an expression of Paruta,² had been destroyed, and after unheard-of obstacles the longed for goal had been attained. In spite of this Sessa and his Spaniards again tried at the eleventh hour, to get the absolution once more deferred or at anyrate given in secret. Their efforts were so violent that the French were filled with fears lest the whole affair should once again be endangered.³ But Clement VIII. stood firm. The wish of Henry's representatives that the solemn proclamation of the absolution should take place on September 8th, the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady, could not be satisfied by the Pope, for the Holy See is not wont to hasten matters. The exact tenor of the bull of absolution had first calmly to be decided, together with the acts relating to it, which was done by the Congregation of the Roman Inquisition.⁴ After this the Pope, who during all this time had prayed and caused prayers to be said,⁵

¹ See Bull., X., 311 *seq.*; DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, I., 155 *seq.* Cf. App. No. 29.

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 274.

³ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 267 *seq.*; *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 163 *seq.* 168.

⁴ See *Avviso of September 9, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

⁵ Extraordinarily characteristic are the words which Clement VIII. addressed, on Sunday, September 3, to his *famiglia*, before giving them Holy Communion. According to the *Avviso of September 6, 1595, he spoke as follows: "Figlioli mei, vi prego et comando a voler fare oratione con me per la attione

decided upon September 17th for the promulgation of the solemn absolution.¹

When, on Saturday, September 16th, Sessa had his usual weekly audience with the Pope, he complained of the imminent absolution of the enemy of his king. Clement replied that he had decided upon this step after the deepest consideration, because it was his duty to prevent the apostasy of France. Thereupon Sessa declared to the Pope, to his great surprise,² that it was his duty to present a protest, in the presence of three witnesses, not against the absolution, but because the recognition of Henry as King of Navarre and Duke of Brittany was a usurpation of the rights of the King of Spain. After this protest had been read Clement only remarked: "We

che son per fare in materie delle cose di Francia, a fine che Iddio la indirizzi per la retta strada et ne faccia esequire quel utile e bene, che io sommamente desidero et bramo, e se pure tale attioni non ha da resultare in servitio di s. div. maestà et della s. chiesa cattolica, prima che pronunci tal parole per tal causa, mi faccia non solo secare la lingua, ma morire ancora" (Urb. 1063, Vatican Library). An *Avviso of September 9, 1595, reports that the Pope had gone on the previous day (Nativity B. V. M.) barefooted to the Lateran and the Scala Santa (*loc. cit.*). Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 283. On September 10 Clement VIII. made the pilgrimage to the Seven Churches, and on September 12 visited the churches of the Minerva and S. Maria dell'Anima, again barefooted; see *Avvisi of September 13 and 16, 1595, *loc. cit.* An *Avviso of September 2 reports: "N.S. vuole che *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* si riponga una cronica in castello S. Angelo di tutte queste dimande di Navarra." Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

¹ In the 2nd vol. of the *Notes of Fr. Peña, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives is contained the *Cedula of the invitation which was sent on September 16 "paulo post meridiem per cursores" to the Cardinals and prelates.

² "Nihil tale cogitanti de improvviso intimavit," says Peña in the 2nd vol. of his *Notes, *loc. cit.* Papal Secret Archives. Here too is the text of the protest.

have heard what you have said,"¹ and gave orders for the preparation of a bull relative to the matter.²

On Sunday, September 17th, a great crowd of people filled the Piazza of St. Peter's from early morning, as well as the staircases and court-yards of the Vatican.³ At the hour appointed there were thirty-four Cardinals present ; of those who were in Rome only Paravicini, who was ill, and Bonelli, who wished to show his opposition to the absolution of Henry to the end, were absent. The Sacred College assembled in the Hall of Consistories, where the Pope also made his appearance, in all the pontifical vestments. Followed by the Cardinals and by the whole court, he was carried on the

¹ See Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 273.

² This is dated September 16, 1596, and is preserved in Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 252b, Papal Secret Archives.

³ With regard to the ceremony of the absolution of Henry IV., which Ranke, even in the new edition of his *Päpste* (II., 18) wrongly places on December 17, cf. **Diarium P. Alaleonis* (Barb. 2815, Vatican Library), who begins his description with the words which originally described the intention of the Curia, but which do not altogether correspond with the facts : " *Papa sub porticu S. Petri benedixit et absolvit Henricum IV. et illum habilitavit ad regnum Galliae et sic regem christianissimum stabilivit et nominavit*," printed in LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 148 seq. See also the *Relatione d. reconciliatione assolutione et benedittione del s. Henrico IV. fatta dalla S. di N. S. Clemente VIII. nel portico di S. Pietro domenica alli 17 di settembre 1595* racc. da G. P. MUCANTE, Viterbo, 1595 (copy in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome) ; MUZIO PIACENTINI, *Felicissima benedizione di . . . Enrico IV. fatta da N. S. Clemente VIII., Ferrara, 1595* ; *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 167 seq., 170 seq. ; DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, I., 162 seq. **Acta consist.* only printed in part in LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 151 seq. ; **Relacion de la abiuracion in the Papal Secret Archives*, in a vol. marked : *Enrico Borbone e Clemente VIII.* ; report of Paruta in his *Dispacci*, III., 292 seq. ; Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 272 seq. ; letter of Geronimo Provenzale in *Carte Strozzi*, I., 2, 247 seq. ; **Letter of the Mantuan ambassador, September 23, 1595*, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua ; **Avviso of September 20, 1595*, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

sedia gestatoria to the atrium of St. Peter's. The corridors of the Vatican were so crowded that the Swiss Guard could scarcely force a way for the procession.

In the atrium of St. Peter's, which was adorned with tapestries, all the doors had been closed. On the left side, near the central door of the basilica, there was erected a platform on which was placed the throne of the Pope under a baldachino, and approached by three steps. In front of this was the enclosure for the Cardinals, and hard by a picked Papal guard. On this occasion, as formerly on February 24th, 1510, at the absolution of the Venetians by Julius II.,¹ the humiliating ceremonies were omitted. After the customary adoration of the Cardinals, the master of ceremonies led the representatives of Henry, Du Perron and Ossat, to the Pope, whose feet they kissed. Then, kneeling on the lowest step, they read their mandate of proxy, signed by Henry himself, and sealed with the seal of the kingdom. Then Cosmo de Angelis, assessor of the Inquisition, came forward to read the petition signed by Du Perron and Ossat. In this they asked in Henry's name for the Papal absolution from all the censures, under which their sovereign had fallen, by apostatizing in word and deed from the holy Catholic religion. Du Perron and Ossat then confirmed this request themselves. Then the assessor of the Inquisition read in a loud voice the annulment of the absolution given by the bishops at Saint-Denis, the declaration of the validity of the religious acts performed thereafter by Henry, and lastly the declaration of the Pope that he was ready himself to pronounce the necessary absolution after the representatives of Henry had abjured the heresies of Calvin and sworn to the Tridentine profession of faith. This they did upon the holy Gospels before a crucifix. In the same way Du Perron and Ossat swore that Henry had observed the sixteen conditions agreed upon. Thereupon the Papal choir intoned the *Miserere*, and at each verse the Pope, in accordance with an ancient usage still observed in Rome, lightly touched the shoulders of the procurators kneeling

¹ See Vol. VI. of this work, p. 319.

before him with a rod,¹ as an external sign of absolution. He then rose and solemnly intoned the prayers of the ritual and the formula by which he absolved Henry from the major excommunication inflicted on him by Sixtus V., and from all the other censures of the Church, using now for the first time the title of "Most Christian King of France and Navarre." The words of the Pope, which were clearly audible in the intense silence, had scarcely come to an end, when the trumpets and joyous music rang out, mingling with the sound of the bells of St. Peter's and the roar of the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo. While the people broke out into cries of joy, the two procurators once again approached the Pope to kiss his feet. Clement VIII. embraced them and expressed the hope that Henry, to whom he had just opened the gates of the Church militant, would now by his good works open to himself the gates of the Church triumphant and of the kingdom of Heaven. After a notarial deed had been drawn up as to all that had been done, the main door of St. Peter's was opened, and by this door Du Perron and Ossat, accompanied by Cardinal Santori, the Grand Penitentiary, and ten Jesuit penitentiaries of St. Peter's, entered the basilica, to go, amid the singing of the *Te Deum*, to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament and to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, where prayers of thanksgiving were said. A Mass of thanksgiving in the national church of S. Luigi, and fireworks of joy at dusk, brought to an end this important day, which is still recorded by a column of granite, surmounted by a cross, near St. Mary Major's.²

¹ "C'est une cérémonie" wrote Ossat (Lettres, I., 238) "qui est au Pontifical, laquelle nous ne sentions non plus que si une mouche nous *ent* passé par dessus nos vêtements ainsi vêtus comme nous étions."

² The monument erected by the abbot of S. Antonio, Ch. Anisson, was originally a tabernacle surmounted by four columns, but it had become so damaged in 1745, that Benedict XIV. had to make provision for it. It stood on the *piazza* in front of S. Antonio, and was saved from destruction by transporting it within the precincts of St. Mary Major's. Cf. G. TOMASSETTI,

It is characteristic of the cool temperament of Clement VIII. that in the midst of the jubilation of the Curia, and the high eulogies expressed by the eloquent Cardinal Agostino Valiero,¹ he did not exaggerate the value of the agreement which, after unspeakable trouble, he had come to with Henry IV. Paruta congratulated him on September 22nd, and pointed out the contrast with the unhappy pontificate of Clement VII., under whom England had been lost to the Church. Another Clement, the Venetian went on to say, could deservedly claim the glory of having re-conquered, by the help of God which he had incessantly implored, and his own wise conduct, a powerful king and a noble nation that were already to some extent separated from the centre of unity, and thus saved countless souls. "God grant," replied the Pope, "that King Henry will show himself a true Catholic, and that he will persevere in his good purpose."² His old suspicion of the

La colonna di Enrico IV. in Roma, (Estr. dal *Bullet. d. Commiss. Archeol.*), Rome, 1882; J. DE LAURIÈRE, La colonne dite de Henri IV. à Rome, Tours, 1883; BARBIER DE MONTAULT, La colonne de Henri IV. à Rome, Lille, 1883 (*cf. Oeuvres*, I., 189); L. MALLET-GUY, Charles Anisson et la colonne dite de Henri IV. à Rome, Grenoble, 1912 (from the *Bullet. de la Soc. Archéol. de la Drôme*, XII.). The Canzone de la Isabella Cervoni da Colle al s.p. P. Clemente VIII., sopra la benedizione del christ. Enrico Quarto Re di Francia e Navarra, Florence, 1597 (copy in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome), compares the event with the union of the Greeks under Eugenius IV. An *anonymous poem in Vat. 5514, Vatican Library. Laz. Soranzo published an Oratione al Henrico IV. Re di Francia nell'assolutione data a S.M^{ta} da Clemente VIII., Bergamo, 1596.

¹ Cf. *De paterna caterna caritate Clementis VIII. S. P. ergo amplissimum regnum Galliae ad Fridericum card. Borromaeum archiepiscopum Mediolanens. composed by Cardinal Agostino Valiero, in Cod. BH 5 of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli (used by LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 44 *seq.*); also in Vat. 5550, p. 17 *seq.* and Barb. 2511, p. 23 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and in *Carte Stroz.*, State Archives, Florence (see *Carte Stroz.*, I., 2, 544).

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 296.

sincerity of the king, which showed clearly in these words of the Pope, actually led to the sending of the bull of absolution being delayed until definite news had arrived of the cordial acceptance by Henry of the agreement.¹ Thus Alessandro Del Bene was unable to set out for France with this important document until November 7th.² He took with him at the same time a brief addressed to the French sovereign, dated November 1st.³

The bull of absolution is dated September 17th, 1595.⁴ This document, one of the most important ever issued by the Papal Chancery, was composed by Silvio Antoniano.⁵ It briefly recounts the negotiations leading up to the event, and states in detail the conditions imposed upon Henry IV. The bull begins as follows :

“ When We consider the superabundance of the divine grace shown in your conversion, and carefully ponder in Our mind how you have been brought into the light of Catholic truth from the deepest obscurity of error and heresy, as though from an abyss of evil, by a mighty act of the hand of the Lord, We feel Ourselves constrained in our wonder and admiration to exclaim with the Apostle : O the depth of the riches of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God ! How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways ! (Rom. xi, 33). It is certainly fitting that you too should often meditate upon the great things that the Lord hath done in you, a thing which, as far as we can judge, you have already done. For when you were far removed from salvation, and were dead in sin, He hath quickened you in Christ (Eph. ii, 5), and led you back, by the way of salutary penance and the authority of this Apostolic See, to the unity of the Catholic Church. This thought will rightly lead you to recognize and to profess, to the honour of God, how much you owe to the

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 174. Cf. *PARUTA*, *Dispacci*, III., 324 *seq.*

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 184.

³ See **Brevia Arm.* 44, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ Bull. X., 304 *seq.*

⁵ See **Cod.* 15 M. 43, p. 46 of the Papal Secret Archives.

Father of mercies (2 Cor. i, 3), who has not abandoned you to the end, who has taken away from you the stony heart, and has given you a heart of flesh (Ez. xxxvi, 26) that you may put off the old man of the time passed in your errors (Eph. iv, 22). Confess too what gratitude you owe to the Holy Catholic and Roman Church, your mother and the mother of all believers, which, forgetful of the many wrongs wherewith she has been afflicted by you, has opened to you her maternal bosom, and the lap of her love, has regenerated you in Christ, and once more welcomed you among her beloved sons, and with great joy has crowned you with glory and honour (Ps. viii, 6). For this was the desire of that pious mother who invited you to her embraces, who prayed incessantly for you, and who was plunged in the deepest sorrow at your spiritual death. And if she, after a just judgment, separated you from her communion, she did so with the most lively sorrow and anguish of heart, as Sixtus V. of happy memory declared before all the world in the letter which he issued against you on the 9th day of September in the first year of his pontificate. In this he expressly says that it was a deep sorrow to him, that, by the duty of his office, he was constrained to employ against you the sword of punishment.

“ But the more bitter is the remembrance of that time that is past, all the more sweet is now the joy at your return and your conversion. From the depths of Our heart We thank God who has reserved this joy for the Catholic Church during the time of Our pontificate, and granted to Our unworthiness, after the abjuration of the errors of that wicked man Calvin and the condemnation of all heresies, after the due profession of the Catholic faith, to be able to bring you back, amid the exultation of heaven and earth, to the bosom of that Church. This was always Our most ardent desire, from the day in which the dispositions of divine providence, notwithstanding Our unworthiness and weakness, willed that We should take into Our hands the helm of the universal Church, and preside over His flock.

“ To this we were spurred on by the continued conflicts

and sufferings of noble France, as well as by the multifold misfortunes of the Christian community, which steadily increased and gave reason to fear even graver dangers, when a kingdom, once so flourishing, was in so striking a manner struck and divided and weakened by internal discord ; so great and notable a part of the Christian community, which nevertheless forms one single body, could not, without the grave injury of the other members, be allowed to fall into ruin, a thing which, if at any time it implied grief and disaster, would have been specially lamentable in our times, when the Church of God is so violently attacked by the Turks and the heretics, the bitter and persevering enemies of the Christian name.

“ Therefore We have not ceased to have recourse day and night to the throne of the divine clemency, and to ordain that other pious Catholics and servants of God, exhorted by Us, should do the same, that He, who is rich in mercy (Eph. ii, 4) may be appeased by the prayer of many, and restore peace and tranquillity to that great kingdom, and give it for its head a king who should truly be the Most Christian, truly a son of the Catholic and Roman Church, recognized and obeyed by all.”

“ I have no words to praise the kindness of Your Holiness as it deserves,” says the letter of thanks from Henry, dated November 12th, 1595. “ My life henceforth shall have no other purpose than to glorify God by a meritorious obedience, which will restore the Church in France, and give back to the Holy See its prestige and glory. I and my people will always love and venerate Your Holiness.” In a second autograph letter of the same date Henry IV. renewed his thanks and his promises.¹ It was a triumph for Clement VIII. when, on December 4th, 1595, he was able to inform the Cardinals assembled in consistory of this assurance. Two days later the Pope himself carried the Blessed Sacrament at the Forty Hours in the Pauline Chapel, where he remained for an hour,

¹ DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, I., 17 *seq.*; *Lettres missives*, IV., 445 *seq.* Cf. STÄHELIN, 689 *seq.*

praying and recommending to the protection of God, France and Christendom.¹

It was soon seen that Henry intended to follow his words by deeds, and as early as January 29th, 1596, Clement VIII. was able to show the Cardinals in consistory two important documents in this connexion.² One was a royal decree, annulling the prohibition³ of having recourse to Rome for benefices: the other a letter to Cardinal Gondi concerning the Catholic education of the heir-presumptive to the throne, the Prince de Condé. Soon reports arrived in Rome from Del Bene, according to which Henry resolved to lend no ear to the Gallican remonstrances of the Parliament of Paris against the bull of absolution. The king, Del Bene reported, would be more pleasing to the Pope than any of the preceding sovereigns of France.⁴

After the restoration of peace, it became possible to resume the regular diplomatic relations between France and the Holy See, which had been so long interrupted. Clement VIII. did not wish this to be done by means of a simple nuncio, and on April 3rd, 1596, he appointed Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici as legate *a latere* for France.⁵ This distinguished prince of the Church, who nine years later succeeded the Aldobrandini Pope as Leo XI., was charged to obtain the ratification of the promises contained in the bull of absolution.

¹ See *Avviso of December 6, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library.

² See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Barb. lat. 2871, 5, III., Vatican Library. Cf. Lettres d'Ossat, I., 188; DU PERRON, Ambassades, I., 19; DESJARDINS, V., 281. A medal struck at that time shows the busts of Clement VIII. and Henry IV.; see BONANNI, II., 457; ARMAND, I., 302; MARTINORI, 4, 36.

³ Cf. for this *Mélanges*, G. KURTH, I., 292.

⁴ See L'EPINOIS, 636 *seq.* Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 317 *seq.* For the good will of Henry IV., see also the cypher *letter of Cardinal Joyeuse to Cardinal Aldobrandini, dated 1596, February 9 (decif 9 Marzo), in Cod. M. II., 62 of the Chigi Library, Rome.

⁵ See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library; *report of L. Arrigoni, April 6, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Lettres d'Ossat, I., 238.

He was also given a number of other tasks, such as the bringing about of peace between France and Spain, and the revocation of the expulsion of the Jesuits. But his principal duty was to further the re-establishment of religious conditions in France,¹ which had been terribly shaken during the civil and religious wars. His instructions dealt exhaustively with the points of view which had to be taken into consideration in that respect, and show how well informed they were in Rome as to the abuses, and the comprehensive and radical way in which it was sought to attack them. The reform of the clergy must begin with the bishops and abbots having care of souls. Thus the filling of the episcopal sees must be, among all the duties of the legate, the most responsible, for which he would have to render an account to God. The abuse of the right of nomination, in virtue of the concordat granted to the crown, had provoked the anger of God, and brought about a great part of the evils which had fallen upon France. This abuse had gone to such a length that even women and soldiers had been nominated for the bishoprics ; the consequences had been wide-spread simony, neglect of souls, usurpation of jurisdiction, confiscation of ecclesiastical property and general confusion. To this end exhortations and prayers must be addressed to the king, and it must be pointed out to him that the abolition of these abuses was in the interest of the kingdom and the crown. At the same time the legate must bring pressure to bear on the king and his ministers for the promulgation of the decrees of Trent ; if insurmountable difficulties arose in this connexion, the matter must not be hastened, but in no way lost sight of. Just as had been done by Pius V. he should in the meantime work for the effective introduction of the decrees of the Council by the appointment of good bishops, the development of the Orders, the choice of good preachers, and the abolition of the abuses in the

¹ See in App. No. 26 the *Instructions for Medici of May 10, 1596, to be found in Pio, 222, Nunziat. div., 239 and Borghese, I., 616, p. 1 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives, and in Cod. 468, p. 84-96, Corsini Library, Rome.

conferring of benefices. At the same time the legate must show that these reforms were in the true interest of the king and his kingdom, and that Henry IV. had expressly promised the promulgation of the decrees of the Council. The whole of the clergy and their well-being was recommended to the king. The instructions then expressed the hopes of the Pope that Henry IV. would not allow himself to be deterred by difficulties, which would certainly not be lacking, from the public profession of the Catholic faith. If Henry IV. would set a good example, it would be a sermon to the whole kingdom. As the king had been brought up as a soldier, he did not know much about matters of religion, and so he must be treated with the greatest consideration and prudence, like a tree that had recently been planted. Since the parliaments assumed an undue authority even over the clergy, it was well to point out that a limiting of such usurpations was in the interests of the crown itself. In order to help France in every way the Pope had granted a special jubilee. The legate must exercise his office gratuitously, as Clement VIII. himself had done in his legation to Poland.

Special briefs recommended the legate, not only to the king, but also to the bishops and the nobility.¹ At the same time, Francesco Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, was appointed nuncio in Paris.²

On May 10th Medici received the legatine cross and left Rome on the following day ; on the 22nd he reached Lyons, where he was given a magnificent welcome.³ When he was

¹ See the *briefs to Henry IV. the great nobles and the bishops of France, of May 10, 1596, in Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 182, 184 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. In t. 59, p. 5 is the brief to Henry IV. dated May 12, 1596. *Ibid.* p. 1 *seq.* the *bull of faculties for Medici of June 19, 1596. The jubilee for France, May 23, 1596, in Bull., X., 267.

² See the *brief to Henry IV. of May 10, 1596, in Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 238 (*cf.* 239-250), Vatican Library.

³ See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library. For the journey of the legate see the *Diarium P. Alaleonis (Barb. 2815, Vatican Library) who accompanied Medici (*cf.* Arch. d. Soc. Rom., XVI.,

nearing the French capital, an extraordinary honour was paid him : the king himself, with a splendid retinue, including the Dukes of Montpensier, Mayenne and Nemours, went to meet the legate on July 19th, 1596, as far as Montlhéry. On July 21st the Cardinal made his entry into Paris.¹ In spite of the opposition made by the Gallicans, he easily obtained, with the support of Du Perron, who had returned to France at the end of March, the ratification of the bull of absolution,² for Henry IV. was resolved to keep his promises.³ The subsequent reports of the legate, who was fascinated by the courtesy of the king, and with whom he became on the best of terms,⁴ gave reason to hope for better times for the Church in France.⁵

24 seq.) and the detailed *description of the journey there and back given by Francesco Gregorii da Terni, dedicated on November 14 to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini in Cod. T. 5, 10, n. 1, pp. 1-62, of the Angelica Library, Rome (cf. NARDUCCI, 577) and in Vat. 6291, Vatican Library. *Lettere del card. di Firenze legato in Francia, scritte in cifra al s. card. P. Aldobrandini (deciphered), from July 24, 1596, to August 18, 1598, in Nunziat. di Francia 45, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 46 : *Lettere del card di Firenze scritte alla piana al card. P. Aldobrandini, from May 18, 1596, to October 27, 1598. The *Lettere missive del card. P. Aldobrandini scritte alla piana al card. di Firenze, from May 21, 1596, to September 4, 1598, *ibid.* t. 44, pp. 1-96, and pp. 97-131, the deciphered *avvertimenti of Aldobrandini to Medici from June 15, 1596, to May, 18, 1598. Cf. also Borghese, I., 646, Papal Secret Archives ; and copies in Barb. 5827-28, Vatican Library.

¹ See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.* Vatican Library. Cf. *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XVI., 25 ; L'EPINOIS, 641.

² See Bull., X., 314 seq. *Ibid.*, 315 seq. the brief of thanks from Clement VIII., October 13, 1596. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 320. For the departure of Du Perron see *Avvisi of March 20 and 30, 1596, Urb. 1064, Vat. Lib.

³ Cf. Lettres d'Ossat, II., 297 ; MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 289.

⁴ Cf. L'EPINOIS, 641 ; MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 297.

⁵ The solemn welcome accorded to the legate caused great joy in Rome. See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 304. The ratification

Even in the world of politics, the unhappy nation soon derived great benefits from the reconciliation. As early as January, 1596, there took place the treaty with Mayenne, which involved the dissolution of the League. Even though peace was not restored as soon as had been hoped, and the war with Spain still continued, nevertheless the existence of France as a great power, a thing which for some time had been seriously threatened by Philip II., was now assured. This was of the greatest importance, not only for the political situation in Europe, but also for the Church. When, alongside of Catholic Spain, which, despite many signs of decadence, was still a formidable power, there arose a national Catholic France, the latter acquired once more the influence in the Catholic world that belonged to her. The restored balance of power, moreover, could not fail to be advantageous to the Holy See, which was now able, with every hope of success, to free itself from its irksome bonds, and set itself to the recovery of its complete independence.

was read in consistory on October 7, 1596, and Henry IV. praised see *ibid.* 341. The *Acta consist. report that it was stated in the consistory that the legate had written: "Regem, cum forte deesset mensa, cui scribendo inniteretur, super proprium genu ratihabitionem subscripsisse, ridentemque addidisse: Ubique commode ea scribi, quae libenter et magna voluptate scribuntur." Cod. Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library.

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF HENRY IV.—CLEMENT VIII. RENEWS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH FRANCE.—REVIVAL OF RELIGIOUS LIFE IN FRANCE.

THE civil and religious wars, which had lasted for five and thirty years, had brought France to the brink of the abyss. The beautiful, rich and fertile lands in the valleys of the Seine, Loire and Rhone had been terribly devastated, and that great country, the eldest daughter of the Church, as she called herself, had poured out her blood from a thousand wounds,¹ not only physically, but also morally and in the name of religion.

The condition of France, of which the Venetian ambassador, Pietro Duodo, gives us an impressive picture,² was known to Clement VIII. partly from his personal observation during his journey of 1571,³ and partly from the reports which arrived in Rome in ever increasing number. How well informed the Roman Curia was is clear from a memorial drawn up for Gregory XIV. in March, 1591, which gives an accurate account of the ecclesiastical conditions, furnished with many particulars which fill us with horror.⁴ The author had seen with his own eyes, in many different parts of the

¹ Cf. MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 1 *seq.* The Papal territory too had suffered gravely during the religious and civil wars; see CH. PERRIN, *États pontificaux de France au 16^{me} siècle*, Paris, 1847, 103 *seqq.* At Avignon 8000 poor were still in need of help in 1597; see *ibid.* 104 *seq.*

² Relazione of 1598, in ALBÈRI, App. 73 *seq.*

³ Cf. *supra* p. 22.

⁴ This hitherto unknown document was found by me under the title *Relassioni et rotture dello stato ecclesiastico di Francia et rimedii a risarcirle, in Ottob. 3210, p. 119 *seqq.*, Vatican Library.

kingdom, the traces of the terrible fury shown by the Huguenots against the magnificent churches, with which the piety and munificence of the Middle Ages had covered the land. The devastation had been the greatest in Languedoc and the Dauphiné, but elsewhere as well, for example in Orleans and Poitiers, there were to be seen many ruins of religious edifices. In addition to this external destruction the Church had to lament the most serious losses of her possessions. Much of her property was in the hands of laymen and even of the Huguenots, while even those who belonged to the League had taken possession of church property, which they refused to restore.

Even worse than these external losses was the internal harm resulting from the state of the episcopate. The abuse which for a long time past had formed the culminating point of the rights granted by the concordat, cried aloud for vengeance, having resulted in quite unworthy bishops being in charge of many of the dioceses. During the civil and religious wars matters had become sensibly worse. The episcopate was divided into adherents of the League and the adherents of Navarre ; many of the bishops who belonged to the League were in exile, while some of the partisans of Navarre had had to leave their cities, when these, as was the case with Rouen, declared for the enemy. The Bishop of Beauvais was imprisoned by his own flock, when he went over to the party of Navarre. Some dioceses, such as Tarbes and Nîmes, were completely in the hands of the Huguenots ; the latter were absolute masters in Bearn, where the dioceses of Lescar and Oleron had been suppressed, and where Catholics who still attempted to practise their religion were persecuted even worse than in England.

After the accession of Navarre many of the bishoprics could no longer be filled, and in March, 1591, the dioceses of Rheims, Bordeaux, Coutances, Vannes, Viviers, Grasse, Vence, Montauban and Senez were without bishops. Not a few of the bishops who belonged to the party of Navarre were quite unworthy men, and the ignorance of the Bishop of Tulle was proverbial. The author of the memorial describes the

Bishops of Seez, Mirepoix, Rodez, Béziers and Le Puy as men of quite evil life.

It was a special grace of God that France, even in the midst of these troubles, still possessed many excellent bishops, and the author of the memorial extols as exemplary men the Bishops of Lyons, Mâcon, Soissons, Châlons-sur-Marne, Amiens, Boulogne, Senlis, Laon, Nevers, Avranches, Evreux, Sens, Tours, Dol, Saint-Malo, Saint-Brieuc, Quimper, Poitiers, Angoulême, Sarlat, Agen, Bazas, Toulouse, Pamiers, Lavaur, Gap, Vienne, Embrun, Glandève and Clermont, the bishop of which, François de Rochefoucauld, like Henri de la Marthonie at Limoges, showed exemplary zeal for Catholic reform.¹

The French secular clergy, too, afforded the greatest contrasts. The chapters and ecclesiastics in the estates of the aristocracy were for the most part completely worldly, while with regard to the rest of the ecclesiastical body having the care of souls the author gives an account that, on the whole, is certainly too favourable: he says that the great majority were well instructed and of exemplary life, especially those who had studied at the Sorbonne or under the Jesuits. It is indisputable that there was still much that was good among the lower clergy, and this is clear from the fact that that part of the population of France which had remained Catholic clung to its religion with an affectionate loyalty. The author of the memorial bears witness to the zeal with which the churches were attended and adorned, and the sternness with which the people insisted on the sacred offices being well carried out and on the clergy doing their duty.

The old Orders too showed the greatest contrasts. More than any others the Mendicant Orders had suffered from the storms of the times, and their convents were deserted, even in Paris which was so strictly Catholic. The state of the other regulars was less lamentable, except in those abbeys which had been made over in commendam to laymen

¹ Cf. the fine work of AULAGNE, *La Réforme cath. au 17^{me} siècle dans le diocèse de Limoges*, Paris, 1906. For Cardinal Rochefoucauld cf. *Rev. hist.*, CXL., 70 seq.

and even to Huguenots. In some convents of nuns there was an entire lack of discipline, while others were handed over to the mercy of the soldiery. Of great importance for the preservation of Catholicism in France were the Jesuit colleges, which besides the work of the apostolate devoted themselves especially to education. At Bourges they kept the university in being,¹ which was of all the more importance as the university of Paris had suffered gravely: instead of thirty or even forty thousand students, it could count scarcely a thousand!

The general picture drawn by the memorial was a sad one. The convents of the Mendicant Orders were disappearing altogether as time went on, as in Germany, and there was reason to fear a complete ruin of the clergy unless God came to their assistance: nor was this estimate unduly pessimistic, for other reports, from both secular and ecclesiastical sources, fully corroborated this view.² Above all the Venetian ambassadors described the sad state of affairs, and pointed out as the fundamental cause the abuse of the concordat on the part of the kings of France. When the bishoprics were filled only by the creatures of the king, the abbeys reduced to commendams, and the king had become the master of the Church, there was bound to follow a disastrous decadence which paved the way for the Huguenots, and which, thanks to them and the disturbances which ensued, went from bad to worse.³

Immediately after the reconciliation of Henry IV., Clement VIII. resolved to spare no effort to provide for the religious needs of France. A great part of the conditions imposed upon the king at the time of his absolution had only this end in view, and at Easter, 1596, Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici was sent as legate to France to carry them into effect. His instructions exhorted the legate to work, both

¹ Cf. FOUQUERAY, II., 412.

² Cf. the letter of Cardinal Caetani to Henry IV. in SAGGIATORE, I., I (Rome, 1844), 196.

³ See the Relazione of P. Duodo, mentioned *supra* p. 147, n. 2. Cf. also DE MEAUX, 335 *seq.*, THOMAS, Concordat, III., 198 *seq.*

for the improvement of the clergy (especially the higher clergy), and for the restoration of religious unity, though he was to act with prudence and well-weighed moderation.¹

Rarely had any representative of the Holy See been entrusted with a more difficult task. The state of disorder and abandonment in which the Church in France found herself was described to the king by the Bishop of Le Mans, Claude d'Angennes de Rambouillet, in the name of the assembly of the French clergy, in his discourses of January and May, 1596. Of the fourteen archbishoprics, half were without pastors, and some had been so for fourteen or fifteen years. Of about a hundred bishoprics, from thirty to forty were vacant, while others were filled by men who were neither worthy nor canonically elected, while most of them were badly administered. The state of the abbeys was equally sad. A single inquiry in twenty-five dioceses had shown that a hundred and twenty abbeys were either without abbots, or were held by laymen, whose only care was to collect their revenues. The convents of women were in similar disorder, and the abbesses were to a great extent the daughters and friends of the king's mistresses. The external losses were in keeping with the moral devastation. Church property was often held by laymen: innumerable churches had been sacked, pillaged and even totally destroyed by the Huguenots.²

Henry IV. was very far from being blind to the sad ecclesiastical conditions which were thus described to him on such competent authority. The evil is even greater than you describe it, he replied to the remonstrances of the clergy; a radical remedy can only be found in the promulgation and application of the decrees of Trent. This long-standing and righteous demand of the Holy See had hitherto always met with an opposition in France that was quite unreasonable,

¹ See the *Instructions for Medici, May 10, 1596 (Papal Secret Archives), in App. No. 26. Cf. *supra* p. 143 seq.

² See *Recueil général des affaires du clergé de France*, I., Paris, 1634, 184 seq., 198, 620; PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 77; DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, 336; *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XCVI. (1914), 72.

since the Council of Trent had limited itself entirely in its prescriptions to spiritual matters, and only on some points, when no other course was possible, had indirectly touched upon civil or mixed questions, but in such cases the Holy See had always shown its readiness to come to an accommodation.¹

Pius IV., Pius V., Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V., each in his own way had worked for the promulgation and carrying out of the decrees of the Council of Trent, but they had not been successful. Even when at the meeting of the States General at Blois in 1576 the bishops of France had asked for the publication of the reform decrees of Trent, they had not had the least encouragement from Henry III., while again, in spite of the energetic action of the clergy at the assembly at Melun, the Gallican party, which dominated the Parliament, was able to persuade the government to prevent these necessary prescriptions from being put into force. One result, however, had been attained: the French clergy were now definitely on the side of the Holy See.²

Clement VIII. made use of his reconciliation with Henry IV. to make a fresh attempt to obtain what his predecessors, including Sixtus V. with all his wonted energy, had vainly sought after.³ The acceptance of the decrees of the Council by the assembly of the states of the League, on August 8th, 1593, had once more been annulled by the Parliament.⁴ But Clement VIII., among the conditions for granting the absolution, once more expressly included the promulgation and carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent; he showed, however, by allowing the clause "with the exception of things which cannot be enforced without disturbing the peace of the kingdom," that he was ready to take into account, in matters that were mixed in character, the reasonable demands of the civil power.

¹ See DE MEAUX, 371; THOMAS, *Concordat*, III., 223 *seq.*

² See MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 38 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* Cf. Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 196 *seq.*; Vol. XIX., p. 554.

³ Cf. TEMPESTI, Sisto V., II., 146 *seq.*, 175 *seq.*, 285 *seq.* See also L'EPINOIS, 202 *seq.*, 282 *seq.*, and MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.*

⁴ See MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 258 *seq.*, 263 *seq.*, 270.

After the ratification of the bull of absolution, one of Henry IV.'s most loyal servants, Ossat, strongly urged him to begin the publication of the decrees of Trent, a thing which could only be advantageous both to the king himself and to his kingdom. Nothing would delight the Pope more, or be more displeasing to the Spaniards, than the fulfilment of this promise; moreover, the opposition would not be as great as was feared. Those who objected that the Council injured the rights of the king and the liberties of the Gallican Church, would have great difficulty in specifying what they feared. The matter did not concern the Huguenots, as they already had the edict of 1577, as well as the above-mentioned clause, while as for the actual execution, the Pope, like any prudent person, realized that after the recent disturbances this could only be done gradually.¹

Although Ossat, who was aiming principally at the political aspect, looked upon the promulgation of the decrees of the Council as more important than their actuation, the Pope and the legate, Medici, on the contrary, were rightly of another opinion. In their full realization of the grave religious wounds of France, they were more concerned with a radical if gradual remedy, than with spectacular but only apparent results. How deep these wounds were may be seen from a general survey of the state of the dioceses at the end of 1596. In spite of the efforts of Medici, though they were often crowned with success, there still remained forty bishoprics in the hands of laymen.² It was extraordinarily significant that just at that time Lesdiguières, a notorious Protestant, and governor of the Dauphiné, could have asked for investiture of the archbishopric of Embrun, as the most natural thing in the world.³ Fully realizing the difficulties which Henry IV. must meet with in depriving his adherents of their episcopal titles, Medici tried, with the consent of the

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 349 *seq.*

² See MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 292.

³ See *ibid.*, 291.

Pope, to indemnify them with pensions. He was not disturbed by the fact that in so doing he met with opposition from certain of the prelates. "One remedy at a time: what is above all pressing is to have good bishops" was Medici's reply.¹ But at the same time the legate did not neglect to apply remedies to other abuses, and in this, which made but slow progress, he never lost sight of the promulgation of the decrees of the Council, a thing of which he was repeatedly reminded from Rome, as being the most essential thing. In March, 1597, he took advantage of a favourable opportunity to bring this home to Henry IV. in eloquent words. The king replied that he would have kept his promise, but that over-haste might endanger everything. After the Treaty of Vervins had restored peace to France (May 2, 1598), the Pope addressed himself to Henry in an autograph letter of June 27th,² and by a brief of August 17th, and adjured him to set himself finally to the work of promulgation.³ But the king firmly adhered to what he had said to the prelates in September 1598, when they had brought pressure to bear on him: "have patience and confidence, for Paris too was not built in a day."⁴

The question whether such confidence was justified may

¹ *Report of Medici to Aldobrandini, July 13, 1597, Nunziat. di Francia, 46, p. 120, Papal Secret Archives, used by MARTIN, *loc. cit.* 292. We have an excellent account of the procedure adopted by Medici in a dissertation written by an unknown member of his suite: **Historia ovvero ragguaglio della legatione fatta nel regno di Francia a Enrico IV. per mons. ill. Alessandro di Medici card. di Firenze sotto il pontificato di Clemente VIII. l'anno VI, messa insieme da un suo intrinseco familiare*, in Pio, 225 (now 150), pp. 56-133, Papal Secret Archives. MARTIN (*loc. cit.*) rightly attaches great weight to this narrative. V. MARTIN gives a detailed description of the legation of Medici in his article: *La reprise des relations dipl.*, II., 233 *seqq.*

² *Borghese, II., 491, p. 15, Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Arm. 44, t. 42, p. 176b, *ibid.*; excerpts in MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 298 *seq.*

⁴ See MARTIN, 302.

best be decided by a cursory glance at the religious policy of the first Bourbon king.¹

After the absolution of Henry IV., it was a case, before all else, of fulfilling the conditions which the Pope had attached to the absolution; these conditions of Clement VIII. were concerned partly with the king himself, and partly with the government of his kingdom. As far as the former were concerned, it is certain that, even though the king's own morals showed no improvement, he nevertheless behaved absolutely as a Catholic. He heard Mass every day, and assisted at High Mass on feast days; he also received the sacraments, and even, it is certain, with signs of great devotion.²

Henry would also have wished to have fulfilled the promise concerning his government, but only did so in so far as it seemed possible to him to do so without injury to his political interests.³ The Prince de Condé, still the heir presumptive to the throne, was brought up as a Catholic;⁴ the edict of Traversy, in May 1596,⁵ ordered the re-establishment of Catholic worship in those places where it had been suppressed. Henry surrounded himself almost exclusively with Catholics, and generally gave them the preference in conferring office, as well as encouraging conversions from Calvinism to the Catholic Church.⁶ On the other hand there were not wanting inconsistencies which were hardly surprising in a man so

¹ See for what follows especially DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, 339 *seq.*

² The secretary of P. Aldobrandini reports that when Henry IV. received Communion at the celebration of his marriage at Lyons "non haverebbe un cappuccino potuto nè stare alla messa ne ricevere il ss. sacramento con maggior divotione"; see *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 120.

³ PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 88, clearly brings out this fact which has escaped so many writers.

⁴ See DUC D'AUMALE, *Hist. des princes de Condé*, II., 222 *seq.*, and *Documents*, 433 *seq.*; BREMOND, II., 354 *seq.*

⁵ Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, *L'Edit de Nantes*, in *Études*, XCVIII., 767.

⁶ Cf. SERBAT, *Les assemblées du clergé*, Paris, 1906, 327.

far out of touch with ecclesiastical matters as the first of the Bourbons. Above all, his use of the concordat, as of old, was not altogether blameless, while the country had to wait, not only for the promulgation of the Tridentine decrees and the restoration of the Catholic Church in Bearn, but also for the foundation of the convents in each province.

But if all these things gave the Pope cause for complaint, though he fully realized the difficult position of Henry IV., he was far more troubled by the concessions which the king thought himself obliged to make to the Huguenots.

The king undoubtedly wished for the restoration of religious unity in France no less than Clement VIII., but this was only possible by the return to Catholicism of the Huguenots, who formed about a twelfth part of the entire population.¹ But if the king wished to attain this end only by peaceful means, and by pacifying the Huguenots, and was prepared to make concessions to them, the Pope, as the supreme guardian of the faith, looked upon any concessions to the former mortal enemies of the Church as supremely dangerous, and always urged the use of the severest measures.

Even before the absolution of Henry, Clement VIII. had asked of him, though in vain, a promise to prohibit Protestant worship throughout France, and the exclusion of the Huguenots from all the offices of state. When, in the autumn of 1596, the King of France, who was being seriously threatened by the Spaniards, gave way before the impatient Huguenots,

¹ See MARIËÉOL, VI., I, 86; Y. DE LA BRIÈRE (*loc. cit.* 761) reckons for the year 1589, out of a total number of inhabitants of about 14 millions, 1,250,000 Huguenots. According to a *Summary of 1610 in the Library at Brussels (No. 10741), that PHILIPPSON published in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 91, the number of reformed parishes in 1610 was 760. The statements in RANKE, *Papste*, II⁸, 279, and *Französ. Gesch.*, II., 57, are to some extent contradictory. The division was rather irregular; in the provinces to the south of the Loire the Huguenots were more numerous than elsewhere. Besides Béarn their principal headquarters were in Languedoc, Lower Guienne, Poitou and Saintonge.

and caused the Parliament of Rouen to register the edict of 1577, Ossat had the greatest difficulty in pacifying the indignant Pope.¹ But his position was to become even more difficult: on March 7th, 1597, a few days before the capture of Amiens by the Spaniards, he was ordered to explain to the Pope that in view of the Spanish invasion worse danger could only be avoided by the king's making even greater concessions to the Huguenots, in view of their threatening attitude, than those contained in the edict of 1577.²

Henry knew the Huguenots too well not to be aware that they would not shrink from even the most extreme measures if he did not make them further concessions. During his campaign for the recovery of Amiens he fully realized what was involved by the hostile, or at anyrate the indifferent attitude of a part of the population, which though a minority, was by no means negligible.³ The anxiety which beset the king when the Huguenots refused their assistance in resisting the Spanish invasion, was increased when he saw how, trusting in the support of England and the Netherlands, they replied to all his exhortations with ever increasing demands.⁴ Henry found himself obliged to enter into negotiations with them, and during the summer of 1597 was forced to make them those important religious and political concessions which found their final form in the Edict of Nantes which he signed on April 30th, 1598.⁵

¹ See Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, L'Edit de Nantes, in *Études*, XCIX., 49.

² See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 144. Cf. A. DEGERT, Le card, d'Ossat, Paris, 1894, 236-239.

³ See STÄHELIN, 736.

⁴ See MARIÉJOL, VI., I, 417; DE MEAUX, 292 *seq.*

⁵ Original in National Archives, Paris, J., 943, n. 2; the text has often been printed, e.g. in ANQUEZ, Hist. des assemblées polit. des réformés de France, Paris, 1859, 456-502, and in AGNESSE, Hist. des Parlements de France, IV., Paris, 1886, 601 *seqq.* Cf. STÄHELIN, 747 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 297 *seq.*; HOLZMANN, Französ. Verfassungsgesch., 472 *seq.* The plentiful special literature from the 17th century down to L'AUREY, Henri IV. et L'Édit de Nantes

This edict, which was to become so celebrated, laid it down that Catholic worship was to be restored throughout the kingdom and in all those places where it had been suppressed, and that the Catholics were to be given back all the buildings and revenues of which they had been deprived. But it also enacted that "the adherents of the so-called reformed religion"¹ as it is always spoken of in this document, could live in all parts of the kingdom without being molested in any way on account of their religion. They were also to be eligible for all dignities and offices which were not ecclesiastical. Their aristocracy, which enjoyed the greater jurisdiction, were to be free to practise the Calvinist religion on their own estates, both for themselves and their subjects; moreover, the Huguenots were to have the right to their own worship in all the royal cities, and those places where they actually were in the exercise of it in the years 1596 and 1597, besides those places mentioned in the treaty of Nérac (1579), and places directly subject to the jurisdiction of the Parliaments. On the other hand this worship was forbidden at the king's court, in Paris and within a radius of five miles of the capital, in the episcopal cities, in the territories beyond the Alps, and in the army, with the exception of districts commanded by reformers. No difference was to be made on account of religion in admission to the universities, schools and hospitals. The Huguenots were to abstain from traffic and business on Catholic festivals, they were to observe the matrimonial impediments of consanguinity of the Catholics, and fulfil their duty of paying tithes, but they were not to be attacked in the pulpits, nor their sons taken away from them for education. They could hold consistories and synods, have their own cemeteries, and set up schools and printing (Bordeaux, 1903), in Y. DE LA BRIÈRE, *l'Édit de Nantes*, in *Études*, CXVIII., 759 *seqq.*, who gives a good account of the treaty. P. E. VIGNEAUX in the *Rev. des études hist.*, LXXV. (1909) issue of March-April, proves that all the documents relating to the Edict of Nantes, of April 30, 1598, were signed by Henry IV.

¹ "De la religion *pretendue réformée*."

presses, but naturally only in places where they had the free right of worship. Disinheritance on account of religion was to be invalid. In the Parliament of Paris and elsewhere special courts were to be set up for the settlement of Protestant causes, in which half the officials were to be reformers. As a mark of special favour Henry granted the Huguenots 45,000 scudi a year as stipends for their preachers, and permission to retain by way of surety for eight years their eighty-four fortresses, some of which, such as Montpellier, Montauban and La Rochelle, were very strong; there was to be a further 29,000 for the maintenance of the garrisons and commandants appointed by the king. Thus the treasury of the state, which was nominally Catholic, was called upon to guarantee the safety of this small but strong minority, which was able to oppose 25,000 men to the royal army, which in peace time only counted 10,000.¹

Henry IV. realized the necessity of making excuses for the Edict of Nantes to the Cardinal legate, Medici, and he did so by saying that he had no other way of disarming his rebel subjects. The Cardinal legate who was acquainted with the state of affairs in France from his personal observation, and who was strongly inclined in favour of the king and trusted him,² was satisfied with this explanation. He was of opinion that this agreement, though in itself very regrettable, was necessary for the maintenance of peace, but he did not conceal from the king that the Pope would be very grieved by it, and would not be able to understand that it had been necessary to act in this way. "His Holiness" replied Henry IV., "will come to see that the edict in no way corresponds to my own wishes, and I will prove it by delay in carrying it out."³ Cardinal Medici, who was convinced of Henry's sincerity, only begged him to put off its promulgation until after his own departure from France, which was

¹ "L'État catholique faisait les frais des garanties qui étaient prises contre lui," says MARIÉJOL (VI., I., 419).

² Cf. MARTIN, Relations, II., 256 seq.

³ See L'ÉPINOIS, 648.

to take place at the beginning of September, 1598, which Henry agreed to do.¹

In order to pacify the Pope, Henry IV. explained to him as clearly as possible the political necessity for the edict, showing how the Huguenot party still had deep root in the kingdom, and was so robust and strong, even in its foreign connexions, that it could not be neglected; he also showed how, on the other hand, he had done all he could to favour Catholic interests.²

Clement VIII. adopted an attitude of reserve, and did not trust Henry. The news brought to him by the Spaniards was very alarming; they exaggerated the concessions made to the Huguenots, and were silent as to the advantages for the Catholics contained in the edict. The Pope addressed serious remonstrances to Ossat: even though he did not know the exact terms of the edict, a measure that favoured the Calvinists was in any case an evil thing, and Henry IV., considering his own past history, should have been more on his guard than any other sovereign against so harmful and damaging a step: it was only too easy to believe that he was protecting heresy. "It grieves me exceedingly," the Pope concluded, "to have to hear of such things; write in that sense to His Majesty."³

The King of France, in issuing the Edict of Nantes, had been actuated by purely political motives, and the agreement was in his eyes a political expedient for the preservation of peace in his kingdom.⁴ The step he had taken was an entirely novel thing, for civil tolerance by law of persons

¹ See DE MEAUX, 318 *seq.* Cf. MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 301. For the return journey of Medici see "Relazione del passaggio per gli stati del duca di Savoia e degli onori ricevuti dal card. Aless. de Medici nel suo ritorno dalla legazione ad Enrico IV., con un saggio di epigrammi." Turin, 1889.

² See Z. DENAIS-DARESTE, *Un État dans l'État. Les protestants français sous Henri IV.*, Paris, 1903, 48, and also Y. DE LA BRIÈRE in *Études*, XCIX., 51, n. 1. Cf. DE MEAUX, 407.

³ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 589 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 319.

⁴ See PAULUS, *Protestantismus u. Toleranz im 16. Jahrh.*, 343.

belonging to another religion was quite unheard-of in those times.

We cannot be surprised that the Pope, as the supreme guardian of the faith, should have received with sorrow and anxiety the news that the Most Christian King had abandoned the principle of religious unity in his kingdom, and it was also entirely comprehensible that Clement VIII., in his judgment of the matter, should have adopted a strictly dogmatic and canonical attitude.¹ According to this the civil power had no authority to tolerate heretical worship, nor to issue unilateral decrees on such a matter. Henry IV. appealed to the fact that the Edict of Nantes only amplified an already existing and accepted law, such as was to be found above all in the edict of 1577. But in so doing he forgot that the Holy See had never recognized the edict of 1577, and that this had been annulled by the Treaty of Nemours in 1585. Moreover, the Edict of Blois of 1588 had expressly prohibited Protestant worship and the admission of the Huguenots to offices of state. The concessions which had been made to the Huguenots, first by Henry III. in 1589, then by Henry IV. in 1591, and 1594, and lastly by the Edict of Nantes, were incompatible with the Edict of Blois, which had been accepted as one of the fundamental laws of the Kingdom of France. If we further bear in mind that with the Edict of Nantes the Pope found himself confronted with an accomplished fact, we can understand how it was that Cardinal Medici, when he returned at the end of 1598, was unable to dispel the anxieties of the supreme head of the Church.²

Clement VIII.'s grief was increased by the news that Catherine, the sister of Henry IV., and a Calvinist, notwithstanding an express Papal prohibition,³ and without seeking

¹ See DE MEAUX, 319, and especially Y. DE LA BRIÛRE, *loc. cit.*, 51 *seqq.*, whose account I reproduce in what follows. With regard to the position of the Church towards liberty of belief in general see HERGENRÖTHER, *Kirche u. Staat*, 617 *seqq.*

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 610 ; II., 25.

³ See the *briefs to the Duke of Lorraine, August 10, October 8, and December 30, 1598, *Arm.* 44, t. 42, nn. 217, 229, 282, Papal

the necessary dispensation from consanguinity, had married¹ the elder son of the Duke of Lorraine, the Duke of Bar, who was a Catholic. In these circumstances, Joyeuse² and Ossat found themselves in a difficult position in Rome, all the more so as the opposition of the Parliament of Paris and the French clergy to the Edict of Nantes had raised hopes in the Curia that even at the last moment the concessions would not be carried into effect. Ottavio Bandini, who had been left in France by the Cardinal legate as his representative, laboured with all zeal to bring this about, but to no purpose.³

In the second half of March, 1599, soon after Clement VIII., in accordance with the wish of the King of France, had honoured Ossat and Sourdis with the purple, news reached Rome that Henry IV. had overcome the resistance of the clergy and the Parliament to the Edict of Nantes, and on February 25th had caused the treaty to be registered by the Parliament of Paris.⁴ After this, on March 17th, the Pope

Secret Archives. Cf. *ibid.*, nn. 219, 297, the *briefs to the Cardinal of Lorraine of August 10 and October 8; also that to the Duke of Bar of October 8 in *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 179.

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 27. D'Ossat laboured for years to obtain a dispensation, but Clement VIII. obstinately refused it. He only gave way when he was shown a precedent of the time of Gregory XIII. obtained by the intervention of Charles Borromeo (see the *report of Paravicini to Vienna, dated Rome, 1603, December 20, State Archives, Vienna, Hofkorresp., 10, and *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 660 *seq.*); but Catherine died as early as February 13, 1604 (see *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 665).

² The return of Joyeuse to Rome is reported by an **Avviso* of February 17, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. In the summer he again left the Eternal City; see *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 71.

³ See the reports of O. Bandini to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini in *Arch. stor. ital.*, App. II., 426 *seqq.*

⁴ See the letter of O. Bandini to P. Aldobrandini, March 2, 1599, *loc. cit.* 455 *seq.* With regard to the small concessions made to the Parliament of Paris, and the acceptance of the Edict on the part of the provincial parliaments see MARIÉJOL, VI., 1, 422 *seq.* Cf. DE MEAUX, 314 *seq.*, 317 *seq.*

summoned Cardinals Joyeuse and Ossat to an audience, as the representatives of France. Showing more sorrow and anxiety than anger, Clement VIII. enumerated the concessions made to the Huguenots, which had been done at a time of internal and external peace, without the least necessity on the part of the king. By means of the liberty of conscience which the edict granted to all, the Calvinists would be able to make their way into the offices of the government and Parliament, propagate their errors, and put obstacles in the way of Catholic measures. Clement VIII. drew a contrast between the zeal of the French king in defending the Edict of Nantes against the resistance of the clergy and the Parliament, and his cold reserve when it was a question of introducing the decrees of the Council of Trent. What figure would he, the Pope, now cut before the world, when, in face of the opposition of the greatest and most powerful sovereign of Europe, he had absolved Henry IV. ? He might yet take a step back, and act in a contrary sense.¹

The two Cardinals employed all their eloquence in defending their king and pacifying the Pope. Henry too, they cleverly pointed out, aimed at the return of his subjects to the Catholic religion, but this could only be done by degrees, and by steering a course like a skilful helmsman, who is always making for port, even though he cannot attain to it directly. The king had no intention of offending against the rights of the Church ; he was only aiming at the preservation of peace in his kingdom, by which means alone it would be possible to restore the position of the Catholic Church. The edict had been extorted from him by the threatening attitude of the Huguenots during the Spanish invasion.

When in the course of the discussion the Pope spoke of the publication of the reform decrees of Trent, Ossat and Joyeuse assured him that their king had the best intentions in this respect, but that for the moment the solution of the question was not yet possible.² In the time to come it was shown

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 44 *seq.*

² See *ibid.*, 46 *seq.*

more and more clearly that Clement VIII., like Pius V. in similar circumstances, insisted upon a definite support of the efforts for Catholic restoration in France, as a counterweight to the dangers of the Edict of Nantes. In order to satisfy the Pope, Henry IV. promised to co-operate in this, and said so in the reply which he made on November 6th, 1599, to the complaints of Clement VIII. In this he said that his intentions and his conduct had been falsified by those who were guided more by their own interests than by those of religion. He had drawn up the edict in such a way that the chief advantages would come to the Catholic religion, as had already begun to be the case.¹

It was a fact that Henry IV. had seriously begun, in accordance with the Edict of Nantes, the restoration of Catholic worship in those places in the various provinces of France where it had been suppressed by the Huguenots. It is estimated that as a result of this, in no less than three hundred cities and a thousand parishes the practice of the Catholic religion had been reintroduced, after having been prohibited for fifteen years.² In this task Henry met with extraordinary difficulties in his own principality of Bearn, where the Calvinists had been masters for a generation, and showed themselves determined to maintain their violent oppression of the Catholics. The king left them the Church property, but undertook the maintenance not only of the two new bishoprics of the province, but of twelve parishes as well. Later on he summoned from Italy to act as missionaries religious of the Order of the Barnabites, at whose head was the Bearnais, Fortunat Colomb, who had been converted by Ossat and was recommended by Cardinal Frederick Borromeo. But it was after a considerable time that these

¹ See *Lettres missives*, V., 183 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 333.

² See PALMA-CAYET, *Chronologie novennaire: Collect. Michaud* 1st. ser. XII., 48. Cf. Y. DE LA BRIÈRE in *Études*, XCIX., 56 *seq.*; DUNAN, *Études sur le rétablissement de la messe à la Rochelle en 1599 d'après le manuscrit inédit du pasteur Jacques Merlin*, c.s., 1868. For the Dauphiné see CH. DUFAYARD, *Le connétable de Lesdiguières*, Paris, 1892.

religious, despite their zeal, met with success in a country where for so long every outward sign of Catholic life had been forbidden under the severest penalties, and where they found themselves face to face with the most inveterate adversaries.¹ In 1604 the state of affairs was still far from satisfactory.²

When, by the Peace of Lyons in 1601, the province of Gex, where the Genevans had robbed and oppressed the Catholics, itself became Catholic, the day of liberation for the adherents of the ancient Church at last dawned. Francis of Sales

¹ See POYÉDAVANT, *Hist des troubles survenus en Béarn*, II., 333, 353, 361, 394; MIRASSON, *Hist. des troubles de Béarn*, Paris, 1768, 149, 153 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 341 *seqq.* The Edict of Fontainebleau concerning the restoration of the Catholic Church in Béarn, dated 1599, April 15, is printed in *Bull. de la Soc. Hist. des protestants de France*, XLVII. (1898), 332 *seq.*

² Cf. the **Relatio status ecclesiae et catholicorum principatus de Bearne S.D.N. Clementi VIII.*, preserved among the papers of Fr. Peña, and which contains bitter complaints of the attitude of Henry IV. Here it is said among other things: "Episcopi Olorens. et Lasurens. carent redditibus suarum ecclesiarum atque auctoritate et decore episcopali et absque canonicis coadiutoribus quasi depicti et despecti vivere compellentur." The document concludes: "Propter praedictas causas quidquid a quinque annis et citra aedificari coeptum fuit in illo principatu pro fide catholica restituenda et stabilienda, manifeste ruit et catholici valde frigesunt et quasi desperant iam se posse videre in suis oppidis liberum catholicae religionis exercitium. . . . Supradictis malis remedium a V.S. adhiberi postulat Arnoldus episcopus Olorens. et praesenti circa tria principaliter provideri: Primum quod capitulum canonicorum suae ecclesiae restauretur et in antiquum statum sicut esse solebat reducatur. . . . Secundum quod seminarium sive collegium illud haereticorum omnino eradicetur et tollatur. . . . Tertium quod in toto principatu detur libera et tuta facultas verbum Dei praedicandi et sacra celebrandi cum idonea provisione pro catholicis ministris et praedicatoribus, qui populum doctrinam sanam et puram doceant et bonis moribus imbuant." The document was sent with marginal notes to the Pope on September 14, 1604; it was resolved to write on the subject to Henry IV. AA. Arm. I.-XVIII., 4020, p. 267 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives.

himself, who was held in high esteem by Henry IV., helped to overcome the scruples of Villeroi, the minister of foreign affairs, and to obtain for the Catholics the right to practise their religion once more, where they were in sufficient numbers.¹

In his letter of November 6th, Henry IV. had held out to the Pope the prospect of the publication of the decrees of Trent. This assurance, and still more the report of the Bishop of Modena, Gaspare Silingardi,² who had been appointed nuncio in Paris on February 9th, 1599, made a deep impression upon Clement VIII., who thought that the time had come to bring pressure to bear with renewed energy. On December 15th, 1599, he addressed to Villeroi, Bellièvre and other councillors of Henry IV., urgent briefs, in which, besides the recall of the banished Jesuits, he asked above all, for the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent. No more efficacious means for the renewal of the broken ecclesiastical discipline, and the restoration of the Catholic Church could be found than the granting of these two requests. The salutary influence of the Jesuits was so evident that even the enemies of the Order entrusted to them the education of their sons. As for the decrees of the Council it was a groundless pretext to say that the civil power would be injured by them. Wherever the decrees had been promulgated it was impossible to point to anything of the kind, and least of all had France any reason for fear, where the bishops were nominated by the king. On the contrary, the carrying out of the decrees

¹ See PÉRENNÈS, François de Sales, II., 12 *seq.*, 40 *seq.* Cf. BENOIT, Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, I., Delft, 1693, 359-371; ANQUEZ, Hist. des assemblées polit. des réformés de France, Paris, 1859, 300-303; FAUREY, Henry IV. et l'Édit de Nantes, Bordeaux, 1903, 63. J. Nouaillac, the most recent biographer of Villeroi, shows how he, so good a Catholic, was personally averse to the severely Catholic tendency which had become prevalent since the Council of Trent. Villeroi, Paris, 1909.

² See especially the long report of November 6, 1599, in MARTIN, Les négociations du nonce Silingardi, Paris, 1920, 46 *seq.* *Ibid.* 27 *seq.*, the instructions for Silingardi.

would not only further the reform of the clergy and the renewal of the Catholic religion, but also the tranquillity of the kingdom.¹ On December 16th, Clement VIII. addressed an autograph letter on the subject to the king himself.²

This time it seemed as though victory would crown the efforts of the Pope. In the spring of 1600, after the conclusion of peace with Savoy, Henry IV. drew up an edict concerning the publication of the decrees of Trent. He sent the draft to Rome to Sillery and Ossat to ask their opinion. The latter expressed his complete approval, as the clauses added to the edict would have met with no difficulty from the Pope: they were also calculated to close the mouths of the adversaries of the publication. Whatever they may say, Ossat continued, the decrees of the Council imply no prejudice to the rights of the crown, and still less to the liberties of the various Churches, unless they wish to maintain that concubinage, simony and other abuses are liberties of the Gallican Church.³ In the end, however, the opposing party obtained the upper hand in Paris. The Gallican officials, with the president of the Parliament, Jacques Auguste de Thou, at their head, offered so determined a resistance, and found so much to say as to the harmful and dangerous effect upon the states of such a step, that the king abandoned his purpose.⁴ When the Pope renewed his instances, Henry IV. adduced the foreign situation, which had become changed and obscured by the Duke of Savoy not having observed the terms of the peace. But even when this danger was over Silingardi could only obtain fair words and excuses in view of the calamities of the times.⁵ It was

¹ See MARTIN, *ibid.* 51 *seq.*

² See *ibid.*, 60 *seq.*

³ See Lettres d'Ossat, II., 176. PALLAVICINI (Stor. del concilio di Trento, 24, 10) refers to this significant letter.

⁴ See DE THOU, Mémoires; *Collect. Michaud*, 1st. ser., XI., 272. Cf. MARTIN, Gallicanisme, 304 *seq.*

⁵ See MARTIN, *loc. cit.*, 328.

evident that Henry IV. not only feared difficulties on the part of the Gallicans, but also on that of the Huguenots.¹

Just as this refusal meant that an important promise of Bourbon had been left unfulfilled, so was it with another, namely the setting up of a convent in each province of the kingdom, though this was abundantly compensated by the zeal and spirit of sacrifice of the French Catholics, supported by the king.

Henry IV. had repeatedly shown himself very negligent in his use of the rights granted to him by the concordat. In reply to the complaints made to him in an assembly of the clergy in 1596, he himself admitted that he had made many unsuitable appointments to abbeys and bishoprics because of his ignorance. The restoration of freedom of election, asked for by the Bishop of Le Mans, he naturally refused, though he promised for the future only to propose for bishoprics candidates who were suitable for the office, and to act in a similar way in conferring benefices; he also issued an order in support of the reform of the monasteries.

Since, however, no radical improvement took place, the Archbishop of Tours, François de Guesle, renewed in the name of the clergy the request for the restoration of freedom of election. "I am not the author of the innovations," Henry replied; "you have reminded me of my duty, but I would remind you of yours."² A certain improvement, which had been promised to Cardinal Medici,³ undoubtedly now took place, though it was far from complete. Thus when, in the spring of 1601, Henry IV. asked the Pope for the extension of the concordat to Metz, Toul and Verdun, and the territories acquired under the Peace of Lyons, Clement VIII. was able

¹ The king said so to Cardinal Aldobrandini when, at the beginning of 1601 they were negotiating the peace of Lyons, and the publication of the decrees of the Council was again brought forward, as well as the return of the Jesuits; see FÜMI, *Legazione*, 125 seq. BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 405.

² See PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXI., 105 seq.; MARIÉJOL, VI., 2, 91.

³ See DE MEAUX, 407.

to justify his refusal by saying that experience had taught him that his predecessors would have done better to have refused the princes the right of nomination, because it had been abused, even in France.¹

Nor was his promise to appoint as abbesses none but true religious, kept by the king. When in March 1605 he dismissed one of his mistresses, he promised her an abbey, while Sully, though he was a Calvinist, had two in commendam.²

In view of the many violations of the concordat,³ it was of the greatest importance for the maintenance of good relations between Paris and Rome, that Henry IV. should have had in Ossat a representative at the Curia who frankly warned him not to go too far, and who, as a skilled diplomatist,⁴ was able to pacify and convince the Pope. Ossat, who was a sincere Catholic, and a thorough Frenchman, was deeply experienced in all questions of ecclesiastical politics, prudent, reserved, vigilant, clear-sighted and cool-headed ; he defended the interests of his king, who honoured him with his complete confidence in a way that could not have been greater. For himself, Ossat sought nothing ; if he received the purple in March 1599, he had said no word and taken no steps, in order to become a prince of the Church. As a Cardinal he lived in as great poverty as before ; Clement VIII. did not forget how honest and sincere he had proved himself in the matter of the absolution.⁵

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 353 *seq.*

² See *MARIÉJOL*, VI., 2, 92.

³ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 519.

⁴ "É acuto d'ingegno, di buon giudicio, di natura calida et dissimulata," says of d'Ossat one of his adversaries, the author of the *report on the Cardinals, to which we shall return, written in 1602-1603 for Viglienna. Ottob. 2689, Vatican Library.

⁵ Cf. A. DEGERT, *Le card. d'Ossat, évêque de Rennes et de Bayeux (1587-1604) sa vie, ses négociations a Rome*, Paris, 1894. C. A. WILKENS in *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, XVII., 545, in his account of this work relates how Pius VII., after a difficult discussion took both the hands of Niebuhr, and thanked him for having shown himself a loyal man ; Clement VIII., who was also absolutely sincere, must have felt the same of d'Ossat.

Ossat was the ideal of a Cardinal in Curia, and the esteem which he enjoyed with the Pope was of great advantage for the interests of his sovereign. As time went on his influence was increased by the fact that there arose among the entourage of Henry a strictly Catholic party, which strove above all things to maintain good relations with the Holy See. The Pope's displeasure at the Edict of Nantes was lessened, the more he realized that at bottom Henry was giving more support to the Catholics than to the Huguenots.¹

Henry IV. openly favoured the increasing return of the Calvinists to the Church,² and how much he aimed in other ways at weakening Protestantism in his kingdom, looking upon it as an obvious danger to national unity, was made clear to all the world when the leader of the French Huguenots, Du Plessis-Mornay, who, after his dismissal from the office of councillor to the king, had become governor of Saumur, irritated his Catholic fellow-countrymen in the gravest manner. In a dissertation on the institution of the Eucharist, he attacked the central point of the Catholic religion, the presence of Christ in the Most Holy Sacrament of the altar, in the most violent way, and declared that the Pope was Antichrist. The ambitious writer referred to a thousand quotations, but these were put together with so much ignorance and lack of criticism that the learned Bishop of Evreux, Du Perron, was able openly to speak of falsification. Du Plessis was rash to challenge his adversary to a public theological disputation. On March 25th Du

¹ See RANKE, *Päpste*, II⁸., 186, 281.

² Cf. L'ÉPINOIS, 646; PHILIPPSON, *Westeuropa*, 418 *seq.*; DE MEAUX, 330 *seq.*, and *Études*, XCIX., 57, as well as the literature there cited, to which must be added RÄSS, 11 *seq.* The *Acta consist. report on March 29, 1599: "S.S. fecit legi litteras binas scriptas de conversione haereticorum apud dominium Avinionense in oppido Arausino (Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, 111, Vatican Library). In a *brief of July 10, 1601, Clement VIII. expressed to the chapter of Orleans his joy at the numerous conversions of Calvinists. Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

Perron declared his readiness to prove in the presence of the king and his commissaries that there were five hundred manifest lies in his adversary's book. As Du Plessis still demanded a disputation, the king gave his consent. As arbitrators of the conference, which was to take place at Fontainebleau, under the presidency of the royal chancellor, Bellièvre, he appointed two Catholics who did not belong to the strictly orthodox party, the parliamentary advocate Pithou, well known for his defence of Gallican liberties, and the historian de Thou, and two moderate Calvinists, the learned Casaubon and Fresne-Canaye.

Du Plessis became frightened, and sought for every kind of delay, but could not escape the disputation. This was opened in the presence of the king, many *grandeess*, and several bishops, and the very first day brought great discomfiture to the leader of the French Calvinists. It was proved against him, among other things that, owing to his ignorance of the scholastic methods of Duns Scotus, he had attributed to him the very opposite of what he really maintained, and that in his quotation from Chrysostom he had omitted the essential part, besides deliberately falsifying him. The defence made by Du Plessis-Mornay was, in the opinion of the Calvinist Sully, so feeble as to make some laugh and others angry, and even to excite some to pity. The Huguenot leader completed his own discomfiture on the following day by declaring himself ill, and going away without taking leave of the king. Henry IV. himself took part in the ridicule which fell to the lot of this man who had been thus deeply disgraced; with the king's permission the minutes of the conference were immediately published.¹ He was evidently amused at seeing the pride of the Calvinists,² who looked upon their leader

¹ See *Actes de la conférence tenue . . . à Fontainebleau, Evreux, 1601*. Cf. RÄSS, II., 269 *seq.*; FERET, *Le card. Du Perron*, 169-216; J. A. LALOT, *Essai hist. sur la conférence tenue entre Duplessis-Mornay et Du Perron, Fontainebleau, 1889*; *Annuaire de l'université de Louvain*, 1907, 328 *seq.*

² Opinion of RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.* II., 109).

as impregnable, thus once for all humbled. Cardinal Ossat did not fail to impress upon the Pope the share taken by the king in the brilliant victory of Du Perron.

Just as the behaviour of Henry IV. on this occasion filled the Pope with satisfaction,¹ so was it in yet another occurrence. Henry IV. had married Margaret of Valois, though for a long time past they had lived apart. They had no children, and Margaret wished for the annulment of her marriage, into which, like the king, she had been forced. Negotiations as to this had been going on for a long time in Rome, and Clement VIII. had assigned it to a special commission, composed of Cardinals Giustiniani, Borghese, Bianchetti, Arrigoni and Visconti, and two Auditors of the Rota, Benedetto Giustiniani and Giovan Battista Pamfili. The actual process was held in Paris by Cardinal Joyeuse, the Archbishop of Arles, Orazio del Monte, and the nuncio Silingardi, and the result of the most careful investigation was to show that the princess had only given her consent under pressure, and that moreover the dispensation on account of near relationship had never been given, so that the marriage was invalid. After this the declaration of annulment was made at the end of December, 1599, this judgment being confirmed by Clement VIII.²

It was of great importance for the Catholic cause that Henry should now have married, as the Pope desired,³ a princess belonging to a strictly Catholic family, Mary de'

¹ See the autograph letter of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., June 5, 1600, in MARTIN, *Négociations de Silingardi*, 87.

² Cf. P. Feret, *Nullité du mariage de Henri IV. avec Marguerite de Valois*, in the *Rev. des quest. hist.*, XX. (1876), 77-114; MARTIN, *Gallicanisme*, 311, and *Négociations de Silingardi*, 20 *seq.* The *opinion of the Jesuit, Benedetto Giustiniani, dated "Romae in collegio Soc. Iesu 1599 Aug. 5" (in Ottob. 2423. I., 477-482, Vatican Library) is both exact and objective; it came to the conclusion that the marriage had been invalid.

³ Cf. in MARTIN, *Négociations de Silingardi*, 45, the autograph letter of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., September 26, 1599, dissuading him from a mixed marriage.

Medici.¹ The Cardinal legate, Pietro Aldobrandini, who was sent to France to mediate the peace between that kingdom and Savoy, solemnly blessed the marriage at Lyons on December 17th, 1600.² When an heir was born to the King of France on September 27th, 1601, the Pope congratulated Henry on this event, which ensured the future of the dynasty, in an affectionate letter of October 22nd, 1601, in which he urged the Catholic up-bringing of the Dauphin.³ The protonotary apostolic, Maffeo Barberini, afterwards Pope Urban VIII., together with this letter, took to the Catholic heir to the throne a present which was introduced for the first time by Clement VIII., namely valuable swaddling-clothes, blessed by the supreme head of the Church.⁴ If Henry IV. gave the Pope the satisfaction of choosing him as god-father of the Dauphin, he was principally influenced by the idea of thus counteracting the pre-eminence of Spain in Rome.⁵

How greatly the king allowed himself to be guided by political considerations, and how confused were his ideas on religious questions is shown by the fact of his choosing Queen Elizabeth of England as the god-mother of his daughter,

¹ See ZELLER, *Henri IV. et Marie de Médicis*, 26 seq., 51 seq.

² See *ibid.*, 66 seq., 331 seq.; FOUQUERAY, II., 536 seq.

³ See *Brevia, Arm. 44. t. 45, n. 340, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 341, a *brief to Mary de' Medici, also dated October 22, 1601.

⁴ Cf. McSWINEY OF MASHANAGLASS, *Le Portugal et le St. Siège*, III., *Les langes bénits*, Paris, 1899, 1 seq., 11 seq. Here it is remarked (p. 15 seq.) that Clement VIII. had three months earlier sent by the Spanish nuncio a similar gift for the heir to the Spanish throne. The *reports of Barberini from November 1601, to March 1602 are in Barb. 5810, Vatican Library. For the arrival of Barberini in Paris see the letter of Vincenzo Giugni to the Grand Duke of Florence, Ferdinand I., which is also of interest for the manner of life of the royal family of France, dated Paris, December 8, 1600, published by A. PAOLI on the occasion of the *Nozze Supino*, Perugia-Florence, 1875.

⁵ Cf. BAROZZI, *Francia*, I., 40; COUZARD, 226.

born on November 22nd, 1602, a thing from which he was fortunately dissuaded by Ossat.¹

Clement VIII. and the Secretary of State, Pietro Aldobrandini, who had come to know the king very well during his legation, were under no illusions in his regard. This is clear from the instructions given to Maffeo Barberini,² when he was sent as nuncio to Paris at the beginning of December, 1604, Barberini was instructed to enlighten Henry IV., who had always lived as a soldier, on religious questions. At the same time the nuncio's instructions were concerned with a wide programme for the furtherance of Catholic interests,³ a thing which the king greatly assisted by his revocation of the banishment inflicted on the Jesuits by the Parliaments of Paris, Rouen, Dijon and Grenoble. The Cardinal legate Medici had already, in accordance with the wishes of Clement VIII., worked hard for this end, but without success.⁴ The Pope insisted that every means should be employed to restore to the Order its rights. To this end he resolved to have direct recourse to Henry IV. to bring home to him the value of the Society of Jesus, even from the point of view of the interests of the state. This task he entrusted to two men who enjoyed Henry's favour, the Archbishop of Arles, Orazio del Monte, and the Jesuit Lorenzo Maggio. These two arrived in Paris in July 1599, and the negotiations, in the course of which the king showed himself far more favourable than had been expected, were commenced at the beginning of August.⁵

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 654.

² See the *brief to Henry IV., December 4, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 348b, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See the text of the *Instructions, to which we shall return later, in App. No. 45, Barb. Vatican Library, and Corsini Library, Rome.

⁴ See *FOUQUERAY*, II., 458 *seq.*

⁵ See COUZARD, *De edicto Rhotomagensi Iesuitas in Galliam restituyente*, Paris, 1900; *FOUQUERAY*, II., 520 *seq.* The *letter of credential for O. del Monte, addressed to Pomponne de Bellièvre, dated January 23, 1598, st. fl. (=1599) in *Brevia*, Arm. 44, Papal Secret Archives..

On November 6th Henry IV. replied to the Pope, who had warmly recommended the cause of the Jesuits to him in a letter of October 28th, that he had attempted to meet his wishes.¹

Nevertheless the matter still dragged on, and in spite of the insistence of the Pope,¹ Henry IV. and his advisers² continued to postpone the decision. It is evident that this was principally done out of consideration for the powerful Huguenots, who, as the nuncio reported, hated the Jesuits more than the devil. Thus neither the two mediators, nor the nuncio Silingardi, nor even Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, when he was sent to mediate peace between France and Savoy, met with any success.³ When the Cardinal personally informed the Pope of the result of his mission in March 1601, Clement VIII., on April 13th, congratulated the French chancellor on the conclusion of the peace, but at the same time asked him to further the renewal of Catholic life, the best means towards which would be the revocation of the decree of banishment on the Jesuits.⁴ In spite of this appeal no progress was made for the time being, while the prospects even became worse, for Henry had made a number of conditions, some of which seemed to be impossible of acceptance. These conditions were presented to the Pope by the French ambassador Béthune in December 1601. The Pope informed Aquaviva, the General of the Jesuits, but said nothing more.⁵ In the meantime the friends of the Jesuits in France, as well as the new nuncio Bufalo,⁶ found themselves in an embarrassing position. The nuncio thought that the enemies of the Order had redoubled their attacks

¹ Cf. *Lettres missive*, V., 184. Cf. Mazio in the *SAGGIATORE*, I., 1 (Rome, 1844), who erroneously transfers the letter to the year 1595 (56 *seq.*).

² Cf. the brief of December 15, 1599, in *PRAT*, V., 166 *seq.*

³ Cf. *FOUQUERAY*, II., 529 *seq.*, 534 *seq.*

⁴ See *PRAT*, V., 179.

⁵ Cf. *FOUQUERAY*, II., 597 *seqq.*, 603.

⁶ Innocenzo Bufalo was appointed on May 25, 1601, to succeed Silingardi; see *BIAUDET*, 256.

and had employed every means to render Henry IV. and public opinion hostile to the Jesuits.

Queen Elizabeth, through the French ambassador in London, advised Henry IV. against any concession. The king replied that although the Pope had been bringing pressure to bear for five years to obtain the revocation of the edict of banishment, nothing had yet been done, but that he did not intend to render an account of his internal policy to anyone, just as he did not interfere with the internal affairs of England.¹ Almost at the same time the Calvinist press at La Rochelle issued two books, the work of Etienne Pasquier and Antoine Arnauld, the object of which was to excite hatred of the Jesuits, and which did not shrink from manifest calumnies: Pasquier described the Jesuits as the enemies of France, of the monarchy, and even of Christianity, while Arnauld attacked them not only for doctrines hostile to the state, but also for contempt of learning. To these obvious falsehoods the Jesuit Louis Richeome made a dignified reply. Henry read this work, which confirmed him in his opinion of the value of the Jesuits, especially in the matter of education. When he went to Metz in February 1603, he there received on April 3rd, the provincial of the French Jesuits, Ignace Armand, who defended the cause of his Order with so great calmness, frankness and dignity that he met with a very favourable reply.²

A decision was at last brought about by the Jesuit Pierre Coton, the celebrated preacher. This man, with his courtesy, affability and intelligence, very soon succeeded in winning the full confidence of Henry IV., and in dispelling his lingering prejudices against the Order. In the opinion of the Venetian, Niccolò Contarini, Henry IV. was also influenced by the consideration that it was in the interest of the kingdom to provide, by means of the Jesuits, a counter-weight to the powerful party of the Huguenots.³

¹ See FOUQUERAY, II., 609.

² See *ibid.*, II., 610 *seq.*, 622 *seq.*

³ See the passage from the *Hist. Veneta of N. Contarini in RANKE, II.⁸, 281. As is often the case with Ranke, he does not

After this change for the better, Clement VIII. in his prudence thought that the time had come to have recourse once more, in a letter dated July 14th, 1604, to the King of France, without making any allusion to the conditions which he had laid down. An attempt to instigate the King of France against the Jesuits on the part of James I., who had in the meantime ascended the throne of England, came to nothing. Henry replied that he intended to protect all his subjects, whatever their religion might be, so as to win them over to this service. As for the Jesuits, their Order was powerful in Christendom, and included many learned men of note, so that it seemed to him more fitting to show them favour than to reject them, thereby offending a great number of Catholics. In other respects he would keep the Jesuits in check, so that they could not fight against the Huguenots, except by their good lives and their excellent education of the young.¹

The decision to yield to the Pope's insistence in the matter of the return of the Jesuits was taken by Henry IV. when in August 1603 he summoned a commission to discuss the matter, composed of the members of the Parliament and of the Council of State. Although the opinions of the commission greatly varied, it nevertheless submitted to the king's decision. This was embodied in the Edict of Rouen,² published on September 1st, 1603, which confirmed the existing houses of the Jesuits at Toulouse, Auch, Agen, Rodez, Bordeaux, Périgueux, Limoges, Tournon, Le Puy, Aubenas and Béziers, and also allowed them to establish colleges at Lyons, Dijon and La Flèche, though under certain conditions and restrictions. The most important of these were : all Jesuits working

say where he found it ; the work of Contarini is in Cod. 6177-79 of the State Library, Vienna. Cf. also the study by VON DROIN in the *Rev. d'hist. mod. et contemp.*, III. (1902).

¹ See FOUQUERAY, II., 631 *seq.*, 638 *seq.*

² Text in PRAT, II., 147 *seq.* Cf. COUZARD, De edicto Rhotomag. (1900). See also FOUQUERAY, II., 644 *seqq.*, who on p. 668 *seqq.*, describes in detail how Henry IV. overcame the resistance of the Parliament of Paris.

in France must be of French birth; the establishment of new colleges was subject to the express permission of the king; without the consent of the bishop concerned the Jesuits could not exercise any pastoral office outside their own institutions, and they must promise on oath to do nothing against the interests of the king or against the peace of the kingdom. As a guarantee of this there was always to be a Jesuit at the royal court, under the title of court preacher.

Some of Henry IV.'s conditions were so hard that the General of the Jesuits, Aquaviva, expressed his regret at having accepted them. To this Coton and the nuncio Bufalo replied by pointing out that the sentiments of Henry IV. gave every reason to hope for the withdrawal of these conditions, and this opinion was shared by Clement VIII.¹ The course of events justified this view. Maffeo Barberini was urged in his instructions to work for the withdrawal of the conditions which restricted the activity of the Jesuits, and for the removal of the defamatory column which had been set up against the Order in Paris. As early as February 1605 the nuncio succeeded in getting Henry IV. to destroy this monument.² Although the Edict of Rouen had said nothing about the return of the Jesuits to Paris, in 1606 they received permission to reopen their college there, though their work of instruction was deferred to a more favourable moment.³

His celebrated reply to the complaints of the Parliament of Paris,⁴ shows how far Henry IV. rose above local prejudice, and the statesmanlike and practical perspicacity with which he recognized the value of the Jesuits to his kingdom: "How can you," the king said, "accuse of ambition men who

¹ See *ibid.* 662.

² See *Litt. ann. Soc. Iesu*, 1605, 517; IUVENCIUS, V., 2, 73. Cf. Nicoletti, **Vita di Urbano VIII.* tom. I., I, I, c. 12, in Barb. LI., 16, Vatican Library; PRAT, II., 344 *seq.*

³ PRAT, II., 462 *seq.*

⁴ For the authenticity of the discourse, which is wrongly called in question, see DUHR, *Jesuitenfabeln*, 767 *seq.*, and FOUQUEARY, II., 676. Cf. also DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, 365 *seq.*

renounce the honours and benefices which are offered to them, and who have even vowed to God never to accept them, and who ask for nothing else on earth than to be allowed, without reward, to serve those who wish to avail themselves of their services? If the name Jesuit seems to you too pretentious, why do you not complain of those others who call themselves the brothers of the Most Holy Trinity? As far as I myself am concerned, I would rather call myself Jesuit than Jacobin or Augustinian. Indeed, so far the Society of Jesus has only been tolerated in France, but Our Lord has reserved for me the glory of giving them citizenship in this country. The university is opposed to them, but only because they do better than others, which is shown by the crowds that attend their lectures. If men did not learn more and better from them than elsewhere, how is it that, because of their skill, your universities have nothing to show against them but empty benches, and that in spite of your prohibitions, the students follow them everywhere, even beyond the frontiers of the kingdom? You complain that they attract to themselves all the clever children, and choose the best. For this very reason I esteem them highly. Do not we ourselves choose the best soldiers to lead to battle? Would you choose men who are unworthy of you, and of seats in the council? You would despise them if they presented to you ignorant professors and preachers, yet now you blame them for presenting chosen spirits."

After Henry IV. had brushed aside the accusations of the wealth of the Jesuits as calumnies, he went on: "The vow that they make to the Pope does not bind them in all matters, but only when they are sent to convert the heathen. By their means God has indeed evangelized China. I often say to myself: if the King of Spain can make use of them, why not the King of France as well? Are we less important than anyone else? You say that they make their way everywhere, as they can; but others do exactly the same thing, and I myself, as far as is possible for me, have made my way secretly about my kingdom. It must be admitted that their patience is great, and for my part I admire them, because it is by

patience and virtue that they attain their ends. With regard to the authority of the Pope, their teaching is no different from that of other Catholics, and if you would put them on their trial for that, you would have to do the same to the Catholic Church. I do not believe that they withdraw the clergy from my authority, or teach regicide. Out of a hundred thousand students not one has ever shown a sign of any such thing; no torture could induce Chastel to accuse a Jesuit, and even if a Jesuit had committed that crime, should all the Apostles suffer on account of Judas, or am I responsible for all the misdeeds of my former soldiers? Therefore leave me alone to deal with this Society."

In the time that followed the Edict of Rouen, the Jesuits redoubled the zeal with which they were working in France. In the first year they founded new colleges at Dijon, Lyons, Bourges, Billom, Rennes, Rouen and La Flèche, in the last of which Henry IV. interested himself in a special way.¹ They were quite indefatigable in their spiritual work and in their instruction of youth, and extended their care to all classes of the population, including those in prison. Just as they fought against immorality, so did they boldly fight against heresy. They often successfully held disputations with the Calvinist preachers, and the number of these whom they brought back to the ancient Church increased from year to year.²

Besides the favour of the king, who resolutely protected the Jesuits against their enemies, they were greatly helped by the support of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and of Cardinals Sourdis and Joyeuse,³ as well as of many bishops. Some of the fathers accompanied the bishops on the work of visitation,

¹ Cf. PRAT, Coton, II., 292 seq.

² Cf. Litt. ann., 1603, 246 seq., 264 seq.; 1604, 405 seq.; 1605, 520 seq.

³ Cf. Litt. ann. 1603, 246, 307; 1604, 520. For the way in which the number of converts, and among them well-known names, increased in France during the latter days of Clement VIII. cf. the future volumes of this work, together with the description of the Catholic reform in that country in the time of Paul V.

and gave their assistance in missions.¹ Thus in 1604, at the invitation of the Bishop of Mende, two Jesuits went to the mountains of the Cevennes, where the Calvinists were very numerous, while the small remnant of the Catholic population which still remained had been deprived of the consolations of religion for almost forty years.² The immorality and ignorance which the Jesuits met with on some of their missions was so great that it was often said that without the Jesuits, the faith would have entirely disappeared.³ It was significant of the prestige enjoyed by the fathers as educators that many of the Calvinists, in spite of the threats of their preachers, sent their sons to the Jesuit schools, because they had the best reputation.⁴ The priests of the Society of Jesus were so sought after as confessors that they could scarcely comply with all the demands upon them, and often had to exercise their ministry for ten hours on end. People came to their churches from great distances.⁵ Religious life improved visibly, and places are mentioned where the number of communions at Christmas increased from 50 to 800.⁶ At Nîmes, where only 3000 Catholics lived among 25,000 Calvinists, the number of those who received communion at Christmas rose to 500. Such frequentation of the sacraments had not been seen in that city in living memory.⁷

While the Jesuits, with the assistance of Clement VIII., were once again receiving from Henry IV. a legal status and the opportunity for more far-reaching labours, the Pope was also furthering in other ways the work of reform and Catholic restoration. He encouraged in every way the efforts that were being made for the revival⁸ of the older Orders, in which

¹ Cf. Litt. ann. 1603, 256, 261 ; 1604, 534.

² See *ibid.* 1604, 405 *seq.*

³ See *ibid.* 529.

⁴ See *ibid.* 1603, 279 ; 1604, 405.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.* 1603, 262 ; 1604, 540, 551, 611.

⁶ See *ibid.* 1604, 425.

⁷ See *ibid.* 1603, 309.

⁸ Cf. Bull., X., 301 *seq.* ; GAUDENTIUS, 254 *seq.* ; HEIMBUCHER I., 313, 455 ; *Brief to Henry IV. dated April 10, 1602, concerning

work the Jesuits as well co-operated.¹ The new spirit which animated the Mendicant Orders was shown by the labours of certain Franciscans, among whom special mention must be made of François Feuarent, who travelled all through France as a controversial preacher, and also found the time to compose learned works.²

The reform of the older Orders found a powerful supporter in Cardinal Givry, who was living in Rome after May 1604, and whom Clement VIII. appointed Protector of the Benedictines. The many requests that were addressed to this prince of the Church in support of the efforts for reform, show what great progress had been made by the new religious spirit.³

the reform of the Carmelites, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 101, Papal Secret Archives. In the *Informazioni del P. Sosa ministro generale de' Min. Oss. a P. Clemente VIII sopra il modo di riformare la religione it is stated: "In Francia è molto necessaria la riforma perchè con le guerre et altri travagli sono le provintie in quel regno rovinate. . . . È cosa evidentissima che havendosi da applicare la medicina ad un inferno, bisogna che sia conforme all' infermità. Quel che patisce Francia è universale, per il che bisognerà attendere a riformare tutto il corpo della religione." That the Pope therefore wishes to come to an agreement with Cardinal d'Ossat and the French ambassador (Cod. miscell. [without signature] Communal Library, Ancona). Cf. also Vat. 7520; Jacobi Archimbandi Claramontensis *De reformatione ord. fratr. praedic. in regno Galliae facta circa a. 1595 a bo. mem. R.B. Sebast. Michaelis O. Pr. Vatican Library.

¹ Cf. PRAT, II., 357 seq.

² Cf. HOLZAPFEL, Gesch. des Franziskanerorden, 481.

³ See Cod. 219 of the Communal Library, Metz, *Lettres et Mémoires de l'em. card. de Givry . . . tirés des originaux par Mathieu Husson. *Ibid.* p. 44: Lettre du p. Jean Rivière, custode des religieux réformés de l'ordre de St. François de l'estroite observance, on the subject of reform, dated La Flèche, 1604, July 27; p. 53: Fratres religiosi expresse professi monast. s. Martini a Campis Parisien. ord. Cluniac., dated Paris, 1605, February 19 (Request for help against the unworthy subject of the diocese of Boulogne, Claude Dormy, who had been appointed their prior).

Important results for the whole of France flowed from the Congregation of reformed Benedictines of Saint-Vannes, which had been founded in Lorraine by Didier de la Cour, and in the establishment of which Clement VIII. had taken an important part. Cardinal de Vaudemont had been appointed by Gregory XIV. in 1591 Papal legate for the dioceses of Metz, Toul and Verdun, with authority to introduce the Tridentine reforms in the Abbeys of those districts, but in this task he found himself confronted by so many obstacles that after seven years of fruitless labour he thought it best to suggest to Clement VIII. the suppression of the Benedictine Order in those provinces. But the Pope would not agree and replied that on the contrary the Cardinal had been sent as a legate to reconstruct the crumbling edifice and not to destroy it from its foundations ; that the order of St. Benedict had already rendered to the Catholic Church so great and such signal services that the very thought of suppressing it would be a crime.¹ This view of the prudent Pope was shown to be fully justified, for when the Abbey of Saint Vannes at Verdun was given a new Prior in 1598 in the person of Didier de la Cour, a reform of the monasteries in Lorraine was carried out. On April 7th, 1604, Clement VIII. was able to establish the reformed Benedictine Congregation of Saint Vannes and Saint Hidulphe (at Moyen-Moutier) from which later on sprang the Congregation of Saint Maur which won a world-wide celebrity for its learning.²

The Reformed Congregation of the Feuillants, which was founded in the time of Gregory XIII. by the Cistercian, Jean de la Barrière, and confirmed by Sixtus V., was able after the restoration of peace in France to extend more widely, especially after Clement VIII. had to some extent mitigated the rule, which was at first too severe. The Pope also freed it from its dependence on Citeaux so that the reformed

¹ Cf. GÉRIN in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, 1876, I., 510.

² See HAUDIQUIER, *Hist. du vén. Dom Didier de la Cour*, Paris, 1772, 4 seq., 98 seq. Cf. *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CV., 273 seq. ; HEIMBUCHER, I., 150 seq. ; DIDIER-LAURENT, Nancy, 1904.

Cistercians of Barrière formed an independent Order based on the Benedictine rule. The founder died in Rome in the spring of 1600 after he had founded a branch of his Congregation for women.¹ The Feuillants, who had come to Paris in 1587, were given a new church there in 1601 in the Rue Saint Honoré, of which Henry IV. and his wife laid the first stone.² The same thing occurred at Orléans where the Cathedral had been destroyed by the Huguenots as far as the choir. In the year 1601 Clement VIII. granted a jubilee for its rebuilding, which developed into a great religious demonstration. Alms poured in so abundantly that the new Cathedral of Saint Croix could be erected on a large scale.³ Vincent Musart, who was animated by similar ideas as Barrière had founded a Congregation of the Third Order of St. Francis, which he established at Picpus near Paris, which did good work.⁴

The Canon Regular, Peter Fourier, of the Abbey of Chamousey in the neighbourhood of Epinal chose for himself the most wretched and uncomfortable parish in Lorraine, that of Mattaincourt in the Vosges where so great disorders were prevalent that the place was known as the "little Geneva." Fourier transformed Mattaincourt completely and like an ideal parish priest thought not only of the religious but also of the social welfare of his people. He founded a Confraternity of ladies for the gratuitous instruction of the girls, out of which grew the Congregation of Our Lady, which after having overcome innumerable difficulties at last obtained

¹ See HEIMBUCHER, I., 241 *seq.*; BAZY, *Vie de J. de la Barrière*, Toulouse, 1885; MABILLE, *Les Feuillantines de Paris*, Paris, 1902.

² See PICOT, I., 65.

³ See C. SAUSSEYUS, *Annales ecclesiae Aurelianensis*, Paris, 1615; *Mém. de la Soc. d'agricult. et sciences d'Orléans*, 5th. ser, IX. (1909), 138 *seqq.* In a *brief to the Capitan. Aurelianens., July 9, 1601, Clement VIII. expresses his joy at the course taken by the jubilee, during which many Calvinists were converted. Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See PICOT, I., 48.

the approval of the Holy See and then developed in a wonderful way.¹

In like manner, the Clerks of Christian Doctrine founded at Avignon by César de Bus and Jean Baptiste Romillion² devoted themselves to the education of the young. By the advice of these good priests Françoise de Bermond founded the Ursulines in France, having, with her sister and some other daughters of the first families of Avignon, adopted community life in 1596 in the Isle de Venise, in the county of the Venaissin.³ A second house was opened in 1600 at Aix. The Ursulines came to Paris later on, on the initiative of Barbara Acarie (née Avrillot). The life of this noble lady, like that of the Baroness de Chantal, shows how the work of Catholic regeneration had extended to the highest classes.⁴

Barbara Avrillot, who came of a noble family and was

¹ For P. Fourier *cf.* the biographies by BEDEL (Paris, 1645), CHAPIA (2 vols. Paris, 1850), ROGIE (3 vols. Verdun, 1887), LAGER (Ratisbon, 1884), HELD (Luxemburg, 1892), CHÉROT (Lille, 1897), VUILLEMIN (Paris, 1897), E. DE BAZELAIRE (Nancy, 1897), E. KREUSCH (Steyl, 1899), CHAPELIN (Epinal, 1919). See also GOYAU, *Hist. relig.*, 380 *seq.* The letters of Fourier were published by ROGIE (6 vols. Verdun, 1878). *Cf. Études*, LXXI., 5 *seqq.*, 166 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*; LXXV., 666 *seq.* *Hist.-polit Blätter*, XXXIX., 106 *seq.*

² For C. de Bus *cf.* MORONI, XI., 113 *seq.*, and CHAMOUX, *Vie de vén. C. de Bus*, Avignon, 1837; for Romillion see the monograph by BOURGUIGNON (Marseilles, 1669); RÄSS, *Konvertiten*, V., 104 *seq.*; BATTEREL-INGOLD, *Mem. p. s. a l'hist. de l'Orat.*, Paris, 1902, 17 *seq.*

³ *Cf.* BOURGUIGNON, *Vie du P. Romillion*, 288 *seq.*

⁴ For Madame Acarie, in religion Marie de l'Incarnation, *cf.* the biographies of MARTIN (Paris, 1677), CHARLEVOIX (Paris, 1724), DUPANLOUP (in German, Cologne, 1860), CASGRAIN (in German, Ratisbon, 1872) and RICHADEAU, Tournai, 1876). We also owe to Richadeau an edition of the letters of this magnificent woman (2 vols., Tournai, 1876), who was beatified by Pius VI. in 1791, and whose life has been nobly described by GOYAU (*Hist. relig.*, 386 *seq.*). We shall return to Jeanne de Chantal when dealing with Paul V.

born in Paris in 1566, by the wish of her parents in 1582 married Pierre Acarie de Villemor, who was a staunch Catholic, and wealthy, though somewhat obstinate, and to whom she subjected herself with resignation and obedience. In the same spirit the young wife performed her duties in instructing her six children, in watching over her household, and in ministering to the needy. Pierre Acarie, who was an ardent partisan of the League, was obliged, after the capture of Paris by Henry IV., to go into exile, and lost the whole of his fortune. His family was reduced to beggary, and had to accept the hospitality of Madame de Bérulle. Barbara Acarie bore this heavy trial with unaltered serenity of soul. She stood up for the rights of her husband with a masculine courage and prudence, rescued a part of his patrimony, and provided for the good education of her children. Her activities were not restricted to the narrow limits of her own house, but extended to many others of like mind with herself, whom she guided to a higher state of perfection; people of all classes sought the advice of this lady, who was as pious as she was prudent. The Jesuit Coton, who was for a time her confessor, has given us a touching picture of her delicacy of conscience, her humility, her love of God, her charity towards her neighbour, and of the special graces that adorned this chosen soul. When Francis de Sales went to Paris in 1602, he recognized the value of this hidden gem.¹ He, and above all Pierre de Bérulle, afterwards Cardinal, assisted Barbara Acarie in beginning her work, the introduction into France of the reformed Carmelite nuns of Teresa of Jesus. She won over to this plan the Duchesse de Longueville, who obtained the permission of the king, while Francis de Sales obtained from the Pope the canonical permission (November 13th, 1603). Great difficulties had to be overcome in getting Carmelite nuns from Spain, but in the meantime

¹ Cf. PRAT, Coton, II., 366 *seq.*; PÉRENNÈS, II., 22 *seq.*; HAMON, I., 416 *seq.*; HOUSSAYE, M. de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France, 124 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*; BREMOND, Hist. du sentiment relig., II. (1916), 5 *seq.*, 193 *seq.*

Barbara Acarie established, first in her own house, and then in a house near Sainte Geneviève, a company of young girls and women, who led a life of religion under her direction, and who were prepared to enter the Order before long. When at length the first Carmelite nuns arrived from Spain in the autumn of 1604, they found the company under the direction of Madame Acarie so well prepared that after a year the Spaniards were able to go home and leave the young foundation to itself. This grew rapidly and contributed greatly to the religious renewal of France in the XVIIth century.¹ Barbara Acarie, who had shown the rare example of a lady living in society introducing a religious Order, when she had completed the education of her children and had lost her husband, in 1613 entered the poorest of all the French Carmelite convents, that at Amiens. Out of humility she became a lay-sister and the subject of her own daughter, who, like two other daughters of Madame Acarie, had become a Carmelite.

Members of French society also entered the Order of the Capuchins, who as preachers and spiritual directors developed an extraordinary activity, and rendered the greatest services to Catholic restoration and reform. The ex-Duke Henri de Joyeuse, who had entered the Capuchin Order under the name of "Père Ange" was known throughout Paris as a brilliant and popular preacher. Of equal celebrity with him were Charles Bochart de Champigny, known as "Père Honoré," the son of a councillor of state, and Jean Baptiste of Avranches, and Jean of Angers.² A glance at the history of the various dioceses shows how this Order, which in many cases enjoyed the favour of Henry IV.,³ had spread throughout France. Their convents were divided into the provinces of Paris, Burgundy, Toulouse and Lyons; the latter included

¹ Cf. besides the biographies of Acarie the work of Houssaye, which is based upon new acts: *M. de Bérulle et les Carmélites de France*, 251 *seq.*, 290 *seq.*, 325 *seq.*, 356 *seq.*, and *Chronique de l'ordre des Carmélites*, I., Troyes, 1846.

² See BOVERIUS, II., 806 *seq.*; PICOT, I., 96 *seq.*

³ Cf. CHARPENNE, I., 247 *seq.*

the "custody" of Lorraine.¹ Together with the Jesuits the Capuchins were the most zealous opponents of Calvinism. When in 1604 Clement VIII. praised the constant steps taken by Henry IV. for the protection of the Catholic religion in the Dauphiné, he expressly recommended to him the Capuchins who were working there.² It was a great help to them when, after the death of Santori (1602), Cardinal Joyeuse became the Protector of the Order.³ In 1603 Clement VIII. allowed the establishment of a convent of Capuchin nuns in Paris, where they took the name of "Sisters of the Passion of Jesus,"⁴ by the wish of the then provincial, Père Ange.

Of decisive importance for the future of the Church in France was the progressive renewal of the episcopate. In spite of the gravity of the abuses existing among them, there had never been wanting excellent bishops. Some, like Clause de Marchaumont at Châlons-sur-Marne, Pierre de Villars at Vienne, and François de la Rochefoucauld at Clermont, are still spoken of with honour in the ecclesiastical history of France. But side by side with these, there were, as the result of the abuse of the concordat on the part of the crown, still too many unsuitable Bishops.⁵ The abuse of the right of nomination did not come to an end even after the conversion of Henry IV. Some cases were openly scandalous, as when Henry IV. appointed to the archdiocese of Rouen his bastard brother Charles de Bourbon, who had so far held the diocese of Lectoure without being even a priest. How little change there was in this unworthy man, even after he had received sacred orders, is shown by the fact that he, deaf to the warnings of the Pope, gave his sister who was still a Protestant in marriage to the Duc de Bar. It was fortunate

¹ Cf. BOVERIUS, II., 618, 753.

² *Brief of June 28, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 253b, Papal Secret Archives.

³ Cf. BOVERIUS, II., 680.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 693.

⁵ Cf. *supra* p. 175. Particulars of the bishops named in *Gallia christiana*.

for the diocese when Charles de Bourbon resigned it in favour of Cardinal Joyeuse in 1604.¹ Although the latter lived for the most part in Rome he nevertheless came to the assistance of his new diocese by founding a seminary and in other ways as he had already done as Archbishop of Toulouse where he had rendered good service by his reform measures and by introducing the Jesuits and Capuchins.² But though we must admit the munificence shown by the Cardinal in his good works it was nevertheless a grave abuse that he should have received the revenues of no less than six Abbeys.³

In like manner the granting of the archbishopric of Rheims to Louis de Lorraine in 1605, who was not yet a priest, can only be described as an abuse.⁴ But the fact that Henry IV. in 1604 appointed the four year old son of the Duc de Ventadour, Charles de Lévis, to the diocese of Lodève went beyond all limits. Clement VIII. did not show himself so indulgent as some of his predecessors had done ;⁵ he refused his confirmation and for the time being the see remained empty.⁶ In the same way the attempt of Henry IV. to obtain the diocese of Metz for his illegitimate son, Henri de Bourbon, Marquis de Verneuil, who was hardly seven years old, failed owing to the opposition of the Pope.⁷

In spite of such cases, the number of which could be added

¹ See *Gallia christ.*, XI., 101 ; DE MEAUX, 376.

² Cf. MIGNE, *Dict. des cardinaux*, 1107 *seq.*

³ Fécamp, St. Martin de Pontoise, Mont St. Michel, Notre Dame de Chambons, Laulne and Juilly ; see MARIEJOL, VI., 2, 89.

⁴ Cf. *Gallia christ.*, IX.

⁵ Cf. as to this BAUDRILLART, *Quatre cents ans de Concordat*, Paris, 1905, 196 *seq.*

⁶ Cf. *Gallia christ.*, VI. Henry IV.'s former levity is shown in his letter to Mary de' Medici of October 14, 1605, where he writes : " Je feray le Toussaint où je me trouveray. M. de Lodève est mon confesseur. Jugez si j'auroi l'absolution a bon marché." *Lettres missives*, VI., 557.

⁷ Cardinal Givry became the bishop, whereas Henry of Bourbon only received the expectation of it ; see *Jahrb. f. lothr. Gesch.*, X., 154 *seq.*

to, there was nevertheless under Henry IV. a sensible improvement in the appointments of the bishops.¹ Not a few of those whom he nominated displayed the greatest zeal in carrying out their ecclesiastical duties. Thus indefatigable visitors were found in the Bishops of Aire, Auxerre, Meaux and Mâcon: Phillippe Cospéan, François de Donnadieu, Jean de Vieux-Pont, and Gaspar Dinet as well as the Archbishop of Embrun Honoré de Laurens, who travelled all over his mountain diocese on foot and distributed all his revenues to the poor.² Another excellent man was François de Guesle, Archbishop of Tours from 1597, and the intrepid defender of the rights of the clergy against the king.³ As a change from the translation of the bishops which had been so frequent, Pierre du Vair gave a fine example of disinterestedness by formally refusing to exchange his diocese of Vence for a more wealthy one.⁴ The Capuchin Leonard de Trappes, who was Bishop of Auch from 1597, became the reformer of his diocese and died with a reputation for sanctity. In 1603 there came to Bourges André Fremyot whose father had distinguished himself in the days of the League by his Catholic loyalty and whose sister was Madame de Chantal.⁵ Louis de Vervins, who was Archbishop of Narbonne from 1600 showed himself indefatigable in preaching and in the visitation of his diocese, for the churches and convents of which he made generous provision.⁶ In 1596 Clement VIII. rewarded with the purple the services rendered by Anne D'Escars de Givry as Bishop of Lisieux; later on the Cardinal laboured with the same zeal for ecclesiastical reform in Metz. The zealous

¹ Cf. GOYAU, *Hist. relig.*, 379.

² Cf. DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, 39; PICOT, I., 144, n. 1. For Dinet, who took Charles Borromeo as his model, see *Rev. de l'hist. de l'Église de France*, II. (1911), 133 *seq.*; CIMETIER, *Les origines du séminaire de Macon*, Macon, 1912.

³ See DE MEAUX, *Luttes relig.*, 380.

⁴ See *ibid.*

⁵ See *ibid.*

⁶ See PICOT, I., 101.

François de Sourdis,¹ who was received into the Sacred College in 1598, showed a like activity. Ossat, who had been honoured with the purple at the same time as Sourdis, was almost constantly retained in Rome by more important interests so that he was not able to devote himself to his diocese of Rennes and later of Bayeux except by means of representatives. On the other hand Du Perron, before he was received into the supreme senate of the Church in 1604 belonged entirely to France; from 1596 he was Bishop of Lisieux where he showed himself the reformer of his diocese as well as the unwearied defender of Catholic truth against the Calvinists in word and writings.²

Immediately after the restoration of peace in August, 1598, Clement VIII. had addressed himself to the whole French episcopate and had exhorted them in words of the utmost gravity to carry out the reforms decreed by the Council of Trent. In addition to visitations he above all urged provincial synods.³ These assemblies were to become of great importance especially for the establishment of seminaries for the clergy.⁴

The qualities which Clement VIII. required in the bishops was brought home by him to the French government by the fact that he appointed to the arch-diocese of Avignon, one after another, two Oratorians who were zealous reformers,

¹ Cf. RAVENEZ, *Hist. du card. de Sourdis*, Bordeaux, 1867; ALLAIN, *Les débuts du card. de Sourdis*, in *Compte rendu* of the congress of Catholic scholars held at Freiburg in Switzerland in 1897, Freiburg, 1898.

² See *supra* p. 170.

³ See the *Pastoral letter of August 17, 1598, and the *brief of the same date to the Cardinal legate Medici in Arm. 44, t. 42, nn. 228 *seq.*, 230, Papal Secret Archives. Clement VIII. also tried to promote the development of Christian life by granting large indulgences; cf. CALENDINI, *La Confrérie du St. Sacrement de Loué-en-Champagne*, in *La Province du Maine*, XX. (Le Mans, 1912), 27 *seqq.*

⁴ See DEGERT, *Hist. des séminaires*, II., 69 *seqq.* Cf. also *Rev. de l'hist de l'Eglise de France*, II. (1911), 35 *seqq.*

Tarugi and Bordini, of the school of Phillip Neri.¹ In the sublime pastoral letter which the Pope, after the conclusion of peace between France and Spain, addressed to the French episcopate on August 20th, 1599,² he expressed himself in an incomparable manner as to the duties of bishops. This pastoral says : Already France is recovering from her dangerous illness ; religion is reviving and many pastors are watching over their flocks ; as his previous exhortations had borne such good fruit, he now renews them at this favourable moment. The bishops must not stop but must continue to labour unweariedly in expectation of the eternal crown which is awaiting them. There is still much to be done. France, which once was a Paradise from the point of view of religion, is not yet sufficiently cleansed from the thorns and cockle of heresy and corruption ; but on account of the grace which is inherent in the nation he hopes for a second spring. To this end the bishops must above all things look to the choice of good priests and avoid every kind of simony. Everything depended on a good clergy, and therefore they must ordain only such as were perfectly suitable and blameless. The bishops would have to render an account to God for such things. Above all, in districts where religion had been restored, they must provide none but chosen and tried priests, not only for their learning and practical sense, but also for their goodness and prudence, priests who would edify the people by their zeal, and who sought for no earthly reward, but only for the salvation of souls. The Pope went on to insist on the bishops making regular visitations of their dioceses, and by their own example, by their frequent and fervent celebration of the holy Mass, and by their love for the poor, standing out as true leaders of their flocks. The labour was great, but the reward was equal to it. " Do honour to your ministry," exclaimed the Pope, " help your country, drive away Mac'ry, preach and convert those who

luttet reh

¹ See Gallia chr.
1926] pp. 516, "

² Bull., X., 101.

celatro, St. Philip Neri [Engl. Ed.,
III., 288 seq., 293.

have gone astray. God, and the authority of the king and of the Pope, will be behind you in this work."

This letter of Clement VIII. is a precious record of ecclesiastical history at that time, and is as honourable to the Pope himself as it was calculated to spur on the zeal of the French bishops to remove the abuses in their country.¹ Nor in the time to come was Clement VIII. sparing in his exhortations. Proof of this is to be found in his letters to the Bishops of Toul² and Verdun,³ and to the bishops of the province of Bordeaux.⁴ The Pope ordered his nuncios⁵ to work in the same sense, especially reminding them of their duty of residence. In 1604 he begged Henry IV. to assist him in this matter, which was also of importance for the maintenance of civil order.⁶

The new nuncio, Maffeo Barberini, was instructed at the end of 1604, to inform the French government that henceforward the Holy See would observe the utmost strictness in confirming those who were nominated to episcopal sees. At the same time Barberini was instructed to work with all possible energy for the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, for which his predecessor had so far laboured in vain.⁷ On the successful issue of this problem, for which four Popes had striven to no purpose, in the highest degree

¹ See PICOT, I., 37.

² See in App. No. 36 the *brief of September 30, 1600, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See the *brief of January 18, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 31, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See in App. No. 39 the *letter of July 12, 1601, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See the *letters which Clement VIII. addressed to Cardinal Sourdis and all the French bishops on the occasion of the mission of I. Bufalo. Arm. 44, t. 45, nn. 154, 183, Papal Secret Archives. The text of the latter, May 25, 1601, in App. No. 38.

⁶ See the *brief of March 20, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 160, Papal Secret Archives.

⁷ Cf. in App. No. 45, the text of the Instructions for Maffeo Barberini, Papal Secret Archives.

depended the progress and consolidation of the revival of ecclesiastical life which had begun in France. How tenaciously Clement VIII. laboured for the restoration of religion in that country, is best shown by the fact that the instructions which he gave to the nuncios, Silingardi, Bufalo and Barberini, insistently recommended, almost in the same words, the furtherance of his efforts.

CHAPTER V.

CLEMENT VIII, AND SPAIN.—THE POPE MEDIATES BETWEEN SPAIN, FRANCE AND SAVOY.—DECLINE OF SPANISH INFLUENCE IN ROME.

PHILIP II. had found himself at issue with almost all the Popes of his time, nor was Clement VIII. to prove an exception. Even before the absolution granted to Henry IV. had definitely placed the Pope and the King of Spain at variance, estrangement and tension had begun to take the place of their former good relations. All this could above all be traced to the cesaropapalism of Philip II.

The Spanish monarch, who was an absolutist and a bureaucrat to the marrow, was not content to rule over his own kingdom almost as a Pope-King, but wished to have a decisive voice in all important matters concerning the government of the Church. He based this extraordinary claim on the protection which he afforded to Catholic interests all over the world. It is impossible to deny the sincerity and purity of the intentions which had guided him in the beginning, but by degrees purely Spanish interests had come to take an ever-increasing place, while only too often these were preferred to the interests of the Church. Though this was quite obvious, nevertheless the "hermit of the Escorial" claimed that no Pope understood the true interests of the Church so well as he, and that therefore the occupant of the Papal throne must be in all things subject to his will. As time went on, a reaction against the influence which Spain exercised in Rome over the conclaves, as well as in almost all ecclesiastical and political matters, became inevitable. True Italians saw in all this a hateful foreign domination, while the representatives of Catholic reform looked upon it as a duty to resist this tutelage of the Holy See. The great Sixtus V. had risked open

resistance. In the conclaves which rapidly followed each other after his death, the Spaniards once more succeeded in breaking down the resistance which had manifested itself, though they had been obliged to adopt stronger measures than in the past. Even Philip II. realized that he must leave his diplomatists in the conclaves a freer hand than before, because he could not attain his purpose against France in any other way ; he therefore sought to intervene in the sense of moderation.¹ But even then it did not enter into the mind of the King of Spain to curb his cesaro-papistical ambitions.

The relations of Philip II. to the Church, in the countries which were subject to him, were so extraordinary that many people, though wrongly, maintained that the strictly Catholic sentiments of the king were founded, not on any sincere conviction, but on political considerations. Nor is there any reason to be surprised at this, reported a Florentine diplomatist in 1591, when we remember what the Papal nuncios have to put up with at that court. The list of the abuses mentioned by this well-informed witness is a long one : contempt of ecclesiastical privileges ; the rejection of Papal bulls, beginning with the important *In coena Domini*, down to that prohibiting bull-fights, which every year cost fifty men their lives ; the use of ecclesiastical revenues for quite other purposes ; the condemnation of priests and religions by the civil courts, and sometimes, as had happened in Portugal, the condemnation to death of ecclesiastics ; the prohibition of seeking matrimonial dispensations from Rome ; grave abuse of the Cruzada bull ; the absolute dominion of the Inquisition, which had been degraded to a department of state. As a typical proof of his abuse of religion for political ends, mention is made of the interference of Philip II. in the religious disturbances in the kingdoms of England and France, and attention is called to the infamous calumny against the purity of the faith of Sixtus V. The credibility of this account is confirmed by the fact that the author is fair enough to

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 8.

recognize that the King of Spain, although he aimed at having in his own hands all the ecclesiastical benefices of the kingdom, from the archbishoprics to the smallest chaplaincies, was scrupulously conscientious in seeing that none but the most worthy and capable men were appointed.¹

Philip II. was supported and encouraged in his cesaropapistical aims by ecclesiastics who, satiated by favours and graces, had nevertheless sworn upon their conscience to respect the rights and liberties of the Spouse of Christ above all human considerations. Just at the beginning of the pontificate of Clement VIII. one of these courtier theologians, whose behaviour made the fault of the king less great, Juan Roa Davila, composed at Madrid an "Apologia for the rights of princes,"² which attacked the rights of the Holy See, in such a way that Clement VIII. placed it on the Index.³ Camillo Caetani, Patriarch of Alexandria,⁴ who arrived in Madrid in February, 1593, as the new nuncio in Spain, was instructed to take proceedings against this work, and to demand the cessation of the violations of ecclesiastical liberties and immunities which the Spanish government allowed itself in many cases.⁵

Caetani had not been long in Madrid, when there were published the decrees of the Cortes for the years 1588-1590,

¹ See the *Relazione di Spagna* in C. BRATLI, *Filip den anden af Spanien*, Copenhagen, 1909, 189 *seq.*, 192. Cf. also the remarks of the Venetian ambassadors in GINDELY, *Rudolf II.*, Vol. I., 21.

² Ioaniis de Roa Davila theologi, *Apologia de iuribus principalibus defendendis et moderandis iuste ad cath. Hispania regem Philippum II.*, Madrid, 1591. Cf. BARONIUS, *Annales VI. ad ann. 447, n. 8.*

³ See REUSCH, *Index*, I., 537.

⁴ A *brief, dated Tusculi, 1592, October 1, informed Philip II. of the mission of Caetani. *Brevia Arm.* 44, t. 38, p. 72, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See the *Instructions for Caetani, dated October 27, 1592, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 318 pp. 1-9, Papal Secret Archives. For the letters to Caetani and from him during his nunciature in Spain see HINOJOSA, 350 *seq.*

and on the strength of these a law which seriously violated ecclesiastical jurisdiction and liberties.¹ The nuncio did not fail in energetic action, but obtained very little.² In like manner the special legate, Camillo Borghese,³ who was sent to Madrid in the autumn of 1593 on account of the war against the Turks, was no more successful. Instead of improving, the politico-ecclesiastical situation became worse. Philip II. insisted on the independence of the Church in Spain from Rome in so brusque a way that not even the Gallicans themselves behaved worse a little later in the case of the Church of France. The law of 1593, which extended the royal *placet* even to the faculties of the nuncio in Spain and the Papal legates,⁴ was followed at the end of the same year by the pragmatic on titles, against which Sixtus V. had previously fought, and against which Caetani now once more protested. The bull of Clement VIII. of July 19th, 1594, prohibiting religious of both sexes from accepting or giving presents which were not to the advantage of the community, was not received in Spain, together with various other prescriptions of the Papal Chancery. Vexatious disputes, especially between the Rota and the royal council, were quite common.⁵

¹ See the *Cause (July, 1593) per le quali si può tenere offesa S.S.tà et i suoi ministri delli capitoli de corti generali di 1588, Nunziat. di Spagna, 43, Anno 1593, p. 167 *seq.* (Cf. p. 212 *seq.*, 258 *seq.*), Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* 1594, p. 114 *seq.*, another *Memorial concerning the infringement of ecclesiastical liberties. Cf. also MEISTER, Zur span. Nuntiatur, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, VII., 453. A *Memoriale del vescovo di Monopoli a Clemente VIII. sopra alcune molestie mosseli da ministri regii, in Vat. 6196, p. 160. *Ibid.* p. 161 *Memoriale del vescovo di Civita di Penne a Clemente VIII. sopra alcune molestie mosseli dal Vicere di Napoli intorna ad una antica sua giurisdizione (August, 1592), Vatican Library.

² See HINOJOSA, 355 *seq.*

³ As to this mission see more fully *infra*, pp. 271 *seqq.*

⁴ Cf. HINSCHIUS, III., 755; MÜLLER, De placito regio, Louvain, 1877, 47 *seq.*

⁵ See the *reports of February and March, 1594, in Nunziat. di Spagna, 43, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. PHILIPPSON in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, XXXIX., 449 *seq.*, HINOJOSA, 358 *seq.*

As was the case in Spain itself, so in Portugal, Milan and Naples, ecclesiastical liberties and jurisdiction were frequently infringed.¹

Usurpations of this kind were certainly not calculated to win over Clement VIII. to the Spanish claims and desires in the matter of the absolution of Henry IV. ; the same was the case with the severe pressure brought to bear by Philip II. in Rome as to this question. This interference was all the more bitterly resented as the question of the absolution was a purely ecclesiastical one.² The feeling that prevailed in Rome is clear from a letter of the Florentine ambassador of July 26th, 1595. This reports the violent disputes that had taken place between the Spanish ambassador, Sessa, and the Cardinals. Cardinals d'Aragona and Cusano remarked that in spite of all their attachment to Philip II. they felt themselves bound in conscience, in virtue of their dignity, to defend the rights of the Apostolic See. When Sessa went so far, in the presence of Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, as to maintain that in the question of Henry IV. Philip II. was only influenced by his zeal for religion and for the Holy See, the Cardinal replied that his sole interest was to obtain dominion over France. Sessa retorted that it was only the purple which restrained him from challenging the Cardinal to a duel. Cardinal Medici expressly stated that the question of the absolution had nothing to do with the king, since he had not been invested with the stole or the keys ; in such a matter his chaplain had more authority than the king, since in danger of death every priest has the power of absolving.³

Clement VIII. too deeply resented the pretensions of the Spaniards in the matter of the absolution, though even in this he showed his cautious nature. The Pope never lost sight of their community of interests, especially in the matter of the Turkish war. Therefore he was scrupulously careful

¹ Cf. *Arch. stor. ital.*, IX., 439 seq., 443 ; *Carte Strozzi*, I., 2, 213 seq. ; RICCI, Sillingardi, I., 194 seq. ; RINIERI, *Fine d'una Monarchia*, xxi. seqq. For Milan cf. *infra*, p. 203 seq.

² See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 428.

³ See DESJARDINS, V., 237 seq.

not to come to an open breach with Philip II. He refused to identify himself with the anti-Spanish party, represented in Italy¹ by Venice and Tuscany, and when the absolution of Henry IV. could no longer be deferred, he tried to accomplish it with all possible consideration for Philip II. But he never relinquished the rights of the Church, and kept constantly before his eyes the dangers of Spanish preponderance, which threatened the liberties and independence of the Holy See. In this he was all the more justified as the Spaniards more and more openly made use of force, and made it increasingly clear that with them religious interests were subordinated to political considerations.²

Clement VIII. perfectly understood the state of affairs in the Curia, and the place held there by the representatives of Spain; above all, the events of the last four conclaves which had followed each other so rapidly, and in which he himself had taken part, were vivid in his memory. He realized that it was no use to think of any improvement in the situation so long as the Spaniards continued to interfere in the Papal elections, and to influence the Cardinals. As early as the end of 1593 the theologians of the Holy See had drawn up an opinion, directed against the methods hitherto adopted by Philip II. in the conclaves, and openly declaring that the behaviour of his representatives was unlawful and liable to the censures of the Church. In a special way the Papal theologians declared that Philip II. was guilty of grave sin, especially in the following cases: 1. When he announced through his ambassador, that he wished for the election of a definite Cardinal, he was interfering with the freedom of the election, since the Cardinals who were devoted to him feared to incur his displeasure by an election that was not pleasing to him. 2. When the king excluded a definite

¹ See HERRE, 633 *seq.*

² See HERRE, 635. The nuncio Pietro Millino *reports on August 3 [1593], from Madrid, that Philip II. gave no hearing to any proposals on behalf of the Catholics of Scotland "per essere occupato alle cose di Francia." Miscell. XV., 37, Papal Secret Archives.

Cardinal from the possibility of election, he was inflicting a grave injury upon the Church, because sometimes such an exclusion struck at men who had the greatest qualifications for governing the Church. 3. When the king conferred pensions on the Cardinals of his party, and made them every kind of promise, with the purpose, more or less concealed, of directing the Papal election in accordance with his wishes, he was to some extent guilty of the sin of simony, since voting at the election of the Pope was an ecclesiastical matter, and he was by his presents purchasing a real influence over this.¹

In reply to this opinion, at the instance of the Spanish ambassador Sessa, three theologians who were devoted to him, the Auditor of the Rota, Francisco de Peña, who was violently Spanish in his views, the Dominican, Giovanni Vincenzio and the Jesuit José de Acosta, drew up a strong counter-opinion. Their views were summarized as follows : 1. Catholic princes may treat with the Cardinals concerning the election of a Pope, *sede vacante*, though not by way of command or ordinance, in order that they may choose a Pope who should be pleasing, not only to the Church, but also to their peoples. 2. For this purpose it is lawful for Catholic princes to exercise the right of inclusion and of exclusion but only on the condition that no one is included who is not worthy of election, nor excluded if he is best suited for the government of the Church. It is therefore permissible to exclude one or more Cardinals who, although they are capable of governing the Church, are nevertheless, for good reasons, looked upon as the enemies of Spain, so long as others are included who are as capable as those who are excluded. 3. In order to win over the goodwill of the Cardinals in this, it is lawful to do so by any honourable means, such as pensions, the granting of favours and other privileges, because in such concessions no contract is entered into, but the Cardinals are left with full liberty in voting.²

¹ See GINDELY, Papstwahlen, 258. Cf. also SINGER in *Zeitschr. der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgesch.*, XXXVII., Kan. Abt. VI., 122 seq.

² See GINDELY, Papstwahlen, 259.

It was justly remarked that although these controversies between Madrid and Rome were of little practical effect, they were nevertheless of the greatest importance. They obliged the Spaniards to abandon, what they had so tenaciously maintained, the identity of their national interests with those of the Church, and to admit, so to say officially, that the interests of the Church must come before those of the state.¹

This point of view found its clearest expression in the French question, with regard to which Philip II. claimed that the Holy See, in order to favour his purely worldly ends, must allow France to fall into schism. Clement VIII., in refusing to lend himself to this, and in granting Henry the absolution he had repeatedly asked for, took the decisive step in setting the Holy See free from the Spanish yoke. The joy with which the Curia hailed this decision, clearly showed² the satisfaction felt at the end of the servitude to Spain which had been borne with indignation for so long.

The defeat of the Spaniards was rendered all the more complete by the fact that they did not dare to carry out their many and violent threats. Sessa and his party took no definite steps in Rome, and the same was true of Philip II. himself.³ "Although the absolution of Henry," reported the Venetian ambassador in Madrid, Francesco Vendramin, "has shaken and disturbed the king's mind in an extraordinary way, he yet allows no one to know how much he is offended."⁴

Clement VIII. was prudent enough not to come to an open breach⁵ on account of any violation of his own rights on the part of Philip II. When in the autumn of 1596 the application of the *exequatur* in Naples, and the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction at the expense of the Archbishop of Milan, Frederick Borromeo, did not allow him to keep silence any longer, he intervened firmly, but always in such a way as to

¹ See HERRE, 641.

² Cf. the report of Niccolini in DESJARDINS, V., 254, 276 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.* V., 279.

⁴ See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 466.

⁵ See *ibid.*

avoid coming to extremities. He addressed himself in the first instance on both occasions to the local Spanish authorities. On September 7th he addressed a brief to the governor, Juan de Velasco, and the senate of Milan. He pointed out that the archbishop, Cardinal Frederick Borromeo, did not wish for litigation, but that that prelate, no less than the Pope himself, could no longer tolerate¹ the constant violation of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Clement VIII. also showed every consideration for the viceroy of Naples, Olivares, by having recourse to him, not as Pope, but as a private individual.

Even if there was room for a diversity of opinion as to the legal position in the disputes at Milan,² at Naples, on the other hand, the case was perfectly clear. The state of affairs there was characteristic of the Spanish system. The Pope had found himself obliged to take away the direction of the convent of Poor Clares from the Franciscan Observants on moral

-The *brief addressed "Praesidi et senatui Mediol." complained of the burdens that pressed upon ecclesiastical property, of affronts to priests and interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 367, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.*, also dated September 7, 1596, a *brief to Cardinal F. Borromeo, who is praised for his vigilance. The Pope says that he, like the Cardinal, only wished to maintain the state of affairs existing in the latter days of Charles Borromeo. A number of *Scritti concerning the question of jurisdiction in Milan, 1596-97, in Barb. LIX. 106, Vatican Library. Quite onesided, and in no sense neutral, is the description of the quarrel at Milan in the *Report addressed to Philip II. by the Constable Juan de Velasco, dated July, 1597, in the Lobkowitz Library, Prague; another copy in Inform. polit. XXIX., 470 *seqq.*, State Library, Berlin, used by GINDELY (Rudolf II., vol. I., 15 *seq.*). See also a *Spanish Memorial of 1596 addressed to Philip II. on the subject of the quarrels at Milan, in N. 13, p. 340 *seq.* Vallicella Library, Rome. Cf. also GALANTE, Diritto di placitazione e l'economato dei benefici vacanti in Lombardia, Milan, 1894, 80 *seq.*, and the literature there cited.

² See Lettres d'Ossat., I., 371 *seq.* Cf. also A. RATTI, Opuscolo ined. del card. Baronio, 10 *seqq.*

grounds. When the archbishop, Cardinal Gesualdo, set himself to carry out this order of the head of the Church, purely ecclesiastical in character, entirely justified, and even necessary, the civil authorities resisted it, on the pretext that this brief required the *exequatur* of the king. It is intolerable, wrote Clement VIII. to the viceroy on October 5th, 1596,¹ that the Pope should not be able to govern even monks and nuns, who are primarily subject to him; no king and no earthly prince had any jurisdiction in matters which only concern religious, and the removal of grave moral evils. In this case he had only acted after a strict inquiry, not hastily, but after mature reflection, and in accordance with his sacred duty as supreme pastor of the Church. He had issued similar orders, without meeting with any opposition, in Venice, where the convents were filled with the relatives of the rulers of the republic. The *exequatur* in Naples was well known to him. It had not existed from time immemorial, but had only been allowed in the dioceses, so that persons hostile to Spain might not interfere there. The civil power had then extended it little by little, and now wished to make use of it to prevent an urgent monastic reform. Olivares must take care that the overstrung bow does not break. Purely out of consideration for the king he was writing to him as a private individual and not as Pope.

Clement also adopted the form of a private autograph letter when, on October 15th, 1596, he had recourse to Philip II. himself on the subject of the usurpations in Naples and Milan. This letter enters into detail concerning the state of affairs, and is explained by attached documents. The Pope makes his complaint in energetic terms: he gravely points out that the usurpation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction prejudices civil jurisdiction; if bishops and priests are treated in this way by the officials, they will come to be despised, and will not be able to prevent the penetration of heresy and schism, since this was the very thing as to which all the religious

¹ The *letter to Olivares in Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 14, Papal Secret Archives and in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.

innovators were in agreement, namely the humiliation and destruction of the authority of the Holy See.¹ On October 11th, 1596, Clement VIII. had to complain in a brief to the king, of the violation of the liberties of the Church on the part of the representatives of Philip II. at Cambrai.²

The Pope's confessor, the learned Baronius, urgently appealed to the conscience of Olivares, who was an ardent admirer of his *Annals*. "If," he wrote, "I were to come down in my work to our own times, and to the reign of the mighty "Catholic" king, I should have to relate how, in the Kingdom of Naples, bishops were driven into exile by the viceroy, as in the days of the Emperor Decius; that property was stolen from the Church, and the Papal authority gravely contemned, so that it was not even allowed to change the confessors of convents. The oppression of the clergy by the civil power, such as prevails in the Spanish dominions, is equivalent to a crypto heresy. I shall not be able when the time comes, to hide the truth, even though in describing the fault, I have also to tell of its expiation, and show that all this has been done against the wishes of the king."³ Spain, so thought the Venetian ambassador Agostino Nani in 1598, would like as far as possible to limit the power of the Holy See, to make the Papal Nuncio its servant, and see none adorned with the purple except those men who have been chosen for that dignity by the Catholic King. The same shrewd observer goes on to point out how Philip II. had not only completely subjected the Spanish Inquisition to his purposes, but the clergy as well. Nani clearly shows how much the king was attempting to limit ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Those officials, he says, who have been excommunicated on account of their violation of the rights of the Church are the very ones accounted the most trustworthy, while an Alcade or a Corregidor who has not been excommunicated for at least ten months, is looked upon

¹ See the text of the *letter (Vatican Library) in App. No. 28.

² See Corresp. de Frangipani 394 *seq.* (*cf.* 407 *seq.*).

³ See LÄMMER, *Analecta*, 141.

as wanting in zeal in the fulfilment of his duties. Unjust excommunication was looked upon them as valid, and they took the judgment of the matter into their own hands. All this was based upon ancient custom, while Philip II. pacified his own conscience by the opinions of his theologians.¹

In a Church where there was no freedom of action, such as that of Spain, grave abuses were bound to take root only too easily. Clement VIII. had been able to see for himself, when he had been in Spain, that the men who held the wealthy bishoprics of that country were very often more like great secular nobles than pastors of souls.² He therefore, from the beginning of his pontificate, made every effort to recall them to their duty, and especially to a strict carrying out of visitations.³ Like the Pope, his nuncio Caetani worked energetically⁴ in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform. But as the fundamental cause, the enslavement of the Church, still remained, a radical improvement was attained but slowly, so that further exhortations were constantly called for.⁵ Clement VIII. did all he could; in July, 1596, he told the King of Spain that in future he would only give his consent to the translation of those bishops who had fulfilled their duty in making visitations and who had acted as true pastors.⁶ The reiterated exhortations of the Pope had the effect of making a number of the bishops, such as those of Tarragona,

¹ See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 484 *seq.*

² See in App. No. 27 the *brief of July 18, 1596, addressed to Philip II., Papal Secret Archives.

³ Clement VIII. had already written to the chapters of Seville and Toledo in his first *brief of July 8, 1592, that he intended to fight against the decadence in ecclesiastical discipline (Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 429, Papal Secret Archives). He exhorted the Archbishop of Evora on February 19, 1593, to hold a visitation and to reform (*ibid.* t. 38, p. 233).

⁴ Cf. HINOJOSA, 359 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. the *brief to "episc. Ulixbon." of May 16, 1596, Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 258, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ See in App. No. 27 the *brief of July 18, 1596, Papal Secret Archives.

Granada, Saragossa and Compostella, faithfully carry out their duties. Clement VIII. encouraged them to persevere, and urged them, in addition to the visitations, to hold synods.¹

The failure to assert his authority which Philip II. had experienced in the matter of the absolution of Henry IV., had been a serious blow to his reputation in Rome, and henceforward Spanish influence began gradually to decline. It was however an exaggeration when Francesco Vendramin expressed the opinion in 1595 that the King of Spain no longer had much authority in the College of Cardinals on account of his masterful behaviour, and that in future he would have even less because the French party had attained to considerable power, so that in a short time it would be able to offer an effective resistance to that of Spain.²

In reality such a change could not have taken place so quickly, though it had begun, and Clement VIII., convinced that it was only by limiting the preponderant Spanish influence in Rome that the Holy See could recover its necessary independence, left nothing undone to consolidate and further the change which had taken place after the absolution of Henry IV. Thus in February, 1596, he replaced the nuncio at Venice, Lodovico Taverna, a friend of Spain, by Antonio Maria Graziani,³ a man of quite other opinions. In the same way the unexpected nomination of sixteen new Cardinals in June, 1596, implied a diminution of Spanish influence, in that only prelates of neutral sentiments were promoted. This promotion, which created quite a new state of affairs for the next conclave, clearly showed that instead of the worldly aims of Philip II, henceforward none but purely religious considerations would prevail in Rome.⁴

¹ See the *briefs "Congregat. ex ecclesiis Castellae et Legionis Madridii collectae," of February 7, to "archiepisc^o Tarracon," of July 24, to "archiepisc^o Granat." of September 1, to "archiepisc^o Caesaraugustae" of September 9, 1597 (Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 60, 191, 206, 211) and to "archiepisc^o Compostell." of June 22, 1598 (*ibid.* t. 42, n. 180) Papal Secret Archives.

² See ALBÈRI, I., 5, 467.

³ See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 226. Cf. BIAUDET, 55, 59 *seq.*

⁴ See HERRE, 643. Particulars of the promotion, see *infra*, p. 248, and Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 195.

This changed state of affairs with regard to Spain naturally led to a rapprochement with France, even though the attitude of Henry IV. still left a great deal to be desired. Very characteristic of prevailing opinion in Rome was the sorrow and consternation felt there when Calais was captured by the Spaniards in April, 1596, and Amiens in the following March.¹ According to the report of the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Dolfin, Clement VIII. and his nephews feared that the Spaniards would now vent upon them their anger at the absolution of Henry IV.²

The importance of the friendship of Henry IV., whose ambassador, François de Luxemburg, Duc de Piney, made the solemn *obedientia* in April 1597,³ was shown in the autumn, when, with the death of Duke Alfonso II. there arose the question of the succession to the Duchy of Ferrara. Joining forces with the Pope, the king of France enabled Clement to subject this duchy to the direct government of the Church, though it had hitherto only been a fief.⁴ If the greatest impression had been made upon the Spaniards by the fact that the Pope had granted absolution to Henry IV. against the wishes of Philip II., they were now amazed at the display

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 251 *seq.*, 458. Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 340.

² DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 469 *seq.*

³ Cf. **La entrada que hizo el ill^{mo} y ex^{mo} S. Duque de Luxemburg, Embaxador del Rey Christianissimo de Francia y de Navarra, con el recibimiento maravilloso, que por orden de N. S. Clemente Papa octavo le fue hecho en Roma a los 16 de Abril Anno de 1597, in Conradi baronis in Bemelberg et Hohenburg iunioris (cf. A. FARINELLI, Apuntes sobre viajes y viajeros por España y Portugal, Oviedo 1899, 135 *seq.*). **Liber litterarum* in Cod. 580, p. 123 *seq.* of the University Library, Innsbruck. For the making of the *obedientia* (April 17, 1597) and the previous negotiations, see *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 429, 432 *seq.*, 442, 447 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*, and **Acta consist. card. S. Severinae* in Barb. lat. 2871, III., Vatican Library. Clement VIII. thanked Henry IV. in a *letter of April 20, 1597, for the mission of Luxemburg, Orig. in National Archives, Paris, L. 357.*

⁴ Cf. as to this Vol. XXIV. of this work, pp. 389 *seq.*

of military power on the part of the Holy See, and at the success of an undertaking which had been carried out without their participation, and even against their wishes. The prestige of Henry IV. was further consolidated by his attitude in this affair.¹

Clement VIII. made his solemn entry into Ferrara on May 8th, 1598. Six days earlier the peace of Vervins had been signed. This agreement, which put an end to the disastrous war between France and Spain, and which confirmed the national independence of the French people, was entirely the work of Clement VIII.²

The Pope had urged the Cardinal legate, Medici, to promote an agreement between France and Spain, which was so necessary in view of the Turkish peril, but without meeting with any sympathy on the part of Henry IV.³ Nevertheless the Pope continued to keep this peace, so desirable in Catholic interests, before his eyes. In 1597⁴ the situation became favourable for an agreement.⁵ On September 25th Philip II. again lost Amiens;⁶ his financial straits and his increasing years, as well as the successes of the English and the Dutch, forced him to think seriously of ending the war with Henry IV. The King of France too was not blind to the same necessity; the siege of Amiens had lasted for six months, during which the fate of France had depended upon this single stronghold. A prolonged duration of the war gave reason to fear the breaking up of the royal armies.

Clement VIII. now once again, and in the most definite way, laid the question of peace before the representatives of France and Spain, again pointing to the Turkish peril. As early as June, 1597, he had ordered public prayers, in

¹ See Agost. Nani in ALBÈRI, I., 5, 480; Lettres d'Ossat, 496 seq.

² Opinion of HERRE (664).

³ See MARTIN, Relations, II., 261 seq.

⁴ See GIORDANI in *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 5th series, XXVI. (1917), 591 seq.

⁵ See MARTIN, Relations, II., 262 seq.

⁶ See GIORDANI, *loc. cit.*, 594 seq.

order to obtain from God the end of the terrible struggle.¹ On September 9th, 1597, he was able to report to the King of France that Philip II. was prepared to enter into negotiations for peace, but he attached to this a new and insistent appeal to Henry IV. that he for his part, would encourage an understanding on which so much depended, both for the good of Christendom, and for that of France herself.² The news of the capture of Amiens by Henry IV. delighted Clement VIII., because he saw in this the first step towards the restoration of peace.³ Although for the time being things did not turn out as he had hoped,⁴ the Pope did not relax his efforts. It was of decisive importance to the negotiations that he should have discovered in the General of the Franciscans, Bonaventura Secusi di Caltagirona, the very man to remove the outstanding difficulties.⁵ It was an all-important triumph when this southern Italian, who was as shrewd as he was energetic, was able to induce the Spaniards to agree to the restoration of Calais, a thing that had hitherto been refused, but upon which Henry IV. rightly insisted. The other great difficulty lay in the separation of the King of France from his Protestant allies, the English and the Dutch. These worked in every way against the peace and promised Henry IV. further help if he would continue the war against the hated Spaniards.

The English and Dutch diplomatists were still continuing

¹ See *Avviso of June 18, 1597, Urb. 1065, Vatican Library.

² The *brief to Henry IV. of September 9, 1597, in which Clement VIII., alluding to the absolution of the king, remarks that he had long borne him in sorrow and at last brought him forth in joy, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 208, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 220 a *brief to the "card. Austriae" of September 9, 1597, exhorting him to support the negotiations for peace.

³ See the *report of Franc. Maria Vialardo, dated Rome, October 18, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ Cf. GIORDANI, *loc. cit.*, 596 seq.

⁵ BENTIVOGLIO (Memorie, 130) already brings out clearly the merits of Caltagirona.

these efforts when at the beginning of February, 1598, the definite peace negotiations were begun in the little city of Vervins, to the east of Saint-Quentin.¹ As the representative of the Pope the Cardinal legate Medici presided over these. By command of Clement VIII. there were also present the General of the Franciscans, Fra Bonaventura di Caltagirona and the nuncio in France, Francesco Gonzaga, Bishop of Mantua, who also belonged to the Franciscan Order. Spain had appointed as her representatives diplomatists of distinction: Jean Richardot, Giovanni Battista de Taxis and Verreiken; Henry IV. sent Bellièvre and Sillery.

The negotiations, in which not only the interests of France and Spain, but also those of Savoy, England and Holland

¹ RANKE (II.⁸, 202), in dealing with the negotiations for the peace of Vervins, only consulted the detailed report, published under the title of "Autres Mémoires," based on the edition of the Mémoires of Angoulême in DIDOT, 1756, I., 131-363. It is amazing that Ranke should have passed over another source which he had at hand: i.e., the equally detailed and exact report issued by the entourage of the Cardinal legate, **"Relazione del trattato di pace fatto nell'assemblea tra li deputati del Re Christianissimo et del Re Cattolico e del Duca di Savoia in presenza del cardinale di Firenze, legato de latere di Clemente VIII. nel regno di Francia et del Re Christianissimo, con l'intervento di M. Gonzaga, vescovo di Mantova, nunzio di Suo Beatitudine, e del generale degli Osservanti di S. Francesco"* in Inform. polit. II., p. 123-188, State Library, Berlin. Other copies in the Graziani Archives, Città di Castello, Istruz. I., 398 *seq.*, and in Cod. Barb. LVI., 125 p. 95 *seq.*, and LIX., 52 p. 147 *seq.*, Vatican Library. French *translation "*pour suppléer aux fautes qui se trouvent en la copie italienne*" in Cod. 35 G. 2, Corsini Library, Rome. Cf. GACHARD, *La Bibliothèque Corsini*, Brussels, 1869, 60 *seq.* See also GACHARD, *La Bibl. nat. de Paris*, II., 15-21; L'ÉPINOIS, 651; RÜBSAM, 130 *seq.* Cf. also MARTIN, *Relations*, II., 263 *seq.*; RAULICH, *Carlo Emanuele II.* (1896), 375 *seqq.* Another important source in Borghese, III., 62a. **Lettere decif. del patriarca di Constantinopoli intorno la pace di Vervins 1597-1600* (copies); **Lettere di fra Bonaventura di Caltagirona al card. Aldobrandini 1597-1600* (originals), Papal Secret Archives.

were considered, lasted for three months. England and Holland, trusting in their power, attempted once more the impossible task of destroying the peace,¹ but once Henry IV. had made up his mind to pay no attention to their cunning suggestions, the conclusion of the peace was assured. The King of France clearly saw that both his Protestant allies had no other purpose than to destroy, together with the power of Spain, that of France as well. During the negotiations at Vervins there also distinguished himself the secretary of Secusi, Francesco de Sosa, so that three sons of St. Francis had a share in the peace treaty. Great service was rendered by the Cardinal legate, Medici, who with his skill and impartiality, was the real mediator of the peace, which was at last signed on May 2nd, 1598.² Each of the two kings was to restore what he still held of the territory of the other: Henry the county of Charolais, which formed part of Spanish Burgundy; Philip II. Calais and the other important fortresses on the frontier of the Netherlands, as well as the port of Blavet (Port Louis) in Brittany. The Duke of Savoy also participated in the peace, though the important question of the possession of Saluzzo was left unsettled.³

The Pope was at Ferrara when the good news reached him, and he immediately ordered a procession of thanksgiving.⁴ When he had received fuller details he addressed warm

¹ Cf. DESJARDINS, V., 352 *seq.*

² See MARTIN, Relations, II., 264. *Ibid.* for the departure of Medici in September, 1598.

³ See DUMONT, V., I, 566 *seq.* I. B. de Tassis Commentarii in H. V. PAPENDRECHT, Anal. Belgica, II., 2, The Hague, 1743, 573 *seq.* RÜBSAM, 132. For the promulgation of the peace see DESJARDINS, V., 360 and E. SOYEZ, Séjour à Amiens du card. de Florence. Publication de la paix de Vervins, Amiens, 1905.

⁴ See besides the letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini in L'ÉPINOIS, 651, the *report of Lodovico Cremaschi, dated Ferrara, 1598, May 14, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also the *report of Bernerio, May 23, 1598, State Archives, Vienna.

letters of gratitude to Henry IV.¹ and Philip II. ;² once more he exhorted the King of France to participate in the struggle against the Turks.

It was perhaps the crowning point of the pontificate of Clement VIII. when he thus succeeded in putting an end to a struggle which threatened with ruin two great and noble nations, and which at the same time seriously hampered his efforts as Pope in resisting the Turkish peril, as well as interfering with the interests of the Church. As had been the case in the great days of the Middle Ages, the Holy See now once more exercised its high office as mediator between belligerent nations, and stood out before the world as the haven of peace.³

If Philip II. sheathed his sword, it was not only because he felt himself worn out, but even more because, convinced of the weakness of his successor, he wished to leave to him a kingdom at peace.⁴

The relations between the King of Spain and Rome still remained strained, and Clement VIII. was convinced that whatever he might do, the government at Madrid would never forgive him for the absolution of Henry IV. He hoped

¹ "Exultat incredibili gaudio cor nostrum . . . , mente quodammodo excedimus neque verba ulla satis invenire possumus" says the *brief of May 18, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 136, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Brief of May 30, 1598, *ibid.* n. 152. Philip congratulated the Pope; see the report of the nuncio in Spain, May 25, 1598, cited in TURBA, Beiträge in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI. (1899), 367. Clement VIII. wrote to the Duke of Savoy on May 26, 1598, about the peace: *"O divitias bonitatis Dei, o nuncium optatissimum salutiferae pacis, quod ardentissime expetivimus, quod summis votis in omni humilitate cordis nostri a Deo et patre misericordiarum precati sumus, quodque pro nostro pastoralis officio tandiu tantaque diligentia procurare non cessavimus, id nunc divinae benignitatis abundantia perfectum esse incredibiliter laetamur." Orig. in State Archives, Turin.

³ See HERRE, 644.

⁴ Cf. the report of Franc. Soranzo in BAROZZI, Spagna, I., 179.

however, for an improvement after the death of Philip II.¹ In the physical state of the King of Spain that event could not be long delayed, and indeed, on September 13th, 1598, a peaceful death set Philip II. free from his painful sufferings,² which he had borne with a truly Christian patience. He had exhorted his son to be faithful to Catholicism, but up to the last had clung to his cesaropapistical principles.³ Only a short time before his death, in connexion with the question of his influence upon Papal elections, the king had approved a defence, drawn up by his theologians in June, 1598, of the right to designate an approved candidate (inclusion) and to exclude one who was not acceptable (exclusion), provided that in so doing he acted reasonably and with moderation.⁴

The news of the death of Philip II. reached the Pope on September 29th, 1598, when he had gone from Ferrara to Comacchio.⁵ In spite of their many disputes Clement VIII. realized the virtues of the dead man,⁶ and on October 12th assisted at the obsequies which were conducted with the

¹ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 472.

² Cf. LAFUENTE, *Hist. de España*, XIV. (1854), 470-480; BÜDINGER, *Mitteilungen aus der span. Gesch.*, Vienna, 1893, 12 *seq.*; TURBA in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI. (1899), 376 *seq.*, where the reports of the nuncio Caetani were used for the first time; *Mitteil. des österr. Instit.*, XXII. (1901), 443 *seq.*; RICCI, Silingardi, I., 203 *seq.*

³ For the advice which Philip II. left to his son, see the excellent and exhaustive study by TURBA, *loc. cit.* 410 *seq.*

⁴ See GINDELY, *Papstwahlen*, 260 *seq.*; HERRE, 645 *seq.* The *memorials used by Gindely from the Simancas Archives were also to be found in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome. *Ibid.* another *memorial dated Rome, 1598, April 18, which is not mentioned by Gindely.

⁵ *"Hoggi è venuto aviso certo a Ferrara che a S.S.^{ta} giunse hieri un corriero con l'aviso della morte de re catholico," reports L. Cremaschi, September 30, 1598, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ See the text of the Pope's allocution on October 9, 1598, in HERRERA, *Elogio a las virtudes de Filipe II.*, Valladolid, 1604, 177 *seq.* Cf. also *Avviso of October 7, 1598, Urb. 1066, Vatican Library.

customary solemnities.¹ It was characteristic of the revival of his private sentiments, which had been strengthened by the acquisition of Ferrara, as well as of his disinclination for any radical change in the political situation in Italy, as it had existed since the time of Paul IV., that on the occasion of the succession to the throne he offered the assistance of the Holy See, by Papal briefs dated October 1st, 1598, to the Spanish governors at Naples and Milan.²

Notwithstanding the strictly religious principles of Philip III. the relations of Spain with the Holy See were in no way substantially better than they had been in the time of his father, and we may indeed wonder whether a sovereign who was so lacking in energy, so phlegmatic in character, and so wanting in great qualities was capable of bringing about any change in a state of affairs which had become engrained by long usage.

In view of the overwhelming influence which the favourite of Philip III., the Duke of Lerma, exercised over affairs of state, it was only natural that every effort should have been made in Rome to win the favour of this man, and with this purpose it was decided to promote Sandoval, Lerma's uncle, to the cardinalate, which was done on March 3rd, 1599.³ Nevertheless the looked for politico-ecclesiastical results were not verified.

About the same time as Clement VIII. conferred the purple on Sandoval, who also became Archbishop of Toledo, he addressed himself to Lerma concerning the frequent violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on the part of the Spanish officials,⁴

¹ See the *report of L. Cremasci, dated Ferrara 1598, October 13, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 592 *seq.*

² See the *briefs to the "Gubernator Mediolani" and to "Prorex Neapol." both dated Kal. October, 1598, in *Brevia*, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 290, 291, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See *CIACONIUS*, IV., 316 *seq.*

⁴ See the *brief of March 1, 1599, *Brevia*, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 116, Papal Secret Archives. At the same time Philip III. charged the Count of Lemos, who was to be viceroy of Naples,

but to no purpose. On the contrary, the situation at Milan became so much worse¹ that at the end of May, 1599, Baronius himself recommended the excommunication of the governor of Milan, the Count of Fuentes.² But Clement VIII. wished once more to attempt to come to a peaceful solution. For this purpose he sent Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein to Milan in the summer, but without success.³ When the excommunication was pronounced on the governor of Milan, the latter complained to the Pope, who replied to him in his own hand on October 16th, 1599. With the utmost dignity the Pope answered the reproaches that had been addressed to him.⁴ The matters under dispute were at length adjusted at the beginning of 1601,⁵ but in 1604 the Pope had

to make the *obedientia*; see *letter of Philip III. to Cardinal Sfondrato, dated Valencia, 1599, March 12, Cod. L. III., 66, Chigi. Vatican Library.

¹ See *Avvisi of January 1, 16 and 23, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library, and the *reports of Giulio Cesare Foresti, Rome, May 22 and 29, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. Lettres d'Ossat II., 6 seq., 25, 50, 55.

² See *Avviso of May 25, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library. Cf. RATTI, Opuscolo ined. del card. Baronio, 14. DIERAUER (438) calls Fuentes "one of those cold statesmen without a heart trained by Philip II."

³ "È tornato il sig. card. Dietrichstano dalla sua legatione (a Milano) con la disgratia di N. S. et con perdita affatto d'ogni riputazione appresso tutta la corte." Report of G. C. Foresti, July 31, 1599, according to which Dietrichstein only did harm by his complaisance. Cf. the *report of the same, August 7, 1599, for the reproofs addressed by the Pope to Dietrichstein. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also *Avviso of July 31, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library.

⁴ See the *letter with many details in Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 19 seq., Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See the *briefs to the Governor of Milan, April 29, October 26 and November 8, 1600; Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 122, 365, 377, Papal Secret Archives.

once more to complain of the infringements of ecclesiastical liberties.¹

At Naples, where Olivares had permitted himself many usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,² a new viceroy had been appointed in the summer of 1599 in the person of the Count of Lemos. The Pope expressed to him his hope that the rights of the Church would now be respected,³ but as early as September he had to complain that, in violation of the investiture⁴ shortly before conferred on Philip III., the viceroy was seeking to damage the trade of the city of Benevento, which belonged to the Papal States.⁵ This matter was still pending when in March, 1600, Lemos came to Rome to make his *obedientia*, where the nephews of the Pope prepared sumptuous festivities in his honour.⁶ By the advice of his confessor, a Jesuit, Lemos settled the dispute

¹ See the *brief to the Governor of Milan, January 20, 1604, *ibid.* t. 56, n. 92.

² Cf. Lettres d'Ossat, II., 6 *seq.*, 25, 55.

³ See the long *brief to the "Comes de Lemos, vicerex Neapol." dated 1599, July 3, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 321, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ For this, as well as for the negotiations which preceded the act, G. C. Foresti *reports on September 11, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The bull of investiture of September 9, 1599, in Bull., X., 536 *seq.* *Ibid.* 534 *seq.* the Bull, dated September 6, 1599, in which it is stated that Philip III., in addition to Milan, may also hold Naples.

⁵ There is question of a new road to be taken within two miles of Benevento; see the *brief to the viceroy of Naples, September 4, 1599, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 354, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ Cf. Grottanelli, Ducato di Castro, 24 *seq.* The *Avviso of March 25, 1600, describes the splendid cavalcade of the viceroy. Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. Cf. BERNARDINO BECCARI, La solenne entrata che ha fatto il s. conte di Lemos vicere di Napoli in Roma alli 20 marzo 1600 con la cavalcata di S. E. al consist. publ. 22 marzo, Rome, 1600. The discourse made on behalf of Philip III. at the *obedientia* was published: Ferd. Ruiz de Castro et Andrade ad Clementem VIII. Oratio habita dum Philippi regis cath. nomine obedientiam exhiberet. Rome, 1600,

about Benevento in 1601, as well as many other abuses which had arisen from the infringement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.¹ But how deep-rooted such usurpations were in the Spanish system, is shown by the fact that even a viceroy so well-disposed as Lemos repeatedly gave the Pope in 1603 occasion for complaints and remonstrances.² It was out of the question to think of any renunciation of the claims deriving from the privilege of the *Monarchia Sicula*, for the government at Madrid clung to this with inflexible tenacity.

The Venetian ambassador at Madrid, Girolamo Soranzo, remarked in his report for 1602 that in spite of the incessant attempts of the Popes to safeguard their rights against the *Monarchia Sicula* and the *exequatur* in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Spanish government had even extended and increased its usurpations, and that, in order to avoid a complete breach there remained no other course open to the Holy See but to put up with the present state of affairs, no matter how harmful it was, as the lesser of two evils. The Spanish government refused any renunciation of its cesaropapistical pretensions in Naples and Sicily, because it saw in these one of the best ways of holding in check the population, which hated the oppressive foreign domination.³

Soranzo thought, however, that Philip III. did not offend so openly and shamelessly against the authority and liberties

¹ Clement VIII. complained to the viceroy about Benevento in a *brief of December 16, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 419, Papal Secret Archives. On January 19, 1601, the Pope was able to thank him for having removed the reason for his complaints (*ibid.* t. 45, n. 17). Clement VIII. thanked the confessor of the viceroy, F. Mendoza, S.J. for his co-operation in protecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction with Lemos, in a *brief of February 22, 1601 (*ibid.* n. 55). Cf. Lettres d'Ossat, II., 244 seq., 321 seq.

² See the *briefs of May 9 (restriction of ecclesiastical liberties by means of the concession of titles) and June 18 (affront to the ecclesiastical state by the sending of *litterae hortatoriae* to bishops, and even to Cardinals), Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 121, 158, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See BAROZZI, Spagna, I., 102.

of the Church as his father,¹ and this held good, in a limited degree, for the actual Kingdom of Spain, as well as for the possessions of the king in Italy. The list of the violations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction which was drawn up in Rome at the end of 1600, and sent to the nuncio in Spain, is nevertheless considerable enough.²

In the course of the negotiations at the time, Cardinals Guevara and Toledo proposed, for all questions concerning jurisdiction, the setting up of a tribunal in Spain, which, like the Inquisition, should be dependent upon the Pope. The reply which Cardinal Aldobrandini gave to the Spanish nuncio, Domenico Ginnasio, concerning this proposal, on July 31st, 1600, is very characteristic. The Pope, this states, absolutely rejects the setting up of any such tribunal, because the Holy See would be gravely harmed thereby; as for the Spanish Inquisition, which should be dependent on the Pope, it does not obey him in any way, nor has it ever been possible to obtain from it the minutes of the trials, even when the Pope or the Roman Inquisition asked for them.³

While this grave condemnation of the Spanish Inquisition, the excesses of which were frequently wrongly attributed to the Pope, was being written, there met at Avila, under the presidency of the king, a commission to discuss the best way

¹ See *ibid.*, 158.

² Cf. *Cod. Barb. 5852, p. 57 *seq.* Vatican Library.

³ *"Dice la S. Sua che di questo si levi ogni speranza perche la Sede Apost. è scottata et la istessa Inquisitione, che pende dall' autorità del Papa, non le obbedisce ne è stato mai possibile di havere di quella alcun processo quando da N. S. et da questa congregazione si è chiesto." (Letter of July 31, 1600, Barb. 5852, I., p. 69b-70, Vatican Library). HINOJOSA (410) had called attention to Nunziat. di Spagna, t. 58, Papal Secret Archives, on the matter of the disagreement between Rome and the Spanish Inquisition. Clement VIII. says in the *brief to "episc. Carthag. Inquisit. Hispaniae," July 19, 1602, that if the office of Inquisitor is not exercised properly it involves great harm to the country. Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 221 *ibid.*

of putting an end to¹ the disputes concerning civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the suppression of Papal bulls, and the question of the *spoglie* of the bishoprics. Even the confessor of Philip III. worked in defence of ecclesiastical jurisdiction,² and it would appear that during the following years there was an improvement;³ complaints became less frequent though they were not altogether wanting.⁴

Since there was no hope of the removal of the root of all the evil, namely the spirit of cesaropapalism,⁵ the relations between Madrid and Rome remained strained.⁶ Externally, it is true, good relations were maintained as far as possible,

¹ On these deliberations is based the *"Consulta que se hizo al Rey Felipe III. sobre jurisdiccion real, retencion de bulas, espolios de los episcopos," Madrid, July 30, 1600, Archives to the Spanish Embassy, Rome, III., 10.

² Cf. the *letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini to D. Ginnasio, August, 1600, Barb. 5852, I. 79, Vatican Library.

³ I found among the Briefs only one to Philip III., of September 20, 1600, containing the exhortation already addressed to him on May 29, 1599, to hurry forward the carrying out of the testamentary dispositions of Philip II. with regard to the restitution of ecclesiastical property in Spain (Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 267, Papal Secret Archives). Of the Lettere del card. Aldobrandini al nunzio di Spagna there belong here the *letters of February 24 (on the prevention of the publication of the bull *In coena Domini* in Peru), of July 1 and 21, and August 28, 1603 (on the revocation of the Cedola reale delle cause beneficali di patronati regii). In the letter of August 28 it is further said: "Qua non si è potuto far di meno di non parlarne al S. Duca di Sessa, col quale S.B. ne fece a questi giorni un gran risentimento in proposito dell'istanza che si fa in nome di S.M. della secularizzazione della Chiesa di Saragossa, sendo parso cosa molto strana." Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.

⁴ Cf. HINOJOSA, 409.

⁵ See the pessimistic view of Clement VIII. in *letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini to D. Ginnasio, August 28, 1600, Barb. 5852, I. 95, Vatican Library.

⁶ Cf. the report for 1605 in PELLEGRINI, Relazioni inedite degli ambasciatori Lucchesi alla corte di Madrid, Lucca, 1903, 26.

since both parties realized that they were dependent upon the other in many important respects. In the case of the Pope it was above all the Turkish war which forced him to treat Spain with all possible consideration.¹ On the other hand Philip III. and his ministers fully realized what enormous financial advantages they derived from the continued renewal of the two million ducats a year which came to them from the ecclesiastical revenues, and from their power over the investitures of the Spanish bishoprics. All their efforts therefore were directed to retaining the goodwill of the Pope in these two matters, a thing which they were successful in doing.²

The dependence of the higher Spanish clergy upon the government was bound to have evil results. In the choice of bishops the government acted conscientiously, but only in so far that candidates were nominated who were morally blameless, because only thus could they count upon obtaining the Papal confirmation, but in other respects only too often men were placed in charge of the dioceses who neglected their pastoral duties and employed their large revenues principally on behalf of their relatives, and as the lower clergy were very badly paid, many dangerous situations arose.³

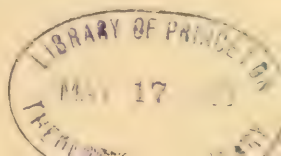
As he had done in the time of Philip II., so now did Clement VIII. endeavour with all his power to bring about a reform of ecclesiastical conditions in Spain. To this end he not only made use of the nunciature, which, after February, 1600, was in the hands of Domenico Ginnasio, Archbishop of Siponto,⁴

¹ Cf. DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 472.

² See report of G. Soranzo for 1602 in BAROZZI, *Spagna*, I., 44 *seq.*, 71.

³ See G. Soranzo *ibid.* 46 *seq.*, 171 *seq.* Cf. *ibid.* 258 the report of Ottaviano Bon.

⁴ A *brief of January 20, 1600, informed Philip III. of the replacement of the present nuncio Caetani by Ginnasio, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 25 (cf. 36), Papal Secret Archives. Cf. HINOJOSA, 407 *seq.* To this translation of the *reports of Ginnasio must be added: Barb. LXIII., 37-41 (now 5852): *Lettere di Msgr. D. Ginnasio Nuntio in Spagna, 600-1605, and LXIII. 42: *Lettere



but also by repeatedly addressing personal admonitions to the government. As early as May 22nd, 1599, he had recourse to Philip III. himself, and appealing to his piety, adjured him to make use of the right of nomination which had been granted to him, only for the appointment of worthy and suitable bishops, and above all those who were not handicapped by the burden of illegitimate birth. The king was further implored to refrain in future from asking for the translation of bishops for futile reasons, as this led to grave abuses. The Pope had personally become aware of these during his own earlier sojourn in Spain, where many of the bishops did not live as priests, but merely as secular princes, gravely neglecting their pastoral duties. Many neglected to celebrate or to assist at Mass; they did not preach, they did not administer the sacraments nor confer orders, and failed to make canonical visitations. Especially harmful was the neglect of the duty of residence, for which reason the king was adjured not to summon the bishops to his court, except for reasons of great importance. In order to do all that was possible for his part, the Pope revoked all the permissions hitherto granted to the bishops to live away from their dioceses.¹

These exhortations resulted in Clement VIII. being able to honour a number of the bishops with briefs praising them for

del card. Aldobrandini a D. Ginnasio from January 15 to December 18, 1600, Vatican Library. The originals of the letters of 1603 in the Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287. The bust made by Bernini gives us a perfect likeness of Ginnasio; see CANTALAMESSA, in *Bollet. d'arte*, V. (1911), 81 *seq.*

¹ The letter is printed in Bull. X., 478 *seq.*, with date February 26, 1599; the true date is May 22, 1599, in Brevia Clementis VIII., Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 237, Papal Secret Archives. This states: "Multi Hispaniarum episcopi ita vitam instituunt, ac si principes saeculi essent, non autem ministri Christi et dispensatores mysteriorum eius, itaque in ipsa familia et in omni domestico apparatu et externarum rerum splendore saeculares principes videri volunt, ab iis vero quae proprie episcoporum sunt, et in quibus non illa umbratilis, sed vera et solida episcopalis idgnitas consistit, ab iis magnopere abhorrent."

the faithful discharge of their duties, especially those of Coimbra,¹ Lamego,² Lisbon,³ Evora,⁴ Seville⁵ and Valladolid.⁶ Newly appointed bishops were urged to fulfil their duties.⁷ Wherever abuses showed themselves, the Pope intervened energetically, both in the case of the bishops⁸ and of the convents of women⁹ which had fallen into a very bad state, especially in Aragon¹⁰ and in Portugal. The Pope zealously supported the reform of the Cistercians, the Augustinians, the Trinitarians and Basilians in Spain.¹¹

¹ *Brief to Alfonso de Castello-Branco, August 2, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 220, Papal Secret Archives.

² *Brief to Martino Alfonso de Mello, December 1, 1601, *ibid.* t. 45, n. 415.

³ *Brief to Michele de Castro, July 27, 1602, *ibid.* t. 46, n. 228.

⁴ *Brief to Alessandro de Braganza, December 20, 1603, *ibid.* t. 56, n. 74.

⁵ *Brief to Cardinal de Guevara, March 8, 1603, *ibid.* t. 47, n. 31.

⁶ *Brief to Giov. Batt. de Azevedo, June 20, 1603, *ibid.* n. 163.

⁷ *Brief to Lod. Ferd. de Cordova, Bishop of Salamanca, May 6, 1603, *ibid.* n. 115.

⁸ See the *brief to the Archbishop of Valencia, September 20, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 270, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *ibid.* t. 45, n. 294, 295, the *briefs to Philip III. and the Bishop of Elvas, Antonio de Matos de Noronha, August 18, 1601. See also *infra* (n. 9) the *brief to the Archbishop of Braga, and t. 56, p. 117, that to the Bishop of Segovia, Pietro de Castro, April 6, 1604.

⁹ See the *brief to the Archbishop of Braga, Agost. de Castro, April 9, 1603, and *those to the other bishops of Portugal, April 10-12, 1603, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 77-89, Papal Secret Archives.

¹⁰ See HINOJOSA, 410.

¹¹ See besides Bull. IX., 580 *seq.*, XI., 143 *seq.*, the *briefs to Philip III. of February 28 (recommendation of the General of the Cistercians as visitor of Aragon), and May 3, 1603 (recommendation of the General of the Basilians, who wishes to reform the convents in Spain), Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 19, 112, Papal Secret Archives. Many matters which appertain here are to be found in the *reports of the nuncio Ginnasio (see *supra*, p. 221, n. 4). See also the *Lettere del cardinal P. Aldobrandini al Nuntio

A great danger to Spain lay in the so-called Moriscos. Many of these Moors had only accepted Christian teaching outwardly, and secretly continued to live as Mahometans. The banishment of the Moriscos was urged in many quarters at that time, but Clement VIII. refused to adopt this view. He believed that the Moriscos were opposed to Christianity more from ignorance than from obstinacy, and accordingly issued in 1599 an edict of grace whereby a period, first of twelve and then of eighteen months was fixed for the conversion of the Spanish Moriscos. The missionaries, however, who were charged with their conversion met with no success, whether they adopted a policy of gentleness or severity, and the attempt to merge this element, which was alien both in religion and in race, into the national unity proved impossible.¹ Often it was the Moors themselves who were the aggressors, and in Valencia it became necessary to conceal the crucifixes in order to save them from mutilation and profanation on the part of the Moors.² Then the demand for the banishment and extermination of these fanatical aliens became stronger than ever.

In spite of everything Clement VIII. still urged the application of measures of gentleness, and it is curious that he should have addressed his exhortations to the very Spanish prelate who was urging upon Philip III. the immediate extermination of the Moors. This was the Archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera. After the Pope, on April 6th, 1604, had asked him and his suffragans for information as to the attitude of the Moors,³ the archbishop received an exhortation, on September

di Spagna of January 18 (visitation of the Augustinians in Andalusia), February 24 (reform of the Trinitarians), July 21 and August 1 (reform of the Cistercians), and November 7, 1603 (reform of the convents in Spain), Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.

¹ Cf. L. PFANDL, *Spanische Kultur u. Sitte des 16. u. 17. Jahrh.*, Kempten, 1924, 12 *seq.*

² See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich, IV., Vol. II., 128 *seq.*

³ See the *brief to the "episcopi regni Valentiae" in Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 172b, Papal Secret Archives.

20th, 1604, to win over those who had strayed from the Christian religion by the immediate establishment of schools and parishes,¹ a means which the Pope, in agreement with Philip III., had for years urged and supported, but which had never been carried into effect.²

At the Peace of Vervins one important matter had been left undecided. Ever since the death of the last Marquis of Saluzzo (1548), France and Savoy had been striving, with every kind of device and effort, for the possession of this small but important border territory, which had for France the value of a fortress against Italy, and meant for Savoy dominion over Piedmont, as well as the security of its own territory.³ Charles Emanuel I. of Savoy, a man of unlimited ambition, and a politician without scruples, after the manner of the tyrants of the Renaissance, profiting by the disturbances in France, had occupied the marquisate in 1588; in 1598 he was all the less willing to give up his prey or to make compensation for it to Henry IV. since by the Peace of Vervins he had lost the fortress of Berre, his last possession in Provence. For this reason, at the negotiations which took place at that time the decision concerning Saluzzo had been postponed; the matter was to be settled within the space of a year by the decision of the Pope.⁴

¹ *Brief, *ibid.* p. 312. Cf. HINOJOSA, 409.

² Cf. Bull. X., 337 *seq.*, 790 *seq.*, 812 *seq.*, 831 *seq.*; XI., 24 *seq.*

³ "La ville de Saluce n'est qu'à une petite journée de Turin et Carmagnolle n'en est qu'à une petite demie journée, et tout le Marquisat est comme une citadelle pour les François sur toute l'Italie et particulièrement sur le Piémont." Ossat to Villeroi, Rome, 1600, Aoust 14, Lettres d'Ossat, II., 198.

⁴ The principal sources for the Papal mediation for peace between France and Spain are: 1, *Registri di lettere del negoziato della pace conclusa in Lione dal cardinale Pietro Aldobrandini sopra le differenze del marchesato di Saluzzo, Nunziat. di Savoia 37-38, Papal Secret Archives. 2, *Diario del viaggio fatto del card. Pietro Aldobrandini nell'andar legato a Fiorenza per la celebrazione dello sposalizio della regina di Francia e dopo in Francia per la pace. Var. polit. LXX., 98-295, and Borghese, II., 466, Papal Secret Archives. Later copies, *e.g.* in Rome in

At first Clement VIII. showed very little readiness to accept this task which, though an honourable one, was very complicated. If in the end he consented to undertake it, he was led to do so by his praiseworthy desire to prevent the outbreak of a new war, which, as far as could be judged, would be widespread, and which would in any case be bound to have a considerable effect upon his efforts to provide against the

the Barberini Library, LIII., 83, in the Chigi Library, M. I., 12, both now in Vatican Library; in the Corsini Library, Cod. 162, 240, 395, and in the Aldobrandini Archives, t. 287. Other copies in the State Archives, Modena, the Brancacciana Library, Naples (III. b. 11), and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fondo ital., 377, 675, 1323). The author was the secretary of the legate, G. B. Agucchio. 3, *Relazione in forma d'istoria del negotiato del card. Aldobrandini sopra la pace del marchesato di Saluzzo*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Fondo ital. 673, 674), and Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome, Gesuit. 538, anonymous. This *Relazione* was really composed in his old age by Cardinal Aldobrandini himself, and for the historian Omero Tortora. This is evident from a manuscript of the *Relazione* in the Cartari Archives (now Piccolomini-Febei) at Orvieto, from which Fumi published his account (*La legazione del card. P. Aldobrandini narrata da lui medesimo*, Città di Castello, 1903). Fumi, however, overlooked a second complete manuscript of the *Relazione*, with the name of the author, in Barb. 5673, Vatican Library. Among the accounts printed in earlier times there stands out the detailed, and with the exception of certain inexactitudes, trustworthy one by BENTIVOGLIO (*Memorie* 229, *seq.*); this is based almost entirely upon the *Relazione* of Cardinal Aldobrandini. The episode has recently been exhaustively treated by MANFRONI in *Riv. stor.*, VII. (1890), 217-255 (with additions and certain documents as an appendix in, Carlo Emanuele, duca di Savoia, Turin, 1891, 79 *seq.*, and in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII. (1890), 101-150, which makes special use of the sources mentioned in Nos. 1 and 2; this is also done by FUMI in *Bollet. d. Soc. Umbria*, II. (1896), and by RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII. (1902), 481-509, VIII. (1903), 25-48, 133-151 (printed separately: *La légation Aldobrandini et le traité de Lyon*, Lyons 1903), who also consulted the account mentioned in No. 3, though he erroneously attributed it to G. B. Agucchio (VII., 490).

Turkish peril. He therefore sought at all costs to bring about an agreement between France and Savoy, an almost hopeless undertaking, as both the rivals were determined not to yield on the main issue. This was already evident in their efforts to put off as long as possible any definite negotiations with the Pope.

It was true that the Duke of Savoy had proclaimed the Peace of Vervins at Turin on June 21st, and had congratulated the Pope upon it,¹ but he refused to hear of the arbitration of Clement VIII. His envoy, the Count of Verrue, only arrived in Rome in February, 1599.² Brulard de Sillery, who was sent by Henry IV. to support Ossat, had to be waited for until April 19th, 1599.³ The state of affairs became even more hopeless when Spanish diplomacy began to interfere.⁴ In this way the end of the year within which Clement was to give his decision drew near without the smallest agreement having been come to.

In these circumstances the Pope decided to send the General of the Franciscans, Bonaventura Caltagirone, Patriarch of Constantinople, who had already rendered great services on the occasion of the conclusion of the Peace of Vervins, which

Richard also uses the shorter narratives : **Relazione mandata da mons. nuntio di Venetia* and **Negotiato del card. Pietro Aldobrandini, Borghese, II., 469*, Papal Secret Archives, which were composed after the death of the Cardinal (1621). In the light of these sources both the Pope and the Cardinal come out as disinterested mediators, filled with a great love of peace. It is not even necessary to discuss the suspicion already refuted by BENTIVOGLIO (*Memorie*, 269) that there was a question of obtaining a principality for the nephew ; *cf.* FUMI, *Legazione*, XV.

¹ This is clear from the *brief of May 26, 1598, State Archives, Turin, already mentioned *supra*, p. 213, n. 2.

² His reports in *Miscell. di stor. ital.*, I., 353 *seq.*

³ See FOUQUERAY, II., 521. The mission of Sillery had already taken place at the beginning of 1599 ; see the *letter of Henry IV. "al mio cugino il card. Sfondrato," Paris, January 18, 1599, in Cod. L. III., 66, Chig. Vatican Library.

⁴ *Cf.* *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 31 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*

had been so favourable to France, in order that he might obtain from Henry IV. a prolongation of the period for another six months, and induce the king to give up his claim to Saluzzo in return for compensation.¹

While Caltagirona, who left Rome on April 1st, 1599,² was endeavouring, in conjunction with the nuncio in France, Gaspare Silingardi,³ to obtain from Henry IV. at least a prolongation of the period, Clement VIII., despite his frequent illnesses, was negotiating uninterruptedly with Sillery and Verrue.⁴

The King of France refused a prolongation of six months as being too favourable to Savoy, and put forward instead the proposal that the Pope should in the meantime sequestrate the marquisate, or take it, in the language of the time, *in depositum*; Clement VIII. at length agreed to this course. Then Caltagirona went to Savoy to obtain the consent of Charles Emanuel. The duke agreed with apparent delight, but he soon made it evident, by the difficulties which he raised, and the conditions he laid down, that he only wished to gain more time.⁵

Charles Emanuel entertained the unfounded suspicion that the Pope wished to give Saluzzo to his nephews;⁶ he also

¹ *Ibid.* II., 41 *seq.*, 53.

² See the *report of G. C. Foresti, Rome, April 3, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ The reports of Silingardi to Cardinal P. Aldobrandini are to be published by Amelli and Palandri in the monograph which they have in preparation: *La pace di Lione*.

⁴ Cf. the *report of G. C. Foresti, Rome, July 17, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also *Avviso of July 17, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library, and *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 80.

⁵ See the report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, *Legazione*, 15 *seq.* BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 249 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 261 *seq.* PHILIPPSON, *Henrich IV.*, vol. I., 89.

⁶ See the report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, *Legazione*, 20 *seq.*, who says: "Calumnia uscita dalla solita malignità della corte di Roma, dove la passione ed invidia massimamente contro un papa glorioso fa ritrovar false inventioni senza haver l'occhio alla verisimilitudine."

hoped for the help of Spain, but when he failed to obtain this, he resolved, in September 1599, to try and attain his end by means of personal negotiations with Henry IV. The sanguine prince was so sure of his success that before he set out he freed himself from the Pope's meditation. He informed Clement VIII. through his envoy that he knew very well that His Holiness would have decided in favour of the King of France, because the latter had pledged himself, once he was possessed of the marquisate, to hand it over to the Pope. Clement VIII. was indignant at this suggestion and suspended his office as mediator, which from the first had been very distasteful to him.¹

The Duke of Savoy was received in France with the greatest honour, but soon found himself disappointed in his hopes of being able to treat of Saluzzo with Henry IV. in person, for the king referred him to his representatives, and the ambitious duke was forced to realize more and more clearly that he could not count upon the realization of his hopes. He thereupon, with a disgraceful abuse of the hospitality that had been extended to him, entered into secret negotiations with some of the malcontent grandees of France, such as Marshall Biron, who were aiming at the destruction of the French monarchy.

The negotiations of Charles Emanuel with the representatives of Henry IV. were frequently on the point of being broken off. This would have been equivalent to the outbreak of a new war, and therefore Caltagirone and the Pope did all in their power to bring about an agreement between the rivals.² Clement VIII. wrote in the most urgent way to the King of France and the Duke of Savoy;³ Caltagirone was indefatigable; he himself presided at the discussions, and at last, on February 27th, 1600, after having overcome unspeakable difficulties, succeeded in bringing about an agreement. In

¹ See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich, IV., vol. I., 90 *seq.*

² Report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, Legazione, 28 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 283 *seq.*; PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., vol. I., 91 *seqq.*

³ See report of Aldobrandini, *loc. cit.* 36.

accordance with this Charles Emanuel promised to give up within three months, either Saluzzo, or the territory of Bresse, which adjoined that of Lyons.¹ The duke signed this agreement only in order to gain time to prepare for a war against Henry IV., in which he counted upon the help of Spain. But the King of France anticipated him, while Spain failed him. On August 10th, 1600, Henry IV. issued a declaration of war, and in a very short time the whole of Savoy and Bresse were in the hands of France. The fact that eventually Spanish troops to the number of 14,000 men appeared on the scene did not improve the position of the duke, for the Spaniards did not advance against the French, but occupied the fortresses of Piedmont, so that Charles Emanuel was in danger of losing everything to his much more powerful adversaries.²

The Pope had followed the course of the struggle for Saluzzo with ever increasing anxiety, and from the summer of 1600 onwards no question occupied his attention so much as this.³ An attempt on the part of the Spaniards to win him over to their plans failed completely, and Clement VIII. spoke in the strongest terms to the ambassador of Philip III., the Duke of Sessa, of the responsibility which he would incur if he were to support the intrigues of Charles Emanuel and thus provoke a war.⁴ In July he redoubled his prayers, his visits to churches and his fasts, that God would prevent the outbreak of war between France and Savoy.⁵ Up to the last moment he hoped to avert this calamity, which would put an end to the plans which he was forming for a league against the

¹ See the text, *ibid.* 49 *seqq.*

² See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 106 *seq.*, 110 ; ERDMANNSDÖRFER, Karl Emanuel I. von Savoyen, Leipzig, 1862, 55.

³ Cf. the *reports of Foresti, Rome, June 24 and July 8, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letter of Raimondo della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, June 3, 1600, State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 56 *seq.*

⁵ See *Avvisi of July 22 and 26, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

Turks.¹ Even at the eleventh hour he attempted, though in vain, to prevent the breach between France and Savoy by sending Caltagirone to France.²

After this all the Pope's thoughts and plans were directed to the restoration of peace. To this end he wrote with his own hand to the Duke of Savoy, to Philip III. and to Henry IV.,³ and seeing all his diplomatic efforts come to nothing, formed a plan of putting an end to the war by an extraordinary step, namely of sending a Cardinal legate to the King of France. He spoke of this in consistory on August 30th, 1600, and said that he wished to have the views of each of the Cardinals in private audience.⁴ With the exception of a few, among whom was Ossat, who defended the interests of Henry IV. with the greatest zeal, all the Cardinals consented. Consequently Clement VIII. to whom the conclusion of peace was of paramount importance,⁵ at the consistory of September 11th expressed his intention of sending a Cardinal legate to act as mediator.⁶ It only remained to decide which of the two nephews was to be given this honourable but extremely difficult task. If in the end the choice fell upon Pietro Aldobrandini, Clement was led to this decision to a great extent by the request of Sessa, but no less by the desire of

¹ See *reports of R. della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, June 17 and July 1, 1600, State Archives, Vienna, and *Avviso of August 9, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library.

² See the report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 60 *seq.*, 65 *seq.*

³ The letter to Philip III., August 25, 1600, published by MANFRONI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 139 *seq.*; that to Henry IV. mentioned by Foresti in his *report of September 2, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *autograph letter to Charles Emanuel, August 25, 1600, in State Archives, Turin. Details of the contents of all three letters in the report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 68.

⁴ See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI. 5, III., Vatican Library. Cf. Lettres d'Ossat., II., 201 *seq.*, 209, 211 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. the *reports of Foresti, Rome, September 2 and 9, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.*

Henry IV. that that Cardinal should bless in Florence his marriage with Mary de' Medici.¹

At a consistory on September 25th, 1600, Pietro Aldobrandini was entrusted with this two-fold task, and was given wide powers.² On the same day urgent briefs were dispatched to Henry IV., Philip III. and the Duke of Savoy, which made it clear that the safety of the whole of Christendom depended upon the conclusion of peace. The Pope said that he could not have sent anyone who was more closely united to him by relationship, affection or confidence, than Pietro Aldobrandini.³ At the same time the French bishops, the *grande*s and councillors of the kingdom, and the Italian princes were informed of the mission of the Pope's nephew.⁴

Cardinal Aldobrandini left the Eternal City on September 26th. His suite was as numerous as it was magnificent; it was composed of eight hundred persons, among whom were seven bishops and as many representatives of the Roman

¹ See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 75 *seq.*; BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 319 *seq.* Cf. the *report of the Imperial representative in Rome, May 6, 1600, State Archives, Vienna. The sacrifice which the Pope made in sending P. Aldobrandini out of Rome doubled the burden of business upon the shoulders of the aged Clement VIII. He brings this out in an *autograph letter to Charles Emanuel, September 25, 1600, State Archives, Turin.

² See **Acta consist. loc. cit.* Vatican Library. *Report of Foresti, September 30, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 228 *seq.*

³ The *briefs to Henry IV., Philip III. and the Duke of Savoy, September 25, 1600, in Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 273, 274, 275, Papal Secret Archives. In the brief to Henry IV., it is said: " *Eum enim mittimus, qui unus nobis et sanguine coniunctissimus et amore carissimus et in omni officii munere nobis supra quam dici potest est necessarius, sed Dei honorem et publicam causam quibusvis nostris et familiae nostrae commodis et privatis rationibus, quamquam non sine multo sensu, tamen libenter antefendam duximus." The credentials for Aldobrandini, September 23, 1600, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 136. Cf. FUMI, 77.

⁴ See *Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 277-318, Papal Secret Archives.

nobility. Garcia Millini, later on Cardinal Secretary of State under Paul V., acted as Auditor ; Maffeo Barberini, who was to ascend the Papal throne as Urban VIII., was there as a simple cleric of the chamber.¹ When he arrived at the Certosa of Florence on October 3rd, Aldobrandini there received a visit from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and made his solemn entry into the city on the Arno on the following day. He dismounted at the palace of the Grand Duke and at once paid his respects to Mary de' Medici. On October 5th he celebrated the marriage of this princess of the house of Medici, the Grand Duke of Tuscany representing the King of France.²

The Cardinal legate left Florence on October 10th. In order to travel more quickly, he had dismissed the greater part of his retinue, but kept with him the Bishop of Avellino, Tommaso Vannini, and two celebrated religious preachers, the Capuchin, Anselmo di Monopoli, and the Theatine, Paolo Tolosa.³

Aldobrandini's journey was made by way of Bologna and Ferrara to Parma. Thence, availing himself of the invitation of Count Fuentes, the governor of Milan, he was at Stradella on October 18th, and at Voghera from the 19th to the 21st, since, in view of the close relations between Charles Emanuel and Philip III., the attitude of the Spaniards might prove to be of great importance. In addition to the conclusion of peace, Aldobrandini's efforts were also aimed at setting the Pope free if possible from the burden of a *depositum*. During the course of the negotiations he clearly realized that the difficulty concerning the handing over of Saluzzo did not

¹ See *Avviso of September 27, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. Cf. also the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2816, *ibid*. See also RICHARD in the *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII. (1902), 483 ; BAUMGARTEN, Neue Kunde, 17.

² See the report in DESJARDINS, V., 445 *seq.* ; BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 214. 217 *seq.* Cf. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2816, Vatican Library.

³ See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 78, and BENTIVOGLIO, Memorie, 218 *seq.*, 222 *seq.*, 226 *seq.*

come only from the Duke of Savoy, but in an equal degree from the Spaniards. In the end he decided to deal with Charles Emanuel himself. Aldobrandini and Fuentes then went to Tortona, where the duke also arrived on October 22nd. The representative of Philip III. at the court of Turin, as well as the nuncio at Turin, also took part in the discussions.¹

During the negotiations the old trick was at once repeated of trying to frighten the Pope's representative with the pretext that Saluzzo in the hands of the French meant the penetration of heresy into Italy. But the Cardinal did not allow himself to be deceived, and he replied that the care for religion might be left quietly in the hands of the Pope, to whom it was of more account than his own life. In the end, on October 25th, Aldobrandini was able, by a threat of his immediate departure, to extort a reply which rendered further negotiations with Henry IV. possible.² The king, however, although Caltagirone had addressed to him in the name of the Pope the strongest exhortations, showed less and less readiness to enter into negotiations as the successes of his troops became greater. He definitely declared that he could not interrupt his operations, but declared his readiness, out of respect for the Pope, to receive his nephew, provided that the latter came as a really impartial arbitrator.

After this Aldobrandini left Turin on November 2nd for Chambéry, where Henry IV. was. This journey to the ancient capital of Savoy, across the Mont Cenis, was a great trial to the Cardinal and his Italian companions, who were not accustomed to such journeys across the Alps. Near Montmélian they had to pass through the camp of the French beseiging army.³

Henry IV. received the representative of the Pope, who reached Chambéry on November 8th, 1600, with all possible honour and extreme courtesy. It was an advantage that

¹ See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 80 *seq.*

² The report of Aldobrandini (*ibid.*, 84 *seq.*) throws a full light on the negotiations at Tortona.

³ See report of Aldobrandini, *ibid.*, 90 *seq.*

Aldobrandini was able to express himself fairly well in French.¹ Henry, who was obviously greatly impressed by the amiability and the intellectual gifts of the Cardinal expressed himself to him with unbounded frankness.² As a result Aldobrandini was able to remove the suspicion entertained by the French of the sincerity of his intentions, prompted by the supposition that the Spaniards were the principal authors of his mission. At first it seemed to the Cardinal that the principal difficulty lay in the fact that Henry looked upon himself too much as a conqueror, and was therefore disposed to exaggerate his claims, and Aldobrandini made no secret of this opinion to Villeroy, the French Secretary of State. Henry IV. expressed himself in the strongest terms against the Spaniards, and above all against Charles Emanuel, whose intriguing policy he had fathomed. It cost Aldobrandini much hard work to obtain the consent of the king for the envoys of the Duke of Savoy to present themselves at Chambéry. In the meantime, on November 16th, Montmélian, the last bulwark of Savoy, fell into the hands of the French ; this had a very unfavourable effect on the peace negotiations.³

Mary de' Medici had landed at Marseilles on November 3rd, and Henry IV. resolved to go to Lyons for the celebration of his marriage with her ; he persuaded the Cardinal legate to accompany him thither. It was not without difficulty that Aldobrandini persuaded the envoy of Savoy to come as well.⁴

Aldobrandini was received at Lyons with great honour, and in accordance with the wishes of Henry IV., on December 17th, he blessed, for the second time, in the cathedral, his marriage with Mary. At the great banquet which took place

¹ See the *Diario* in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 117.

² For what follows *cf.* the report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 91 *seq.* ; the masterly account of Bentivoglio, based on this, in *Memorie* 355 *seqq.* More recently see RICHARD, *Légation*, 34 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*

³ See report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 98.

⁴ See *ibid.*, 103.

in the evening, he sat at the left hand of the king, who had the queen on his right.¹

After the marriage festivities, during the course of which the Cardinal and his Italian companions, who were accustomed to the more refined manners of the Italian renaissance, marvelled at the rude ways of the French,² the negotiations for peace were continued, for the conclusion of which, at the critical moment, the Pope had brought pressure to bear by means of autograph letters to Henry IV.³ The French still laid down the most rigorous conditions, whereas the representatives of Charles Emanuel were opposed to any considerable concession. In spite of this Aldobrandini did not lose hope. With the greatest prudence, and with quite youthful energy, he set himself to his task, always, however, safeguarding the dignity of the Pope, of whom he was the representative.⁴ Without respite he interviewed Jeannin, who had been appointed as his representative by Henry IV., and Sillery, who had returned from Rome, as well as Count Arconati and Baron des Alymes, the envoys of Charles Emanuel. In order to avert the heated quarrels which had taken place in Paris during the discussions presided over by Caltagirone, Aldobrandini preferred to hold separate conferences with the two parties. These latter presented the strongest possible contrast, and the demands of the French were as great as the concessions offered by Savoy were small. The French, moreover, increased their demands the more fortune smiled upon their arms; they even asked for an indemnity for the cost of the war, which they estimated at 800,000 scudi. It was quite impossible for the duke to raise this enormous sum, even though the Holy See should contribute 100,000 scudi, as

¹ See *ibid.*, 103 *seq.* Cf. also the report of Cavalli in CERASOLE, *Relazioni tra la casa Aldobrandini e Venezia*, Venice, 1880, 35 *seq.*

² Cf. RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, VII., 501.

³ Cf. report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 104 *seqq.*

⁴ See RICHARD, *loc. cit.*, VII., 497 *seq.*

the Pope, in his desire for peace, had already offered to do in December.¹

However hopeless the situation might seem, Aldobrandini remained unwearied in his efforts. His hopes were above all based upon his knowledge that at the bottom of his heart, Henry IV. wished for an agreement. In the end the legate, after weary negotiations, succeeded in arriving at an arrangement, with which both parties declared themselves satisfied. The wished-for peace thus seemed to be assured when suddenly an unforeseen difficulty threatened to spoil everything. The chancellor Bellièvre and Villeroi had given Aldobrandini a definite promise not to destroy the fortress of Santa Caterina, which the Duke of Savoy had set up against the heretics in Geneva. We may imagine the sorrow and surprise of the Cardinal when he learned that this fortress, which, in accordance with the terms decided upon was to be restored to Charles Emanuel, had been secretly demolished.

The legate had hard work to keep within due bounds his indignation at this act of treachery on the part of the French, which moreover sensibly affected Catholic interests and was a serious blow to Rome.² At first he refused to consider any further mediation, and Bentivoglio says³ that the ship was on the point of sinking when it had reached its harbour. But the necessity for peace was so great for the parties concerned, that even this danger was overcome. Charles Emanuel ordered his representatives, without heeding this occurrence, to sign the agreement that had been come to; nor did Henry IV. and his advisers wish to provoke the outbreak of another war, in which the Pope would have been opposed to France as her enemy. Aldobrandini, who had already announced his success to Rome, found his whole reputation at stake; if he were to return without any success, he had reason to fear that he would fall into complete disgrace with

¹ See letter of Clement VIII., December 26, 1600, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 137 seq.

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 292.

³ *Memorie*, 398. Cf. report of Aldobrandini in *FUMI*, III seq.

the Pope, who longed for the peace because of the Turkish war ; but on the other hand he could not accept the excuses which were at first offered by Henry.

Sully, who, although he was a Huguenot, had always treated Aldobrandini with great courtesy, and had furthered the peace in every possible way, at length hit upon an acceptable proposal for an agreement.¹ Henry IV. declared his readiness to promise that half of the 100,000 scudi which Charles Emanuel was to pay in accordance with the terms that had been come to, should be employed for the reconstruction of the fortress ; Aldobrandini was able to declare himself satisfied with this, and all the steps necessary for the conclusion of the pact were at once put in hand. In the meantime there arrived a letter from Charles Emanuel strictly forbidding his representatives to sign for the time being. Count Fuentes had asked for an interview with him, and he could only come to a definite decision after this had taken place.²

Even now Aldobrandini did not lose his presence of mind and his courage. By his unwearied efforts, and supported by the Spanish ambassador accredited to Henry IV., Giov. Battista de Taxis, he succeeded in overcoming this last difficulty, taking upon himself the responsibility to the Duke of Savoy for his representatives affixing their signature to the compact. In consequence of this the representatives of Savoy gave way on January 11th, 1601,³ so that at length the peace between France and Savoy could be signed at Lyons on January 17th, 1601.

The terms were as follows : Charles Emanuel ceded to France all the territories on the left bank of the Rhone : Bresse, Bugey, Valromey, Gex and Château Dauphin ; he destroyed Bèche-Dauphin and paid 100,000 scudi. In return Henry gave up to Savoy the marquisate of Saluzzo and certain

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 115 *seq.*, and RICHARD, *Legation*, 64 *seq.*

² See the *report of G. B. de Taxis, January 6, 1601, National Archives, Paris, Simancas, K 1604, cited by PHILIPPSON, *Heinrich IV.*, vol. 116. Cf. also report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 117 *seq.*

³ See FUMI, 119.

fortresses on the eastern side of the Alps which had hitherto belonged to France, while Savoy retained the bridge over the Rhone at Gressin together with the adjacent villages, as a means of communication between Italy, the Franche Comté and the Netherlands, on conditions that no fortresses were erected there, nor duties levied. The King of France further bound himself to the restitution of all the places which he had conquered. Ratification of the treaty was to take place within a month.¹ Aldobrandini at once took steps to see that this term was observed. But at Avignon he was alarmed by hearing that Charles Emanuel had raised fresh difficulties, but the legate immediately took counter-measures, in which he displayed great diplomatic ability, but he only breathed freely when at last, on March 6th, the duke ratified the treaty.²

Thus at last, contrary to the expectations of most people, peace, to which the unscrupulousness of Charles Emanuel, the intrigues of the Spaniards, and the mistrust of the French had opposed endless obstacles, was attained. The credit for having brought about this success, belongs, besides the legate Aldobrandini, to a great extent to the Pope.³ Clement VIII. had unweariedly done all that lay in his power; he had unceasingly exhorted the legate to persevere with patience, and had shared with him his joys and his sorrows. Thus his satisfaction was exceedingly great when, on March 11th, 1601, a special messenger from Aldobrandini brought him the longed for news⁴ of the ratification of the peace; he embraced the messenger and kissed him.⁵ He then went

¹ See DU MONT, V., 2, 10 *seq.*

² For these efforts, not mentioned by Bentivoglio, see report of Aldobrandini in FUMI, 126 *seq.* Cf. RICHARD, *Légation*, 76 *seq.*

³ See MANFRONI in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 108.

⁴ See *report of Foresti, March 10, 1601 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) in App. No. 37.

⁵ See letter of Clement VIII. to Aldobrandini in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 138, the *Avviso of March 14, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library, the *report of R. della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, March 17, 1601, State Archives, Vienna, and *Lettres*

to St. Peter's, where the *Te Deum* was intoned ; the cannon of the Castle of St. Angelo fired salvos of joy¹ and the people of Rome exulted.² When the Pope, at the consistory on March 14th, remarked that the credit was due neither to himself nor to the Cardinal legate, but to Our Lord alone, the historian of the Church, Cardinal Baronius, very rightly pointed out the services rendered by Clement VIII.³ The same was done by the Papal chamberlain Stella in the discourse which he delivered on March 21st after the *Te Deum*, in which he also extolled the services of Henry IV. and Cardinal Aldobrandini.⁴ In the evening of March 29th Cardinal Aldobrandini himself arrived unexpectedly and quite quietly in Rome ; the Pope received him radiant with joy.⁵ The Cardinal legate did not make his solemn entry until April 3rd. The idea of a report to the consistory was abandoned ;⁶ the very fact of the peace spoke for itself.

Henry IV. and Philip III., each from their own point of

d'Ossat, II., 333. G. C. Foresti *reported on January 27, 1601, from Rome that on Monday there had come a courier from Aldobrandini who reported that he looked upon the peace between France and Savoy as certain (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On February 16 Clement VIII. thanked the Grand Duke of Tuscany for his congratulations on the peace (Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 53, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 333 ; *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XIII., 109.

² See **Avviso* of March 14, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. An **Avviso* of September 22, 1601 (*ibid.*) speaks of a commemorative inscription set up on the Capitol. The poet of the house of Aldobrandini, the Portuguese Em. Constantino, published on this occasion his " *Carmen ad card. P. Aldobrandinum de pace inita inter Henricum IV. Galliae regem et Carolum Em. Allobrogum ducem.*" Rome, 1601.

³ See **Acta consist.* Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library, and **Avviso* of March 20, 1601, Urb. 1069, *ibid.*

⁴ See **Avviso* of March 24, 1601, *ibid.*

⁵ See **Avviso* of March 31, 1601, *ibid.* ; *Lettres d'Ossat*, II. 345.

⁶ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 346 ; **Acta consist.* of April 3 and 4, 1601, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

view, had every reason for satisfaction with the agreement come to at Lyons. Charles Emanuel should have felt the same, for he owed to the Pope his very territory, rounded off in several useful respects, and he had now become a purely Italian power. But the duke was very far from realizing the importance of the change that had been brought about; in his greed for gain, he looked only at what he had lost by the peace, and not at what he had gained. He levelled bitter accusations against the Spaniards and turned his back on them.¹

Soon after the Treaty of Lyons a change took place in the relations between Spain and France, which opened out the hope of a permanent agreement. At the end of May 1601, a solemn oath on the part of Philip III.,² accomplished the ratification of the Peace of Vervins, a thing ardently furthered by the Pope,³ but which had hitherto been postponed on various pretexts. Clement VIII. thanked the king in an autograph letter.⁴ The Pope not only desired, as he often said to Ossat, that peace should prevail, but that friendship might grow up between Henry IV. and Philip III.,⁵ because only thus would the great league against the Turks, of which

¹ See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., vol. I., 119 *seqq.*, 121 *seq.* Here belongs the *autograph letter, s.d. of Clement VIII. to Henry IV., in which it is stated: "Premendoci tanto, quanto fa la conservazione della pace, può ben credere V.M., quanto piacere habbiamo sentito del final accomodamento delle cose di Savoia, conveniendo molto bene, che chi teme d'un incendio, vigili ancora le faville, dalle quali si può accendere." Then follow thanks for the steps he had taken, of which the Pope had been informed by the French nuncio and the Swiss nuncio. Arm. 45, t. 41, p. 40, Papal Secret Archives.

² See PHILIPPSON, *loc. cit.*, 124 *seq.*; cf. *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV., 305 *seq.*

³ Cf. the *Instructions to the nuncio in Spain, May 11 and 15, 1601, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

⁴ Cf. the *letter of Aldobrandini to the nuncio in Spain, July 13, 1601, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library.

⁵ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 449, 496.

Cardinal Aldobrandini had spoken during his legation, be rendered possible. At a consistory on October 22nd, 1601, the Pope said that the welfare of Christendom depended upon agreement between the Kings of France and Spain, its two most powerful sovereigns.¹

Two years after the peace of Lyons this was once more endangered by the restless Duke of Savoy. Relying upon his family connexion with Spain, Charles Emanuel wished to take possession of the city of Geneva. It made no difference to him that he could not count on the help of anyone for his plan, and least of all upon Henry IV., since the King of France, on August 13th, 1601, had expressly declared that he looked upon Geneva as forming part of the "alliance of the thirteen cantons," and thus included in the protection guaranteed by the Peace of Lyons.² If, in spite of this, Charles Emanuel resolved to break the peace, and openly provoke the King of France, he was certainly encouraged by the conduct of the governor of Milan, Fuentes, who had concentrated an unheard of number of Spanish troops in Savoy, and had brought pressure to bear on the cabinet at Madrid to obtain its consent to concerted action with the troops of Charles Emanuel.³ The duke naturally tried to win over Clement VIII. as well to his plan, knowing well that the headquarters of Calvinism was bound to be hateful to him, as to any Pope. But he received a refusal from Rome. Perhaps in other circumstances this might have been less strong, but so soon after the Peace of Lyons, Clement VIII. was absolutely opposed to any warlike undertaking, especially one that seemed to be very doubtful in the hands of Savoy, and would moreover have roused Henry IV. to the defence of Geneva. The Pope therefore sought in every way to

¹ See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III. Vatican Library.

² See PHILIPPSON, Heinrich IV., I., 257.

³ See Documents sur l'Escalade de Genève tirés des archives de Simancas, Turin, Milan, Rome, Paris et Londres, Geneva, 1903, 59 seq.; DIERAUER, III., 411.

maintain the peace, both at Madrid and Turin, by means of his nuncios.¹

In spite of this Charles Emanuel persevered in the project which he had formed, and made use of his governor in Savoy, the Lord of Albigny, Charles de Simiane, for the carrying out of his plan. At the end of 1602 the troops of Savoy were assembled in all secrecy in the valley of the Arve, and during the darkness of the night between December 21st and 22nd, Albigny attempted to take possession of Geneva by a *coup de main*, a thing which at that time was by no means uncommon.² But the attack, the so-call escalade, failed completely.³ The sentiments of the Roman Curia were shown by the fact that the news aroused undisguised joy in Rome.⁴ Clement VIII. openly disapproved of the perilous venture of the Duke of Savoy, and spared no pains to prevent any armed complications. All his efforts were directed to the end of maintaining the peace that had been attained with so much difficulty,⁵ and which must not be jeopardized because of the war against the Turks.

¹ Cf. the article, based on the extensive publication of documents cited in *supra*, p. 242, n. 3. Documents, etc., published by ALAIN DE BECDELIEVRE in *Études*, XCVII. (1903), 398 *seqq.*; Clement VIII. et la République de Genève, à l'époque de l'Escalade. See also DE CRUE, L'Escalade de Genève et la Ligue, Genève, 1903.

² Cf. HOLLÄNDER in *Zeitschr. f. die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.S. XVII., for the attack of Duke Henry of Guise on Strasbourg in 1579.

³ In DIERAUER, III., 412, n. 1, and in *Cambridge Mod. Hist.*, III., 833, may be found the special literature on the attack, the trophies of which are in the Museum at Geneva, and the memory of which is still celebrated there to-day. Cf. also *Rev. Savoisiennne*, 1920, 31 *seqq.*, 92 *seqq.*

⁴ See *report of Lelio Arrigoni, January 4, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ See article by A. DE BECDELIEVRE, 397 *seq.*, cited *supra*. There more concerning the position of the Holy See with regard to the treaty of San Giuliano and the energetic letter of Clement VIII., April 10, 1603, to Henry IV. (published in *Documents sur l'Escalade*, 381 *seq.*) Cf. also COUZARD, *Ambassade*, 60 *seq.*

Just as he had done in the case of France and Savoy, so did Clement VIII. seek to reconcile France and Spain; it filled him with sorrow to see that the peace between these two was more apparent than real. If he could succeed in finding a remedy for this state of affairs, and in bringing about an alliance between these two great Catholic powers, then the league against the Turks, which Clement VIII. so ardently desired, might be realized. To this end a Franco-Spanish matrimonial alliance seemed to be an excellent means. The eminently practical politician who occupied the throne of France had expressed a desire for this in the autumn of 1601, but had received no definite reply from the court of Spain.¹ At the end of 1602 Henry IV. once more renewed this project, and this time it seemed that they were inclined in Madrid to accede to his wishes. The Duke of Lerma, through the nuncio Ginnasio, begged Clement VIII. to take the negotiation of the marriage into his own hands. But however welcome to the Pope might be such a bond of relationship between the two great Catholic powers, who had so long been at war to the injury of the Church, especially in view of the Turkish war, he did not lose sight of his duties as a statesman in face of this flattering proposal.

As was always the case with him, he acted on this occasion with great caution, and though he certainly received the proposal with satisfaction, it was at the same time with a surprising coldness, because he feared lest, by a formal proposal of a marriage, he might rather increase the mistrust between the two houses than remove it. It was necessary therefore that the obstacles that stood in the way should first be removed. The briefs which he addressed in January 1603 to Henry IV. and Philip III. were directed to that end. In the former there is no mention of the suggested marriage, with regard to which the Pope intended only to deal through the nuncio in Paris and the French ambassador in Rome. But Philip III. was frankly asked what attitude he would

¹ See HILDEBRANDT in *Quell. u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV., 306 seq.

adopt towards the matter.¹ The caution of Clement VIII. proved to be fully justified: Paris showed its old mistrust of the Spaniards, while Philip III. maintained an eloquent silence. The disagreements between France and Spain once more increased, and embittered the last years of the life of Clement VIII.²

The jealousy and mistrust between the courts of Madrid and Paris had always shown itself in an intensive way in Rome itself. As a wise and far-seeing statesman Henry IV. realized better than Philip III. the political importance of the Pope, not only as an Italian prince, but even more as the head of all Catholics. He well knew what an advantage Spain had derived during the past generation from the material and spiritual support of the Holy See, and he realized perfectly how Spanish diplomacy had been able cleverly to disguise its ambitious aims under a cloak of zeal for the Catholic cause. Henry IV. looked upon it as one of his principal tasks to strike a mortal blow at the influence of Spain, which had so long prevailed in Rome, and by revealing the machinations of his rival to recover for Catholic France its lost influence in the Curia. If he was successful in doing this, he owed it, in addition to a series of favourable circumstances, above all to the skill of the diplomatist who, from the middle of October, 1601, held the position of ambassador of France at the court of Clement VIII.: this was the brother of Sully, Philippe de Béthune.³ At the same time the nunciature in Paris was placed in other hands, and the Bishop of Camerino, Innocenzo Bufalo, succeeded Silingardi.⁴

¹ See *ibid.* 308 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 309 *seq.*

³ Cf. for what follows the excellent monograph of COUZARD: *Une ambassade à Rome sous Henri IV.*, Paris, 1900, which is principally based upon the reports of the ambassador to Henry IV. and Villeroy, partly preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (franc. 3492-94) and partly in the archives of Count Béthune-Sully in the Castle of Sully-sur-Loire.

⁴ The *instructions for Bufalo in *Nunziat. de Francea*, 291, p. 1 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. The *reports of Bufalo from

The task which the King of France had entrusted to Béthune was two-fold.¹ Before all else he was to dispel the doubts concerning the religious sincerity of Henry IV., and give the lie to the accusations of the Spaniards, which were based upon the concessions made to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes, upon the attitude taken up by the King of France towards the Netherland rebels, and upon his relations with England. But it was not only a case of winning over to the cause of France the reigning Pope; in order to obtain a lasting influence in the College of Cardinals, which during the wars of religion in France, and as a result of the weakness of the last Valois kings, had fallen too much under Spanish influence, it was necessary to build up a party devoted to the Most Christian King. In both these respects Béthune met with considerable success. It was of great advantage to him that the cautious Clement VIII., and with him many others in Rome, resented the dependence upon Spain, as well as the fact that the cabinet in Madrid and its representatives foolishly acted in a way that was to the advantage of their French rivals.

The arrival of Béthune in Rome occurred at a favourable moment, for only a short time before the dynasty of his sovereign had received an important pledge for its future in the birth of the Dauphin. How greatly the hopes built upon France in Rome had grown was shown by the fact that Clement VIII. and several Cardinals, who like him were weary of Spanish tutelage, abandoned their attitude of reserve in a striking manner. The Pope told Béthune that he expected, after his own death, Henry IV. to interest himself in his

1601 to 1604 in Barb. 5831-33 (the last letter from Lyons, October 25, 1604; until the arrival of the new nuncio Barberini, the nunciature in Paris was administered by Agostino Gajosi), the **Lettere del card. Aldobrandini a Bufalo*, from July 12, 1601, to January 4, 1605, in Barb. 5830, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* the "Cifre" from July 19, 1602, to September 21, 1604.

¹ See the **Instructions for Béthune*, August 23, 1601, in F. franc. 3465, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Cf. COUZARD, 5 *seq.*, 221 *seq.*

nephews. Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini expressed the hope that Béthune would succeed in increasing the prestige of the French in the Curia. Henry IV. was quick to realize what advantage he could draw from this state of affairs ; he begged Clement VIII. to be the sponsor of the Dauphin and overwhelmed with honour¹ Maffeo Barberini, the special envoy sent for this purpose to France.

In spite of all this Béthune's task was a difficult one. Notwithstanding the efforts of Ossat, he only had a few friends he could rely upon, whereas the Spaniards still exercised the overwhelming influence in the College of Cardinals which they had enjoyed for a generation. The Cardinals had heavy expenses, but for the most part their revenues were small, so that they were to a certain extent dependent upon the pensions of the sovereigns. Spain knew how to profit by this circumstance without restraint, and at the elections of the Popes, excluded all the candidates who were not devoted to her. The greater number of the Cardinals therefore did not wish to prejudice themselves in the eyes of the powerful protector of the Church, and even though, like Salviati, they inclined in their hearts more to France than to Spain, they did not dare to manifest this externally. There were only a few Cardinals who were as austere as Baronius or as independent as Medici, who openly declared their sympathies with France.²

Ossat had pointed out in June, 1596, how great was the influence of the Spaniards in the College of Cardinals, and in view of the coming creation had shown that in the Sacred College there were only two French men as against fourteen Spanish subjects, to say nothing of Albert and Andrew of Austria, who were kinsmen of Philip II., as well as Farnese and five other Cardinals who were absolutely devoted to the king, besides others on whom Spain could count because of the pensions paid to them.³

¹ See COUZARD, 225 *seq.*

² See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 470 *seq.*, 473, 479. Cf. COUZARD, 222 *seq.*

³ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 258 *seq.*

In order to break down this unlawful influence of the Spaniards in the supreme senate of the Church, and to set up a counterweight to it, Clement VIII., in 1596 and 1599 conferred the purple upon a number of neutrals. Prudent and cautious as ever he did this without supporting their political rivals, and merely setting purely ecclesiastical considerations against the worldly aims of Spain.¹

On June 5th, 1596, there were nominated one Frenchman, Anne d'Escars, and two Spaniards, Francisco Guzman de Avila, and Fernando de Guevara, the others being all Italians of repute, neutral in their politics, and closely connected with the Pope, namely Lorenzo Savelli, Patriarch of Constantinople and vice-legate of Avignon; Lorenzo Priuli, formerly ambassador in Rome and afterwards Patriarch of Venice; Francesco Maria Tarugi, the venerated reformer of the diocese of Avignon; Ottavio Bandini, Bishop of Fermo, who had for a long time been on close terms of friendship with Clement VIII.; Francesco Cornaro, Bishop of Treviso, who had laboured there in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform; Francesco, Count of San Giorgio e Blandrata, Bishop of Acqui; Camillo Borghese, who had recently returned from his mission to Philip II.; Lorenzo Bianchetti, once the companion of Clement VIII. in his legation to Poland; the Auditors of the Rota, Pompeo Arrigoni and Bartolomeo Cesi, Andrea Peretti, and lastly, eclipsing them all, the equally learned and modest Baronius, whom the Pope had to compel to accept the purple.²

¹ See HERRE, 643.

² See *Acta consist., Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library; *Avviso of June 5, 1596, Urb. 1064, I., *ibid.* (cf. the *letter of Arrigoni, June 5, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua); Lettres d'Ossat, I., 264 *seq.*, 270 *seq.*; DOLFIN, Relazione, 254; Carte Strozzi., I., 2, 247. See also the *briefs to Philip II., the Doge of Venice and Henry IV., of June 12, 14 and 15, 1596, Arm. 44, t. 40, nn. 276, 282, 284, Papal Secret Archives. The biographies of the new Cardinals in CIACONIUS, IV., 287 *seqq.*, and CARDELLA, VI., 161 *seq.* Some of the Cardinals of Clement VIII. were described in an interesting way in JANII NICII

At the creation on March 3rd, 1599,¹ the red hat was conferred upon two Frenchmen, Ossat and Sourdis, the Spaniard, Bernardo Sandoval, the German, Franz von Dietrichstein, and besides these Alessandro d'Este to whom the cardinalate had been promised on the occasion of the acquisition of Ferrara, and eight other Italians who were entirely neutral, and who almost all proved themselves distinguished princes of the Church. By the nomination of Bonifacio Bevilacqua, who had distinguished himself as governor of Camerino, Clement VIII. wished to give a proof of his good-will towards his new subjects at Ferrara. The Milanese, Alfonso Visconti, had been under Gregory XIV. nuncio at the court of Rudolph II., and then at that of Philip II., while under Clement VIII. he had been entrusted with a mission to Transylvania, in the interests of the Turkish war. The learned canonist, Domenico Toschi,² who came of a poor family, owed his promotion to Cardinal Pietro Donato Cesi: he received the purple as a reward for his successful government of Rome during the stay of Clement VIII. at Ferrara. Paolo Emilio Zacchia had also been in the service of Cardinal Cesi; his uncle, Marcello de' Nobili, upon whom Clement VIII. wished to confer the cardinalate, drew the attention of the Pope to his learned nephew, who was honoured by Clement VIII. with a mission to Philip II., and who had won the confidence and good-will of the Pope to the highest degree. The elevation of the

ERYTHRAEI, Pinacotheca, I., Coloniae Agripp., 1645 (for Erythraeus-van Roscius see ORBAAN, Rome, 234). The *original of the will of Tarugi, dated Rome, April 2, 1603, was sold by auction a few years ago by the Viennese Antiquarian Rauschberg.

¹ See *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* and the *report of Foresti, March 6, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The promotion is often wrongly transferred to the year 1598, even by CARDELLA (VI., 47) and GARAMPI (334). For the reports that had preceded this, see, besides the Florentine reports in DESJARDINS, V., 366 *seq.*, the *report of Lod. Cremaschi of March 28, 1598, and *that of Foresti of February 20, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² A portrait of Cardinal Domenico Tosco is preserved in the Gallery at Vienna.

youthful Giambattista Deti, who was nominated at the request of Pietro Aldobrandini, was a mistake, and his unworthy conduct later on called for the interference of the Pope. Buonviso Buonvisi of Lucca had distinguished himself as commissary of the auxiliary Papal troops in the Turkish war; appointed Archbishop of Bari in 1602, he became an example of a God-fearing and zealous reforming prelate. Lastly, two learned and pious men of the highest distinction, of whom the Church might well be proud, were Silvio Antoniano and Robert Bellarmine.¹

Just as he had done in the matter of his nominations to the cardinalate, so, at the instance of Baronius,² did Clement VIII. work in yet another way against the unlawful preponderance of the Spaniards, by encouraging the formation of a French counterweight. He went so far as to express to Béthune the wish that more French Cardinals would take up their abode in Rome.³ Aldobrandini and Medici gave the same advice. But the carrying into effect of this desire was not possible for the time being; Cardinal Gondi was too old, Givry was not wealthy enough, Sourdis was detained at Bordeaux by his dispute with his chapter, and Joyeuse was afraid of the climate of Rome.⁴

In the meantime Béthune sought to win over not only the

¹ Cf. *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 34 *seq.*; **Avvisi* of March 3 and 6, 1599, Urb. 1067, Vatican Library, and the **briefs*, to Cardinal Sourdis, March 19, and to the Cardinal of Sens, of March 20, 1599 (the new Cardinals are called "*viri lectissimi doctrina, vita et usu*"), Arm. 44, t. 43, nn. 161, 165, Papal Secret Archives. The biographies of the new cardinals in CIACONIUS, IV., 314 *seq.*; CARDELLE, VI., 47 *seq.*; NOVAES, IX., 47. For Deti see BENTIVOGLIO, *Memorie*, 126; for Zacchia see GARAMPI, 334.

² See in App. No. 30 the *report of Foresti of June 5, 1599, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See ROTT, *Henri IV.*, 122.

⁴ See COUZARD, 245. For the dispute with Cardinal Sourdis, in which Clement VIII. intervened, see ALAIN-TAMIZEY DE LARROCQUE, *Fr. de Sourdis et l'affaire des autels*, Bordeaux, 1893.

Cardinals but also the more influential prelates of the Curia. Above all he sought to gain the powerful Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, by flattering the vanity of the nephew, and advancing his material interests. It was not, however, easy to win over the Cardinal nephew to the side of France, and Henry had occasion to complain of him several times. It was a triumph for Béthune when Clement VIII. appointed an old friend of France, Serafino Olivier, Patriarch of Alexandria and Abbot of Marquemont, as Papal Chamberlain.¹ But much had yet to be done before it could be said that the preponderance of the Spaniards in the Curia had been broken. How necessary the presence of the French Cardinals in Rome was, was shown at the end of October, 1602, when Clement VIII. fell ill, by the scandalous intrigues of the Spaniards to obtain the election of Cardinals Galli, Piatti or Montelparo. The Pope recovered, but the Spaniards continued to count upon an early conclave. At the end of 1602 Sessa sought to win over, by means of pensions, the very Cardinals whom Béthune was trying to win, but Clement, who wished for independent Cardinals, caused all those whom he had appointed to refuse Spanish pensions.² The failure of these attempts at corruption did much harm to the Spaniards, and many of the Cardinals abandoned them. Nevertheless Spain still possessed great influence, and it was to her advantage that it was believed in Rome that Henry did not take much interest in the affairs of the Curia. The presence of the French Cardinals in Rome became all the more necessary, and Béthune was relieved when at last, on October 15th, 1603, Cardinal Joyeuse arrived there.³ With his coming the number

¹ See COUZARD, 229 *seq.*, 232 *seq.*, 240 *seq.* In September, 1602 it was openly said that Cardinal P. Aldobrandini had been altogether won over by the Spaniards; see DESJARDINS, V., 504.

² See Couzard 249 *seq.*, 251 *seq.*, 256 *seq.* The envoy of Este *states on September 28, 1596, that Clement VIII. did not wish his nephews to accept pensions from Spain. State Archives, Modena.

³ See COUZARD, 261.

of the Cardinals devoted to the cause of France rose to ten.¹

At this point, at the end of 1603, the political position experienced an important change, in the coming of a new ambassador of the King of Spain to Rome. The Duke of Sessa, who hitherto had alone held Béthune in check, was recalled. It was he who had obtained for his king the extension of the Cruzada, Sussidio and Excusado.² At the beginning of November he left the Eternal City, where he had made many friends.³ In his stead there came Juan Fernando Pacheco, Marquis of Villena and Duke of Escalona,⁴ who by his ignorance of affairs of state, by his childish vanity, and his foreign ways, was destined to do more harm to the interests of his king, than Béthune had been able to do in two years of hard work.

The Duke of Escalona offended the Pope at his very first audience, by, contrary to custom, keeping his head covered, believing that this was his right as a grandee of Spain.⁵ The quite exceptional marks of honour with which Clement VIII. had caused the ambassador of the Catholic King to be received on his arrival, were neutralized by him by his foolish offending of the Pope's relatives. Clement VIII. found himself obliged to address serious complaints to Spain on this account.⁶ In

¹ Cf. the *report to the Duke of Escalona for the year 1603, Vatican Library, examined more in detail on p. 253 *seq.*

² The Cruzada and Excusado, last granted on January 17, 1600, were again renewed on October 30, 1603; also the Subsidio; see *"Indice de las concesiones que han hecho los Papas de la Cruzada, Subsidio y Escusado," Archives of the Spanish Embassy Rome.

³ See *report of Arrigoni, November 1, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ Cf. F. de Béthencourt, *Hist. geneal. y heraldica de la Monarchia española* II., 246 *seq.*

⁵ See Couzard 265 *seq.*

⁶ See in App. Nos. 42, 43, 44, the *letters of Clement VIII. to Philip III., Sessa, and the nuncio in Spain, December 3 and 5, 1603, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.

the same way the duke came into conflict with Cardinals Peretti and Paleotto, who henceforward went over to the side of France.¹

Béthune saw with satisfaction the imprudent conduct of the Spanish ambassador, but with great shrewdness was very cautious in furthering the tension that had sprung up between Rome and Madrid. He had availed himself of his first visit to the Duke of Escalona to demonstrate to the Romans the greatness of France, and went to him with no less than sixty carriages. The haughty duke saw nothing in this but a special honour paid to himself. How cleverly Béthune was able to make use of all circumstances was shown by his behaviour towards Cardinal Galli, who, although as Dean of the Sacred College he enjoyed the privilege of not being obliged to visit anyone, had nevertheless, as a Spanish subject, thought himself justified in making an exception in the case of the Duke of Escalona. Béthune thereupon pretended to ignore the Cardinal Dean in this matter, and forced him to make his excuses. This humiliation of a dangerous adversary made a great impression in Rome ; it added to the repute of the French government, and increased the number of its friends.²

From a report drawn up in 1603 by the Duke of Escalona we can clearly see how the situation in Rome was developing to the disadvantage of Spain. This brings out above all things, and in the clearest terms, the importance of the Roman court, as being the first in the world.³ Fifty Cardinals, it states, who are almost comparable to kings, resided for the most part in the Eternal City : to these could be added as many patriarchs, archbishops and bishops, more than two hundred prelates and innumerable nobles of all nations. On account of the importance of the Pope as an ecclesiastical and secular sovereign, the princes chose as their representatives at the Curia not only men of noble birth, but also men of great

¹ See COUZARD, 270.

² See *ibid.*, 267 *seq.*, 271.

³ *" La corte di Roma è senza dubbio veruno la prima corte del mondo."

prudence. None of those who had once been ambassadors in Rome, for which office the cleverest men were always kept, was ever sent to another court, and rightly so, since the interests of the whole world were concentrated in Rome, for the Pope was still the arbiter of the Catholic princes, upon whom he conferred not only spiritual favours, but also temporal ones.¹ Spain, by reason of the vast extent of her dominions, and of her possessions in Italy, had a special interest in being well represented. Upon her ambassador fell the task of deciding many questions of jurisdiction, and of preparing the way for the election of the Pope. The writer very truly says that the former was entirely a secular matter. This was not the case with the election of the Pope, because, even though the King of Spain should succeed to the position of the Emperor, the nomination or confirmation of the Pope would not be his affair, though it would pertain to him to see that a good Pope was elected, both from the religious and the secular point of view. Therefore, neither Charles V. nor Philip II. had failed to bestow pensions, both on the court and on the Cardinals.

The writer of this report also gives a sketch of the Cardinals, in which he specially inquires to which group each one belongs. It is very interesting to see from this that among the fifty-six Cardinals he can only name ten or twelve upon whom the King of Spain can count for certain. Ten Cardinals already appear in the list as being of French sympathies, while the remainder belong to no party in particular.²

¹ * " Aggiungerei che qui corrono come in loro centro tutti i negotii del mondo, essendo il Pontefice arbitro di principi christiani, qui le differenze, le pretensioni, le querele, le guerre, le leghe et altre cose simili si maneggiano dal Pontefice."

² * " Instruttione della corte di Roma e delle qualità de cardinali nel 1603 da Frascchetta (secretary of the embassy) al marchese di Viglienna, ambasciatore catholico in Roma " in Ottob. 2689, p. 113 *seq.* Vatican Library (*cf.* the copy in Cod. A. 21 p. 118 *seq.* Graf Nostitz Majorats library, Prague), and in Inform. polit., XXVI., State Library, Berlin (this manuscript briefly used by RANKE, III., 96*). A similar *report of Frascchetta

As against the steady progress of the French cause there had to be set notable losses ; on March 13th, 1604, there died at the age of 67 Cardinal Ossat, who had worked on behalf of his country in Rome for a whole generation, and to whom Béthune owed many of his successes. Soon afterwards Joyeuse once again left the Eternal City. This was compensated, on May 30th, 1604, by the arrival of Cardinal Givry, who made many friends in the Curia, and acquired much influence with Clement VIII. But Béthune's most valuable auxiliary was still the Duke of Escalona. The arrogance of this singular diplomatist continued to repulse the Pope's nephews, who at times were disposed to yield to the flatteries of the Spaniards.¹ The Pope also openly showed his displeasure at the conduct of the duke. The latter only realized too late how imprudently he had acted, and the courteous attitude which he adopted towards the Pope's nephews in June, 1604, lost its effect because it was obviously connected with the coming creation of Cardinals.²

Clement VIII. had refused for a long time to add to the number of the Sacred College, because only a few titles were vacant, and many of the Cardinals were only possessed of small means.³ In course of time the number of vacancies in

with regard to the "*qualità et natura de cardinali nel 1602*" in Cod. 411, S. Croce Library, Rome, gives various characteristics, though all the Cardinals are judged entirely from the Spanish point of view (*cf.* LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 17). The Duke of Escalona made use of these reports for his *report on the 68 Cardinals of whom the Sacred College was then composed, sent on April 24, 1605, to Philip III. Orig. in Simancas Archives. Est. Leg. 980 ; French extract in COUDERC, II., 38 *seq.* *Cf.* further Vol. XXIV. of this work, Chapter

¹ See the *reports of Fr. Vendramin, February 28, 1604, and of Agost. Nani of June 26, 1604, State Archives, Venice, used by BROSCHE, I., 344.

² *Cf.* COUZARD, 273 *seq.*, 276 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*

³ See the *report of R. della Torre to Rudolph II., Rome, June 3, 1600, State Archives, Vienna.

the College of Cardinals rose to 18,¹ but there still remained the same uncertainty as to what the Pope would do, since he was accustomed to keep his nominations entirely secret, and then suddenly bring them forward.² At the end of December, 1603, the Duke of Escalona, by the command of his government, asked the Pope to confer the purple of Giovanni Doria. In the course of his audience the Spanish ambassador permitted himself to allude to the age of the Pope, and to advise him to leave the discharge of public business more to his nephews. Clement VIII. received this very ill, and replied that the ambassador should not burden himself with the business of others, and that the Pope knew quite well what he ought to do.³

The creation of Cardinals which took place on June 9th, 1604, had as far as possible been kept secret up to the last moment.⁴ The Duke of Escalona had done all that he could that Spain should be given a Cardinal more than France,⁵ but Clement VIII. only conferred the red hat on the Archbishop of Burgos, the learned Antonio Zappata, and Giovanni Doria. At the request of Henry IV. Serafino Olivier and Du Perron were appointed, and at the request of the Emperor the Bishop of Trent, Carlo Madruzzo, while Poland received Bernard Maciejowski, Bishop of Cracow. All the remainder were deserving Italians, closely connected with the Pope and Pietro Aldobrandini: the Bolognese Domenico Ginnasio, Archbishop of Manfredonia and nuncio in Spain: the Roman Innocenzo Bufalo, Bishop of Camerino and nuncio in France: the

¹ See COUZARD, 292.

² See the report of Lelio Arrigoni, December 6, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See in App. No. 41 the *report of Arrigoni, December 20, 1603, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ On June 5, 1604, F. M. Vialardo reports: *" Il Papa ha detto presenti due camerieri che vuole fare cardinali. Non so se si burla " (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Cf. also *Avviso of June 2, 1604, urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

⁵ See COUZARD, 294 *seq.* According to the *report of Arrigoni of December 27, 1603, France asked for nothing more than equality with Spain. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Neapolitan Filippo Spinelli, till 1603 nuncio the Rudolph II. ; the Roman Carlo Conti, Bishop of Ancona : the Venetian Giovanni Delfino, formerly ambassador of his native city in Rome, and afterwards Bishop of Vicenza ; Jacopo Sannesio, who came from a poor family of the Marches, and had risen to the position of Secretary of the Consulta : the capable secretary of Pietro Aldobrandini, Erminio Valenti : the Bolognese Girolamo Agucchio, the nephew of Cardinal Sega and major-domo to Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini : the governor of Rome, Ferdinando Taverna : Carlo Emanuele Pio of Savoy, from Ferrara : the Capuchin Anselmo Marzato of Sorrento, generally known as Monopoli from his native place, and much esteemed as a preacher : and lastly the pupil of Philip Neri, Girolamo Pamfili,¹ who was on close terms of friendship with Baronius.

Of the foregoing, the following, according to Béthune, were favourable to France : Delfino, Ginnasio, Valenti, Monopoli, Sannesio, Emanuele Pio, Agucchio, Taverna, Conti, Bufalo, and Pamfili.² Béthune thanked the Pope in the warmest terms, and Henry IV. showed no less satisfaction, and paid the greatest honour to the Papal nuncio, Bufalo.³ It is easy to understand the dissatisfaction of the Duke of

¹ See *Avvisi of June 9, 12 and 16, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library ; CIACONIUS, IV., 346 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, VI., 86 *seq.* ; NOVAES, IX., 68. For. G. Doria *cf.* BOGLINO, *La Sicilia e i suoi cardinali*, Palermo, 1884. 53 *seq.* Clement VIII. replied on July 3, 1604, to Cardinal A. Valiero on his congratulating him on the promotion : *Consenuimus iam ; novis opus erat commilitonibus, qui vestri collegii tum tua tum aliorum virtute partam existimationem tuerentur in posterum et sanctitatis et prudentiae opinionem, quae multorum piorumque cardinalium morte videbitur debilitata, alerent ac sustentarent. Rerum humanarum frequens est vicissitudo omnium. Nihil perpetuo floret, aetas succedit aetati. Senes nos pellimur, instant iuniores, et quocunque nos vertimus, persequuntur." Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 265b, Papal Secret Archives. *Report of the Este envoy, June 9, 1604, State Archives, Modena.

² See Béthune's *Memorial on the subject of the new Cardinals, in F. franc. 349, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

³ See COUZARD, 297.

Escalona with the creation of June, 1604. He did nothing, however, to improve his position by showing it openly, and by neglecting, contrary to all usage, to thank the Pope for the elevation of the two Cardinals who had been promoted at the request of the King of Spain. On the occasion of this act of discourtesy Clement VIII. remarked : " The Spaniards would like to give me orders, but I shall know very well how to prevent it."¹

All the rules of prudence should have led the Duke of Escalona to maintain a careful moderation towards Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, whose influence had been considerably increased by the great creation of June 1604. But instead of this he only thought of avenging himself for his sudden disappointment upon the Pope and Pietro Aldobrandini. It was to this end alone that he became reconciled with Montalto, the rival of the Cardinal nephew. Béthune acted with far greater acumen. With ever increasing empressment he courted Pietro Aldobrandini, who had so far always held open the possibility of his going over to the side of Spain. Béthune assured him that Henry was resolved to favour him in every possible way, and at the same time told him that his king intended shortly to send three Cardinals to Rome : Joyeuse, Du Perron and Sourdis. This master-stroke led Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini, in August 1604, to proclaim himself definitely in favour of France. The Pope too expressed his pleasure at the coming of the French Cardinals.²

In the meantime the Duke of Escalona thought of nothing but revenge, and easily found allies. The predominant position which Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini held in Rome had long excited jealousy and hatred in many quarters, and the recent creation of Cardinals, which had been so advantageous to the Cardinal nephew, drove his enemies to extreme measures. The latter entered into a close alliance with the Spanish ambassador, namely, among the Cardinals, especially Montalto and Sfondrato, and among the princely

¹ See *ibid.* 294 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 303 *seq.*, 306.

families the Farnese above all. This deep-seated opposition, which worked in secret, was able to count upon the discontent of the Roman people, who had repeatedly experienced to their cost the strong hand of the Cardinal nephew.¹ It required very little to cause the hatred and jealousy which had been smouldering for years to break into flame.

On August 23rd, 1604, a sailor who had been arrested by the police for debt, succeeded in escaping and taking refuge in the Palazzo Farnese. A gentleman and two servants belonging to the suite of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese protected him, drove the police officials from the palace, and wounded one of them. The governor of the city reported the matter to Cardinal Aldobrandini, who gave orders to demand the handing over of the escaped sailor and his protectors. Cardinal Farnese absolutely refused this to the governor of the city, appealing to the privilege belonging to noble families, long since taken away, of affording sanctuary in their places to criminals. He also gave a defiant reply to Cardinal Aldobrandini when he presented himself in person, knowing that he could count upon the ambassador of Spain. Farnese requested the latter not to allow the right of sanctuary of his house, which was under the protection of Phillip III. to be violated. The ambassador, set upon revenge, did not need to be asked twice; he invited all the Roman nobles who were under the protection of Spain, to undertake the protection of the Palazzo Farnese, which was at once placed in a state of defence. Not only the Roman people, but Cardinals Sfondrato and Facchinetti as well, openly took the side of Farnese, so great was the hatred felt for the all-powerful nephew.

Pietro Aldobrandini realized the danger, and sought in every possible way to settle the matter peacefully, but in vain. Cardinal Farnese remained firm in his refusal, while the

¹ See *ibid.* 307. Clement VIII. had already tried to establish good relations between Farnese and P. Aldobrandini; *cf.* *report of G. C. Foresti, Rome, September 30, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

ambassador of Spain declared his readiness to defend Farnese at the cost of his own life ; he sent couriers to the Neapolitan frontier to have troops placed at his disposal. The Farnese were extremely popular in Rome, and very soon four thousand persons were gathered round the Palazzo Farnese. The situation seemed very threatening and a bloody rising was feared. The Pope who was much alarmed, sent three couriers on August 24th : one to Philip III., another to Duke Ranuccio Farnese at Parma, the brother of Cardinal Odoardo, and a third to the Cardinal himself.

Odoardo Farnese did not wish to push the matter to extremes, and on August 25th retired to his splendid palace at Caprarola. But the Duke of Escalona expressed his thanks in the name of the King of Spain to all those who had come to the assistance of Farnese. This open support of a rebellion was a violation of the rights of nations, and was condemned by all thinking men. Béthune was of opinion that the Pope ought to demand satisfaction, for otherwise the same would happen to Clement VIII. ; he advised him to ask for the recall of the Duke of Escalona. At this juncture the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who hated Pietro Aldobrandini, and did not love the Pope, took the part of the ambassador of Spain. Ranuccio Farnese came to Rome to act as mediator, but not only the Spanish ambassador, but also the envoys of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and of Rudolph II. worked against him. Ranuccio, who was received with all honour by Clement VIII., refused to have any dealings with Cardinal Aldobrandini ; he hoped to force the Pope, who had been ailing for some time, to act with greater leniency. Nor was he mistaken in this hope.

The settlement that was come to was certainly over favourable to the guilty parties. The three protectors of the escaped sailor were, it is true, to be called upon to account for their action, but were to be pardoned ; the Roman nobles who had taken the part of the house of Farnese, as well as Cardinal Farnese himself, were also to be forgiven, while the governor of the city was to make his excuses to the Cardinal. After this decision, Cardinal Farnese returned in

triumph to Rome on September 14th, and was acclaimed by the people with cries of joy. The Cardinal, however, made his excuses to the Pope; Aldobrandini was not present, because he did not wish to witness the triumph of his rival.¹ But he did not forget the discomfiture that had been brought upon him, and if hitherto he had often listened to the requests of the Spaniards, this now became definitely a thing of the past, and he resolved henceforward to devote himself entirely to the cause of France.²

This occurrence had also made a deep impression upon Clement VIII., and he summoned Corsican troops to Rome, and had the artillery of the Castle of St. Angelo kept in readiness.³ He was more resolved than ever, though with all due prudence, to favour the French party in Rome permanently and efficaciously.

In October 1604 the tension between Rome and Madrid was increased⁴ by an incident that occurred at Naples, where the civil authorities had arrested an official of the Inquisition. In the interests of his own independence Clement VIII. eagerly awaited the arrival of the three French Cardinals.

¹ See SIRI, *Memorie*, I., 311 *seq.*; COUZARD, 318.

² See COUZARD, 321. For the quarrel with Cardinal Farnese cf. the *report of Agost. Nani, Rome, August 28, 1604, State Archives, Venice, consulted for the first time by BROSCHE (I., 344 *seq.*), upon which is based the description employed by RANKE (*Päpste*, II.⁸, 206 *seq.*) by NICCOLÒ CONTARINI in his *Hist. Veneta*, III., I., 13 (Cod. 6179 of the State Library, Vienna); also the reports of Béthune used by COUZARD, 307 *seq.*, the *reports of Niccolini in the State Archives, Florence, consulted by NAVENNE (*Rome et le Palais Farnèse*, I., 142 *seq.*), and the *report of Giov. Batt. Thesis of August 26, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, which also gives certain other information. See also the detailed accounts, especially as to the reconciliation, in the *Avvisi of August 25, September 11, 15, 18 and 22, 1604, Urb. 1072, Vatican Library.

³ See the *reports of F. M. Vialardo, September 17, 1604 and of G. B. Thesis, October 23, 1604, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Avviso of September 29, 1604, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See COUZARD, 319, 328.

The first to come was Joyeuse, who at once entered into confidential relations with Cardinal Aldobrandini ; then came Sourdis, and lastly, on December 16th, 1604, Du Perron, who was received by the Pope with the greatest honour and welcomed in the most cordial way.¹ Cardinal Aldobrandini too rejoiced. The Spaniards, who had not believed that Du Perron would really come, were beside themselves. Since, in their pride, they had failed to satisfy the Pope in the matter of the recall of the Duke of Escalona, a thing on which he had counted, their position became visibly worse. They advised the Duke of Parma and Cardinal Farnese to become reconciled with Cardinal Aldobrandini, but Clement VIII. gave but cold encouragement to this idea.²

There were now five French Cardinals resident in Rome : Givry, Serafino Olivier, Joyeuse, Sourdis and Du Perron. Four of them were in every respect men of distinction. This was especially the case with Du Perron, whose great learning, intelligence and courteous manners won for him a wide circle of admirers.³ Henry IV. and Béthune were able to count with confidence upon the ascendancy of the star of France in Rome, with that of Spain steadily waned. Béthune continued to work with admirable skill.⁴

After Cardinal Farnese had become reconciled with Aldobrandini, to whom the Pope had given a fresh proof of his good-will by conferring upon him the archbishopric of Ravenna,⁵ he devoted all his attention to fighting against the Spaniards. He wished to strike at them in their most vulnerable point. To this end he entered upon secret negotiations with Venice and Florence for the formation of an anti-Spanish league among the Italian states, which was to give its support to France. Before he set out for Ravenna he unfolded this project to the French ambassador.⁶

¹ See DU PERRON, *Ambassades*, I., 257 *seq.*

² See COUZARD, 322, 334.

³ See *ibid.* 332.

⁴ See *ibid.* 201.

⁵ On September 13, 1604 ; see GAMS, 718.

⁶ See COUZARD, 339.

Like Henry IV. Béthune did not yet quite trust the Cardinal nephew.¹ But Maffeo Barberini was able to assure them that this time their doubts as to the anti-Spanish sentiments of Aldobrandini were unfounded.² The Pope, prudent and circumspect as ever, adopted a waiting attitude towards the whole affair, though he leant strongly to the side of France.³ But he never came to a final decision because, after having been seriously ill for a long time, he departed this life on March 5th, 1605.

In Paris they had every reason to lament the death of Clement VIII., for few Popes had conferred such great benefits on France as he.⁴ The absolution of Henry IV. had put an end to the disastrous civil war; the conclusion of peace at Vervins and at Lyons had further set the country free from the calamity of a foreign war. Deeply convinced of his duty as supreme head of the Church of watching over the peace of Christendom and of defending it against the infidel, the Aldobrandini Pope had laboured—though to no purpose—to bring about a sincere agreement between France and Spain. In order to destroy the predominant influence of the Spaniards in the Curia, which was as unlawful as it was harmful, he encouraged the growth of a French counterweight. Taking up a position above all parties, he sought to treat the two great Catholic rival powers in the same way,⁵ until the support which the ambassador of Spain, in defiance of the rights of nations, gave to the rising of Farnese, called for a definite change of policy.

Thus the force of circumstances led the Holy See, which at the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had found in close union with Spain, almost to the point of an alliance

¹ Cf. ROTT, 117.

² See COUZARD, 339.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, 218.

⁴ Opinion of COUZARD, 345.

⁵ It is therefore significant that the gift of honour of the blessed swaddling clothes in 1601, was sent alike to Madrid and Paris (*cf. supra*, p. 173).

with France against Spain, over whose ambassador, who was as incapable as he was proud, the skill and capability of the representative of Henry IV. had won victory after victory. Always cautious in affairs of state, now as in 1598, it was far from the intention of Clement VIII. to summon the French armies to Italy.¹ It was enough for him to have freed himself from the oppressive domination and tutelage of the Spaniards. In recovering its independence for the Holy See, Clement VIII. at the same time "by peaceful means, little by little, without disturbance or excitement, but with all the more security"² co-operated in giving to the French their due influence in the capital of the Catholic world. To what an extent this had been accomplished was revealed, to the surprise of many, in the conclave which followed the death of Clement VIII.

¹ See RANKE (Päpste, II.⁸, 209 *seq.* For the attitude of the Pope in 1598, on the occasion of the acquisition of Ferrara, see more fully in Vol. XXIV. of this work, Chapter

² See RANKE, *loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT VIII. AND THE WAR AGAINST THE TURKS.

HOWEVER much Clement VIII. was occupied with the disturbances in France during the first years of his pontificate, he never lost sight of the great danger which threatened the west from the Turks. With full realization of his duty as supreme head of the Church,¹ he faithfully endeavoured in this matter to carry on the glorious traditions of Pius V.²

¹ See PARUTA, *Relazione*, 436.

² The article by MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XV. (1901), gives us, it is true, new and valuable material, but leaves much to be desired in his use of it. This was rightly realized by A. O. Meyer, who has properly brought out the fact that Clement VIII., in supporting the Emperor in the war against the Turks, intended to set that monarch's hands free for the struggle against Protestantism. But it would seem that MEYER (*Nuntiaturberichte*, xlvii *seq.*) goes a little too far in his controversy with Voltolini when he supposes that Clement VIII., in his support of the Emperor, only wished to render him independent of the Protestants, and did not also wish to save the culture of the West, which would not on that occasion have been threatened by the Turks. This cannot be admitted. It was universally felt in Germany, Catholic and Protestant alike, that if Hungary and Vienna were lost, Germany as well would have been left defenceless before its sworn enemy (see STIEVE, IV., 198). If later on voices were raised among the Protestants, discouraging the support of the Emperor, the impression nevertheless remained among the majority of the states and people " that they were not fighting only for the possession of Hungary, but at the same time for the safety and liberty of Germany, and for the preservation of Christendom against Mahometanism, and thus for the highest possible interests " (opinion of STIEVE, and supported with many

Outwardly the armistice which had been concluded in 1576 between the Emperor and the Porte still continued. In spite of this the Turks constantly made attacks upon the Austro-Hungarian frontier, showing by this how small an opinion they had of the power of the Emperor, whose military weakness as well as the paralysing effect upon him of the religious disputes, were well known to them.¹ One of these attacks, in June 1592, placed Bihač, the last fortress which Austria still held upon the Una, in the hands of the Turks, and they at once transformed the church of that city into a mosque. Clement VIII., who even before the fall of this important fortress had assisted the emperor with money for the enrolment of troops,² immediately urged Rudolph II., in a letter of July 25th, 1592, no longer to remain in a state of inactivity,

proofs, V., 349 *seq.*). Cf. for the Turkish peril, HILTEBRANDT in *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instit.*, XV., 308. The capable author of the *Nuntiaturberichte* would probably have come to another conclusion if he had known of the unpublished reports of which I have made use, and the more recent works both on the anti-Turkish war and the share taken in it by Clement VIII. These are indeed but little accessible on account of the language in which they are written, but are most certainly worthy of consideration on account of the material in the Papal Secret Archives which they utilize. These are especially the information given by FRANKÓI in his great work on Hungary and the Holy See: *Magyarország és a római szentszék III.*, Budapest, 1900, 232 *seqq.*, and the work of HORVAT: *Vojne ekspedicije Klementa VIII. u. Ugarsku i Hrvatsku*, Zagreb, 1910. The writings of Frankói were translated for me by Dr. Coloman Juhász, while the author himself courteously did so in the case of Horvat.

¹ Cf. the remarks of the Venetian, Lorenzo Bernardo, in his report for 1592 concerning the Porte in ALBÈRI, III., 2, 382 *seq.* Cf. *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXV., 175 *seq.*, for what A. O. LoebI wrote about the earlier historians of the war up to 1592 inclusive in *Prager Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft*, fasc. 6 and 10.

² ZÖCHBAUER (II., 10, n. 2) has rightly shown as against STIEVE (IV., 167, n. 4) that Clement VIII. had already sent subsidies in 1592, before they were needed for the war; see BOHM, *Landtagsakten*, VIII., Prague, 1895, 127.

but to forestall the further attack that was imminent.¹ The Pope at once thought of the formation of an anti-Turkish league on a grand scale,² even though the general situation seemed anything but favourable to such a project. Spain was almost entirely occupied with the disturbances in France, so that Sessa at once declared that Philip II. could at the utmost assist the Emperor with money ;³ Venice was unwilling to place herself in bad odour with the Porte, while the Emperor was in the greatest straits for money.⁴ On September 15th, 1592, Clement VIII. addressed to the Republic of St. Mark and the other Italian powers a call to go to the assistance of Rudolph II., because Italy too was threatened ; the Turks, he said, would long ago have been exterminated if the Christian powers had united in a league.⁵ The Pope also wrote to the King of Spain, pointing out the danger which threatened the whole house of Austria.⁶ He also addressed a letter to the Shah of Persia.⁷

¹ See the *brief to Rudolph II., July 25, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 449, Papal Secret Archives. In like manner to Madruzzo, same date, *ibid.* Cf. also *ibid.* n. 432 the *brief of July 15, 1592, exhorting the Archduke Ernest to resistance.

² See the retrospect in the detailed *report of Giulio del Carretto of September 25, 1593, which states : " Questo pensiero di lega contro il Turco non è novo a S.B., ma incominciato fin dalla perdita che si fece degli Austriaci de Biahe." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴ Cf. the *report of Carretto, July 18, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁵ " Verum haec nostra semper fuit miseria, ut cum quid in his facto maximo opus esse intelligeremus, tamen nunquam id aggredi statueremus," states the brief to the Doge. Cf. also the *briefs to Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino and Parma, dated September 15, 1592, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 29, Papal Secret Archives. These state that the Pope would like to extinguish the conflagration with blood. Cf. also PARISI, *Epistolografia*, II., 83.

⁶ See *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁷ See *brief to Abbas, the Shah of Persia, September 30, 1592 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 4.

The Pope's grief at the sight of the Turkish menace and the weakness of Rudolph II.¹ is very great, reported the Mantuan ambassador on October 3rd, 1592. It was just then that the Imperial envoy, Hans, Baron von Kobenzl, arrived in Rome to ask for help;² he was assured that the Pope, in spite of the lamentable state of his finances,³ intended to devote 50,000 florins to the assistance of the Emperor. Part of this sum was handed over at once, and Kobenzl, on his departure in November, received a letter of credit for 10,000 florins, which were to be paid at the end of the month. The nuncio at the Imperial court, Cesare Speciani, was ordered to see that this money was really employed for the expenses of the war.⁴

The shrewdness of Clement VIII. which foresaw a further great attack of the Turks upon Austria-Hungary was justified in the event. The news received of the Turkish preparations became more and more alarming; in March 1593 news reached Rome that the Sultan had officially declared war on the Emperor, and that the Turks had in view a great expedition against Vienna.⁵ The Pope was very anxious: he ordered a jubilee, took part in the processions,⁶ and urged the Emperor to take the field in person against the Turks in Hungary.⁷

¹ See *report of Carretto, October 3, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² Cf. HORVAT in the periodical *Starine*, XXXII., Zagrab., 1907, 132 seq.

³ See for this the *report of Carretto, October 3, 1592, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See the letters of Minucci and Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 10, n. 1 and 2, and LOEBL in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, Hist. Kl., CLIII., 45. Cf. also HORVAT, 15 seqq.

⁵ See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 12, n. 3. The Bishop of Lesina, Cedulini, had sent the Pope at the end of January 1593 his *Discorso per la difesa contro 'l Turco (Vat. 5485, Vatican Library); see GOTTLOB in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 72.

⁶ Cf. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, March 17, 1593 (procession through the Borgo "pro iubilaeo contra Turcos et haereticos") Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

⁷ See letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, April 3, 1593, in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 12 n.

The news of the official declaration of war proved to be premature, but there could be no doubt as to the aggressive intentions of the Turks. After the fall of Bihač, which was only two days' march distant from the frontier, the Signoria began to look anxiously at Friuli, the ancient port by which the barbarians had entered into Italy.¹ At the beginning of the good season Hassan, the Pasha of Bosnia, made an attack with considerable forces upon Sissek, which was important because of its position at the point where the Kulpa flows into the Save, but he experienced a serious defeat.²

When the news of this victory of the Imperial troops reached Rome on July 7th, 1593, the Pope breathed a sigh of relief, and all the ambassadors offered him their congratulations.³ On Sunday, July 11th, he went on foot in procession from the Minerva to the German national church of the Anima, where the *Te Deum* was sung, and a mass of thanksgiving was celebrated by the Pope himself.⁴ Clement VIII. at once urged still larger armaments;⁵ his estimate of the situation was a true one, for the battle of Sissek had put an end to the apparent peace between the Emperor and the Porte. The war was publicly proclaimed at Constantinople; the

¹ Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 214 *seq.* See also the *report of Carretto, July 18, 1592, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² For the battle near Sissek see *Mitteil des Hist. Ver. für Steiermark*, XXVI., 111 *seq.* HUBER, IV. 375, *Mitteil. österr. Instit.*, Suppl. vol. IX., 767 *seq.* Besides the German journals enumerated by STIEVE (IV., 166), there are also Italian *Avvisi* printed concerning the battle near Sissek; e.g. the rare pamphlet "La grandissima victoria la quale al presente hanno havuta li Christiani contro a i Turchi nel paese d'Ungheria," Turin, 1593 (copy in the Library of J. v. Görres, subsequently in the possession of Frau. Sofia Görres at Vienna). Cf. also the accounts in the periodical *Starine*, XXXII., 185 *seq.*, 191 *seq.*

³ See *report of Carretto, July 17, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ See SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 438 *seq.*

⁵ See *report of Carretto, July 17, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

Imperial ambassador was thrown into chains, and Sinan was sent with an army against Hungary.

The Imperial ambassador, Count Harrach, who had arrived in Rome in July, 1593, found the Pope well disposed to helping the Emperor.¹ But the ideas of Clement VIII. went further than that, and the project for the formation of a great coalition against the Turks, which had already been suggested to Kobenzl in the previous year, was once again put forward.² The Pope refused to allow himself to be discouraged either by the coldness shown by Sessa, the representative of Philip II. nor by the endless difficulties suggested by the Venetian ambassador, Paolo Paruta.³ "Overwhelmed with unspeakable anxiety" for Germany threatened by the Turks,⁴ the Pope in the autumn of 1593 sent out a number of important diplomatic missions.

In the first place Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo was charged in September to bring energetic pressure to bear at the Imperial court for serious preparation for the Turkish war, and to insist upon the necessity for summoning the Diet, which had been repeatedly postponed in spite of the constant exhortations of the Pope. So as to win over Spain to the anti-Turkish league, Madruzzo was also to negotiate with the Archduke Ernest concerning his journey to the Low Countries, as well as concerning the pacification of those territories. Above all, Madruzzo was to urge upon the Emperor in a special way his duty towards Christendom, and to remind him of the interests of his own house and his own good name.⁵

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, I., 263, 279.

² See *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 293 *seq.*, 318 *seq.* See also *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁴ "Incredibilis nostra sollicitudo de rebus Germaniae in tanto teterrimi hostis conatu," begins the brief to Rudolph II., September 18, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 407, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. the *reports of the Este envoy from Rome, September 11 and 25, 1593, State Archives, Modena.

⁵ The instructions for Madruzzo, September 12, 1593, in ZÜCHBAUER, II., 14, n. 2. The *briefs to the Emperor and many

When, soon after this, the news reached Rome that the convocation of the Diet had been decided upon, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini expressed the joy of the Pope to the nuncio at Prague, Speciani, assuring him at the same time that the Pope was more anxious about the defence of Europe against the Turks than about anything else. In December, 1593, Madruzzo obtained from Rudolph the promise that he would take part in the Diet at Ratisbon, and if necessary would go to Vienna and march against the enemy. This declaration was also confirmed by Rudolph to the nuncio Speciani. When the Diet was convoked Madruzzo was appointed as legate,¹ since he was well acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany, while the nuncios at Prague, Graz and Cologne were also warned to be present at Ratisbon.²

At the beginning of October, 1593, Clement VIII. charged one of the most important prelates in the Curia, the Auditor-general of the Apostolic Camera, Camillo Borghese, with a mission to Philip II. The Pope would gladly have chosen a Cardinal for this mission as well, and had even thought of his nephew, Pietro Aldobrandini, but as the latter was unwell, he gave up, in the interests of speed, the idea of sending a Cardinal legate.³ Borghese's duties were only concerned

other German princes concerning the mission of the Cardinal dated September 18, 1593, in Arm. 44, t. 38, n. 407-409, Papal Secret Archives; that to the Duke William of Bavaria in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 143.* For the statement by the Pope in the consistory see the *letter of the Este envoy, September 15, 1593, State Archives, Modena.

¹ See *brief to the Emperor, November 6, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 34, n. 101, Papal Secret Archives.

² See STIEVE, IV., 185 *seq.*; ZÖCHBAUER, II., 15 *seq.* Cf. MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 314 *seq.*

³ See *report of Carretto, September 25, 1593, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 26 *seq.*, and *report of the Este envoy of September 11, 1593, State Archives, Modena. In the *credential brief to Philip II., October 2, 1593, it is stated: "In hoc teterrimi barbari adversus Germaniam atque Italiam conatu, cui si ut hactenus initia successerunt,

with the Turkish question. He was instructed to employ all his eloquence to induce the King of Spain to come to the assistance of the Emperor, and to negative the objections raised by the Spanish diplomatists. He was not only to put forward the interests of religion, but also those of the house of Hapsburg. If the Turks should advance from Bihač upon Friuli, not only the Venetian republic and the Austrian territory would be menaced, but also the Spanish possessions in Italy. The danger was greater than it had been in the time of Pius V., for then it was Venice and not Spain that had cause for fear. Borghese was specially to urge the King of Spain to support the Turkish question at the Diet, and to assist the Emperor with troops, which could easily be levied if the necessary money were at his disposal. He was also to suggest action on the part of the Spanish fleet in the eastern Mediterranean, where the Pope had already entered into relations with the Christian populations. All this must be done at once.¹

Camillo Borghese was not wanting in zeal, but he only

sic nisi maiora in dies molienti et paranti obsistitur, quanta ab eo clades immineat nomini christiano, omnes vident, boni ingemiscunt." Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 426, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ The instructions for C. Borghese, October 6, 1593, are printed from a Florentine copy in MOREL-FATIO, *L'Espagne*, 194-203. But there are better manuscripts, e.g. in the State Library, Berlin, Inform. polit. XV., 475 seq.; in Rome in Vat. 9427, p. 201 seq., Urb. 866, p. 113 seq., Barb. LVII., 15, Chigi I., III., 67, p. 423 seq., Vatican Library; in the Corsini Library 38 A, 21 p. 9 seq., 38 A, 22 p. 182 seq. The text in Morel-Fatio must be corrected in many points in accordance with these; e.g. p. 194, l. 6, we must read *modi* for *medi*; l. 3 from the bottom, *ne noi* for *noi*; p. 195, l. 6, we must add after *prima*: *resolutione*; p. 198, l. 1, *quaranta quattro* for *quaranta otto*; p. 199, l. 2 from the bottom: *vincoli multipli* for *miracoli politici*; p. 200, l. 4 from the bottom: *tutta occupata* for *stata occupata*; p. 201, l. 3: *potrà* for *parta*; p. 202, l. 8, *detta alla dieta Imperiale* for *dalla alla detta Imperatrice*. Cf. also GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 107 seqq. For the blessed sword then sent to Philip II. see *Jahrb. des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 161.

obtained promises for the future. He was encouraged to hope for considerable sums of money, but not until July, when the fleet should have returned with silver from America.¹

The instructions for Borghese also stated that the anti-Turkish league, the centre of which was to be formed by the Holy See, Spain and Venice, was to extend to Eastern Europe, a project which it cannot be denied was a grandiose one. The aims of Clement VIII. were directed not only to the conquest of Transylvania, so important on account of its position, but of the whole of eastern Europe. At the end of November, 1593, after favourable news had been received of the encounters between the Imperial troops with the Turks in Hungary,² Alexander Komulović, the rector of the Jugo-Slav church of San Girolamo in Rome, and Abbot of Nona, was charged with a mission to eastern Europe. As a Slav by birth, and as visitor of European Turkey in the time of Gregory XIII., he was admirably fitted for this task. Komulović was in the first place to try and win over the sovereign of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, then the Voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia, the leaders of the Cossacks, and lastly the King of Poland, to the anti-Turkish league. Shortly after his departure he was also ordered to extend his journey to Moscow, in order to interest the Grand Duke, Feodor, in the war against the Turks.³ From Tran-

¹ See HINOJOSA, 364 *seqq.* where the *reports of Borghese in Cod. Borgh. III., 94c are used. A contemporary account of the journey in MOREL-FATIO, 161 *seq.*

² Cf. *Diarium P. Alaleonis, November 19, 1593, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

³ See PIERLING, *Papes et Tsars*, 443 *seq.*, La Russie, II., 336 *seq.*; MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 320. The instructions for Komulović, November 21, 1593, in PIERLING, *Novi Izvori o L. Komulovicu*, Zagrab., 1885, 12 *seq.*; HURMUZAKI, III., 2, 36 *seq.* and VERESS, *Mon. Vat. Hung.*, II., 3, 35 *seq.*, and partially also in *Docum. privitoare la istoria Romanilor.*, III., 2 35 *seq.* The briefs of Clement VIII. to the voivodes of Moldavia and Wallachia and to the Cossacks, November 8, 1593, in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III. 210 *seq.* Facsimile of the signature of Komulović in VERESS, *loc. cit.* 49.

sylvania, where, at the beginning of 1594, he had begun negotiations for an alliance with the Emperor against the Turks, Komulovič went on to Jassy, to Aaron, the voivode of Moldavia, with whom he had two private audiences. He then treated with the leaders of the Cossacks, before making the journey from Poland to Moscow.¹

In the meantime in Rome the Pope was seeking to interest the Italian states in support of the anti-Turkish war. He was able to point out how, in the case of a further advance of the Turks, Italy as well would be directly threatened.² He especially entered into detailed negotiations with Paolo Paruta, the Venetian ambassador, and in answer to the objections made by the latter the Pope suggested that if the Signoria did not wish to break openly with the Porte, it might at least assist the Emperor in secret. But Venice would not hear of even this, nor indeed of the whole of the Pope's plan for a league.³ The situation was further complicated by the fact that not far from Aquileia the Venetians had begun to erect a fortress named Palma, which they said was intended to defend their territory against an attack by the Turks, whereas at Prague they saw in it a threat to Austrian territory.⁴ In spite of all the Pope's efforts, Venice showed no disposition to abandon its cautious attitude of waiting.⁵ In order to win the support of at any rate the small Italian states for the Turkish war, Clement VIII. sent out special envoys at the end of January 1594.⁶ In the meantime Giambattista

¹ See PIERLING, *La Russie*, II., 337 seq., 344 seq.

² See the reports in the periodical *Sturine*, XXXII., 218, 223, 249, 258.

³ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 27 seq., 46 seq., 52 seq., 62 seq., 102 seq.

⁴ See *ibid.*, 77 seq., 87, 105 seq., 202 seq.

⁵ See *ibid.*, 165 seq., 186, 190 seq.

⁶ See the **Instruttione d'ordine di N.S.P. Clemente VIII. a Msgr. S. Vitale, vescovo di Spoleto, et all sig^{ri} Orsini suoi referendarii, destinati nuntii a principi et potentati d'Italia*, Rome, January 30, 1594, in *F. ital.* 1173 p. 37^b seq., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and in greater detail in Vat. 9427, p. 125 seq.,

Vecchietti, who was well acquainted with affairs in the east, was entrusted with a mission to the Shah of Persia.¹

While the Diet, which was at last opened at Ratisbon on June 2nd, 1594, was still discussing the question of help against the Turks, the Pope resolved to grant to Rudolph II. the large sum of 30,000 florins a month. The first instalment of this generous subsidy was paid while the Diet was still in session by the Cardinal legate Madruzzo, who was vigorously supporting the Emperor.² The rest of the money was obtained from the Italian clergy by the imposition of six tenths.³ Giambattista Doria, who was sent to the theatre of war at the beginning of July, 1594, as Apostolic Commissary, was charged with the payment of this and with superintending its use.⁴

Doria found the Imperial armies in a very unsatisfactory state. Although he remedied, as far as lay in his power, the lack of means, he was powerless against the absolute lack of discipline, the disagreement among the leaders, and the incapacity of the Archduke Matthias, the official commander

January 24, 1594, Vatican Library. Cf. PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 175, 182. The *credential briefs for the Bishop of Spoleto, January 30, 1594, for Genoa, the Dukes of Parma, Savoy and Urbino, in *Arm.* 44, t. 39, nn. 77, 80, 85, 87, Papal Secret Archives. Valerio Orsini was sent to Lucca and to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and Fabio Orsini at the same time to the Dukes of Mantua and Ferrara; see the respective *briefs, *ibid.* nn. 78, 79, 91, 89. Originals in the State Archives, Naples, Perg. dell' Arch. Farnese, in Gonzaga Archives, Mantua and State Archives, Turin.

¹ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 175.

² Cf. *ibid.* 350 *seq.*; MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 316; FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

³ See Bull., X., 98 *seq.* (cf. 109 *seq.*), *Avviso of May 11, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library, and the *report of Sporenno, May 7, 1594, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck. For the difficulties made by Venice because the Venetian clergy were also included, see *Nunziat. di Venezia, XVII., Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ The briefs for Doria are dated July 2, and his instructions July 5, 1594; see MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 316. Cf. ZÖCHBAUER, II., 16, n. 1, who give part of the instructions; HORVAT, 38 *seqq.*

in chief. The principal adviser of this prince, the president David Ungnad, was a drunkard, who was assisted by two German captains, who had never seen a Turk, or ever taken part in a battle.¹

Especially fatal was the fact that Count Ferdinand von Hardegg, the commandant of the strong and important fortress of Raab, which was well equipped with the means of defence, proved himself quite incapable. It was a serious blow to the Christian cause when Hardegg, to the surprise of the Turks, surrendered after a short siege on September 29th, on condition that the garrison should be allowed to go free; a disgraceful act, which he later on paid for with his head.² The Grand Vizier then turned against Komorn, which however defended itself so vigorously that at the end of October the Turks had to raise the siege. Doria vainly insisted upon following up the enemy, but the council of war resolved to withdraw to its winter quarters.³ Thus the campaign of 1594, in spite of the grave losses which the Turks had suffered, especially before Raab, ended for them with a great success, namely the capture of this important bulwark of Vienna.⁴

Clement VIII., who at the beginning of September had been rejoiced by the news of the abundant help voted against the Turks by the Diet,⁵ felt the loss of Raab

¹ Cf. FESSLER-KLEIN, II., 21 *seq.* FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* For the incapacity of the Archduke Matthias see the report in HORVAT, 55, n. 1.

² See FESSLER-KLEIN, II., 23.

³ Cf. FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See HUBER, IV., 380. For the limited successes met with at the same time by the Archduke Maximilian in Croatia, see HIRN, Massimiliano I., 34 *seq.*

⁵ See the *briefs to the German Catholic princes, September 2, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, nn. 270-276, Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 146*). Special praise was bestowed on Cardinal Madruzzo in the *brief addressed to him, also on September 2 (*loc. cit.* n. 268) as follows: "Nunc autem comitiis absolutis gratulamur tibi, quod ad vetera merita tua erga hanc

severely.¹ Even before he had received the alarming news of this disaster, which brought the danger of a Turkish invasion of German Austria much nearer, on September 25th he summoned the ambassadors of the Emperor, of Philip II. and of Venice, informed them of the bad news from Hungary, and urged them, as strongly as he could, to induce their governments to give their assistance against the Turks. Once more he had to listen to the old excuses from the Venetian ambassador,² while the attention of the Spanish ambassador was far more intent upon the French question than upon the safety of Christendom.

The writers of the reports from Rome tell us how greatly the Pope was afflicted at that time, and how he grieved, with tears in his eyes, over the Turkish peril and the failure to take measures for defence, and how he held conference after conference.³ At the beginning of October he sent a special ambassador to the Emperor in the person of his chamberlain, Lotario Conti, Duke of Poli.⁴ Conti was to bring home to Rudolph II. with the greatest insistence, that the principal reason for the hitherto disastrous outcome of the campaign was the miserable state of the Imperial armies. The only possible remedy would be for Rudolph to appear in person among his troops, for otherwise things would go from bad

carissimam matrem tuam Romanam ecclesiam hunc quoque cumulum addideris peractae legationis Ratisponensis ex nostra et Ap. Sedis dignitate et christianae reipublicae utilitate." There follows a eulogy of the activity he had shown for the preservation of the Catholic faith and for the war against the Turks.

¹ See *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 215-220.

² See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, II., 451 *seq.* Cf. *Avviso of September 28, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

³ See *Avvisi of September 24 and 28, 1594: "S.S. piange et si afflige tanto di queste male nuove che lunedì celebrando la messa bagnò 5 fazzoli di lacrime," Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

⁴ See brief to Rudolph II., dat. Cal. Oct. 1594, in CASCIOLI, *Mem. stor. di Poli*, Rome, 1896, 328 *seqq.*, and the *brief to Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga, October 1, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 317; HORVAT, 47 *seqq.*

to worse. In the instructions given to Conti it was openly stated that the principal fault for the losses that had been suffered so far lay with the commander in chief, who had no knowledge of war, and enjoyed no prestige among the soldiers. The Emperor must bear in mind the example of his ancestors ; he was in the flower of his age, he was in sound health and had neither wife nor children to keep him back. He must in a word give ear to the words of the Pope, for otherwise he would lose his mastery over the rest of Hungary, and all the more so as there was already great discontent there. The words of St. Thomas Aquinas that the king is the soul of the state, were especially true in time of war. If Hungary was altogether lost, then Vienna and the hereditary states would be menaced. The Turk would easily be able to advance into Moravia and Bohemia. Above all the attention of the Emperor must be called to the fact that, according to reliable news received in Rome, Vienna was not properly equipped to withstand a siege. Let Rudolph do his duty, and the Pope for his part would not fail in his ; he was prepared to send troops, and to induce the other Christian princes to give their assistance, and he would continue his efforts with Poland, Venice and Spain for the formation of a league. But if the Emperor persisted in his inertia, what was to be expected of the others ?¹

The Mantuan envoy, in his report of October 15th, 1594, drew a vivid picture of the sorrow which the Pope felt at that time at the attitude of Rudolph towards the state of the Imperial armies, and at the failure of his efforts to form a league. As a last resource he resolved to try and raise an

¹ The **Instruttione per ordine di N.S.P. Clemente VIII. al sig. Lotario Conti duca di Poli mandato alla M^{te} dell' Imperatore del mese d' ottobre 1594* in Cod. N. 19 pp. 179-193 of the Vallicella Library, Rome, in Urb. 866, pp. 188-196, Ottob. 2527, p. 287 *seqq.*, and Barb. LVI., 125, p. 173 *seqq.*, Vatican Library ; a number of passages from these were printed in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 36 n. 4. The instructions are also to be found in Cod. H. 155, n. 9 of the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

auxiliary Papal force.¹ In order to obtain the support of Philip II., the Pope's nephew, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, was sent to Madrid at the beginning of December 1594.² This mission proved to be practically as sterile as that of Conti. Rudolph II. promised, it is true, to go to Vienna, but it never entered his head to go in person to the battle front.³

Gian Francesco Aldobrandini, who took with him many valuable presents,⁴ was only able after a long time to obtain from Philip II. an equally unsatisfactory reply. The King of Spain promised, indeed, to assist the Emperor with 5,500 men, but attached to this the offensive condition that the Pope should abstain from any interference in the matter of the *spoglie* of the archbishopric of Toledo. He declared his readiness to join the league if Venice too would do so.⁵ How little likelihood there was of this was shown at the earliest opportunity.⁶

¹ *Reports of Annibale Chieppio, October 15, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Avviso of October 5, 1594, in which it is stated that the Pope, on account of his sorrow, will no longer go to Frascati to recreate himself. Urb. 1062, Vatican Library.

² See *brief to Philip II., November 19, 1594, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 365, Papal Secret Archives. The *instructions for Aldobrandini, November 27, 1594, in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 4, n. 52, and in Cod. H. 155, n. 8, Ambrosian Library, Milan. Cf. ROCCA DA CESENALE, I., 151 *seq.*, and HINOJOSA, 384 *seq.*, where the material for this mission is collected, and which is also to be found in Borghese, Vatican Archives; cf. also HORVAT, 19 *seq.*, 31 *seq.* Clement VIII. gave communion to his nephew before his departure; see *Avviso of November 30, 1594, Urb. 1062, Vatican Library, and *Diarium P. Alaleonis, December 1, 1594, Barb. 2815, *ibid.*

³ See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 38. Cf. MATHAUS-VOLOTOLINI, 318.

⁴ Relics of St. Alban, a blessed sword for the king (cf. *Jahrb des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXII., 161) and the golden rose for the infanta Elizabeth; see *briefs to the above mentioned, November 29, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 393-395, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ Cf. HINOJOSA, 390. *Ibid.* the compromise on the question of the *spoglie*.

⁶ Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, II., 473 *seq.*, 498 *seq.*; III., 19.

While the Pope's envoys were still on their way, Clement VIII. invoked the assistance of heaven by two processions, the first of which, on December 7th, 1594, went to the German national church of the Anima. He also published a jubilee, in which, following the example of the supreme head of the Church, the Romans took part in great numbers.¹

The favourable news which arrived at the beginning of 1595 seemed to be an answer to this prayer. From this it appeared that the hopes which had been built upon the states of the lower Danube had been justified;² an alliance had been concluded between the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia and Sigismund Báthory, with the firm purpose of making a joint attack upon the Turks.³ In order to press forward this plan a special nuncio was sent to Transylvania at the end of January, 1595, in the person of the Bishop of Cervia, Alfonso Visconti, to whom were given briefs to the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia.⁴ A joyful item of news for the Pope was the information that, at the end of January, 1595, through the mediation of the nuncio Speciani and the Spanish ambassador, San Clemente, an alliance had been entered into at Prague between Sigismund Báthory and the Emperor. To this was added the news of the successes which the Wallachians, Moldavians and Transylvanians had won against the Turks on the lower Danube.⁵ This change in the

¹ See SCHMIDLIN, *Anima*, 439 *seq.*

² Cf. *report of Chieppio, Rome, December 10, 1594, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See HUBER, IV., 386. For the voivodes of Wallachia and Moldavia see TEUTSCHLÄNDER, Michael der Tapfere, Vienna, 1879, and IORGA, Rumänien, II., 90 *seq.*

⁴ The *briefs, all dated January 15, 1595, in Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 49, pp. 14, 15, 23, Papal Secret Archives. The instructions for Visconti in VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, 50 *seqq.*, who also publishes there the reports of Visconti and Speciani. For the delay in the departure of Visconti see PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 11, 19, 33. Cf. CIAMPI, I., 115 *seq.*, PIERLING, La Russie, II., 340.

⁵ See FESSLER-KLEIN, II., 29 *seq.* HUBER, IV., 386 *seq.*, JORGA, Osmanen, III., 304 *seq.*

situation was all the more important in that it threatened the flank of the enemy in his advance on Hungary. It was therefore decided in Constantinople to proceed first with the subjection of the vassal states which had been lost, which were also of great importance for providing Constantinople and the armies with grain, but the opening of the campaign was delayed until the middle of the summer, owing to the death of the Sultan, Murad III., which took place on January 16th, 1595, and by other circumstances.¹

Thus Clement VIII. was left with sufficient time to carry out the plan of organizing an auxiliary Papal army. In so doing he had to encounter the greatest obstacles. Many sought to dissuade him from his project altogether,² while to this was added enormous difficulty in raising the necessary money.³ It was necessary to levy 10,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry,⁴ and to raise such a force not only involved great expense, but was also very difficult in itself, owing to the decadence of military traditions in the Papal States.⁵ Thus it became necessary to include in the army even bandits, who were promised in reward that they should return to their former possessions.⁶ The way in which the Pope supported the

¹ See HUBER, IV., 388; JORGA, *loc. cit.* 305.

² In the **Discorso sopra la ragione di fece e di stato appoggiato sopra la guerra fra la Ces. Mtà, e il Turco* diviso in 4 libri, the second book is devoted to the confutation of those who blamed the assistance given by Clement VIII. to Germany, Urb. 872, Vatican Library.

³ Much information on this subject in PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., I *seq.*, 9 *seq.*, 13 *seq.*, 19, 70 *seq.*, 95 *seq.* Cf. the *reports of Arrigoni, May 13 and 20, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and *Avviso of May 27, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library. By a *brief of February 29, 1595, Clement VIII. asked for assistance in money from Cardinal de Castro, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ See PARUTA, II., 95.

⁵ Cf. Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 378.

⁶ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 169 (cf. 77 *seq.*) and PARUTA, *Relazione*, 392.

enterprise was shown by his resolve to release for the Turkish war the cavalry which had hitherto been employed against the bandits, replacing them with Corsican soldiers.¹ Gian Francesco Aldobrandini,² who was recalled for the purpose from Spain, was to be placed in command of the Papal auxiliary troops.³

While Clement VIII. was vigorously equipping his troops in the Papal States,⁴ he continued to seek for help from abroad. By means of Komulovič and his nuncio Malaspina, he brought special pressure to bear in Poland for the beginning of a war against the Turks. But King Sigismund III. showed himself unwilling, as did the Polish Diet, to break the peace with the Porte. Both pointed to the inertia of the Emperor and of the other Christian princes, and to their own perilous relations with Russia, where the efforts of Komulovič, who had been sent thither by the Pope, had proved fruitless. To this was added the fact that Poland had also to fight against the Tartars and the Cossacks.⁵ In spite of this the Pope did not give up hopes of winning over the kingdom to his plans.

The way in which Clement VIII. sought everywhere to obtain help against the enemy was shown by the fact that in April he sent Ettore Mondini to the shieck of the Arabs,⁶ and Alessandro Komulovič to the Circassians.⁷ At the same time Antonio Maria Graziani, Bishop of Amelia, and Monsignor della Corgna, were charged with a mission to the princely

¹ See *report of. L. Arrigoni, Rome, March 8, 1595, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See *Avviso of February 22, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library, and *report of Arrigoni of same date, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ See *report of Arrigoni, March 8, 1595, *ibid.*

⁴ See *report of Arrigoni, March 18, 1595, *ibid.*

⁵ See PIERLING, *Papes et Tsars*, 462 *seq.*; *La Russie*, II., 351 *seq.* Cf. GOTTLOB in *Lit. Rundschau*, 1891, 117.

⁶ *Brief to the "Sceicho Arabum Orientis duci (pro 4 ducibus)" April 20, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 90, Papal Secret Archives.

⁷ *Brief "uni seu pluribus in Circassia et provinciis illis," April 29, 1595, *ibid.* p. 92.

courts of Italy in the interests of the Turkish war.¹ They took with them briefs in very urgent language.² These resulted in various companies of soldiers later on joining the Papal army at the expense of the Italian princes. The Duke of Mantua appeared in person at the head of a regiment of cavalry equipped by himself. Tuscany contributed considerable help in money, which was even more acceptable than the rough Italian soldiery. Princes Giovanni and Antonio de' Medici, of the reigning house of Tuscany, also presented themselves; the former enjoyed a great reputation for his knowledge of war.³ Of the Roman aristocracy, Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, and Francesco del Monte had already taken part.⁴ From their ranks Clement VIII. now chose the six captains of the Papal auxiliary troops: Mario Farnese, Francesco del Monte, Marco di Pii, Paolo Sforza, Ascanio della Corgna and Federigo Sangiorgio. The cavalry was entrusted to the celebrated Flaminio Delfino. The lieutenant of the commander in chief was Paolo Sforza,⁵ who had great experience of war. After Rome the principal centre of enlistment was Perugia; the arms for the most part were furnished by Brescia. Doria retained the position of com-

¹ See *Instructions to the above mentioned in Cod. CCLXIX., p. 101 *seq.* of the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome. Cf. the *brief to Ranuccio Farnese, April 29, 1595, State Archives, Naples, Perg. dell' Arch. Farnese. For the departure of the two envoys see *Lettres d' Ossat*, I., 144 *seq.*

² Graziani was sent to the Dukes of Savoy, Urbino, Ferrara, Mantua and to Genoa; Corgna to Florence, Parma and Lucca; see the *briefs of April 29, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 93, 95, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 324 *seq.* Cf. ZINKEISEN, III., 600; LOEBL in *Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad. Hist. Kl.*, CLIII., 45 *seq.* The *original of the *brief of July 22, 1595, in which Clement VIII. congratulated Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga on his resolve to go to the war against the Turks, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 29 *seq.*

⁴ See MATHAUS-VOLOTOLINI, 324 *seq.*

⁵ See PARUTA, *Dispacci*, III., 155, 169.

missary of the war, assisted by the prelates Buonvisi and Mateucci. Jesuits and Capuchins were appointed for the spiritual needs of the troops, while members of other Orders were assigned to care for the sick and the wounded.¹

Gian Francesco Aldobrandini had returned to Rome on May 16th,² and at the consistory on May 22nd the Pope made a statement concerning the assistance which he was in course of sending to the Emperor.³ On June 4th the solemn handing over of the insignia of the supreme command to Gian Francesco Aldobrandini took place at St. Mary Major's. The Pope went thither with the Cardinals and all the court. After mass he blessed the standards, one of which bore the figures of the princes of the Apostles, and the other the arms of the Aldobrandini. Then Gian Francesco Aldobrandini received from the hands of the Pope the bâton of the commander in chief. In his discourse Clement VIII. spoke of a just war for the salvation of Christendom.⁴

On June 16th Gian Francesco Aldobrandini left the Eternal City. He went first to the Marches and the Romagna to enlist more soldiers.⁵ A few days later the Pope was able to report in consistory the success of Sigismund Báthory in the war against the Turks.⁶

¹ See IUVENCIUS, V., 377 *seq.* Cf. FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

² See *Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, Vatican Library. Cf. PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 139.

³ See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

⁴ See besides PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 162 *seq.*, the *Diarium P. Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*, the report in RICCI, II., 205, and *Avviso of June 7, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library. Cf. HORVAT, 59.

⁵ See PARUTA, Dispacci, III., 163, 169; *Avviso of June 17, 1595, Urb. 1063, Vatican Library. The mission of Aldobrandini was announced on June 15, 1595, by *briefs to the Emperor, the King of Poland, S. Báthory, and many princes of Germany and Italy. Arm. 44, t. 40, pp. 155-177, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, June 19, 1595, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. Cf. *brief of praise and encouragement to the "Princeps Transilvaniae," June 20, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 185, Papal Secret Archives.

The Papal auxiliary army moved in separate divisions by way of Ancona, Bologna and Modena towards the frontier of the Tyrol, crossed the Brenner, and from Hall near Innsbruck continued its march along the river as far as the city of Hainburg, below Vienna, which was the appointed place of assembly. On July 2nd there were assembled about 7600 infantry and 260 cavalry. At the beginning of August Gian Francesco Aldobrandini joined his troops at Hainburg. Thence he led them to Gran, where the imposing Imperial army was quartered ;¹ this time Rudolph II. had placed a competent general in command, Count Karl von Mansfield, who preserved strict discipline.² He had been besieging Gran, which was well fortified, since July 1st, and an auxiliary Turkish force of 20,000 men was completely defeated by Mansfield on August 4th. It was a serious loss to the Christian cause when, only ten days after this victory, and when he was hardly 52 years of age, this excellent general was carried off by dysentery.³ On August 22nd the Papal auxiliary army and the other Italian troops joined forces with the Imperial besieging army. As early as August 25th the Papal soldiers received their baptism of fire in the assault of Gran. Their share in the fighting contributed efficaciously to compelling the Turks to surrender on September 2nd, on condition of being allowed to withdraw unmolested. The cathedral was at once reconsecrated and a mass of thanksgiving celebrated. Soon afterwards Aldobrandini also compelled Visegrad to capitulate.⁴ At the consistory of September 11th the Pope

¹ See MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 411 *seq.* Cf. also *Quellen u. Forsch. des preuss. Instsit.*, VI., 101 *seq.*, and HORVAT, 60 *seq.* The original *reports of Doria from June 20 to December 31, 1595, and the *letters addressed to him by Cardinal Aldobrandini in Borghese, III., 84d and III., 19a, Papal Secret Archives ; the *reports of G. Fr. Aldobrandini *ibid.* III., 96.

² See Mon. comit. Ung., VIII., 268, 293 ; Mon. Hung. Script., VII., 21 *seq.* HUBER, IV., 392.

³ See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 30 ; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 314 *seq.* ; HORVAT, 66 *seq.*

⁴ A report printed in Rome in 1595 : " L' assedia et presa di Strigonia " in *Docum. privit. la istoria Romanilor.*, III., 2, 492 *seq.* Cf. also RICCI, II., 214 ; HORVAT, 70 *seq.*

informed the College of Cardinals of the capture of Gran.¹ He told the Este ambassador that for fifty years no place of such importance to Christendom had been taken; on the same occasion he spoke in great praise of the part that had been taken in this success by the Italian troops.² On the following day he celebrated a mass of thanksgiving in the church of the Minerva, and then went barefoot to the German national church of the Anima, reciting the rosary with great fervour all along the way.³ A few days later he exhorted the Archduke Matthias, who after the death of Mansfield had again joined the Imperial troops, to prosecute the war energetically.⁴ On the Duke of Mantua he conferred the praise that he had deserved for his courageous conduct, which Aldobrandini had reported.⁵

A brief of October 1st urged the Emperor Rudolph to take in hand at once the recovery of the capital of Hungary,⁶ since, owing to the weakening and discouragement of the Turks the opportunity for such an undertaking seemed to be very favourable. Gian Francesco Aldobrandini urged the same thing. But the irresolution of the Imperial commanders, the lack of money, the want of discipline among the troops, who often behaved worse than the Turks,⁷ led to a suspension of military operations. The effect of the loss of Mansfield was manifest;⁸ in the south, during September, the general of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria had recaptured Petrinia and other small places in Croatia, but nothing was to be looked for from the main army in Upper Hungary, on account of the disputes among the leaders, the lack of

¹ See *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, *loc. cit.* Vatican Library.

² See RICCI, II., 214.

³ See SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 440.

⁴ *Brief to the Archduke Matthias, September 18, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 255, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ *Brief of September 30, 1595, *ibid.* p. 260.

⁶ *Imperatorii, October 1, 1595, *ibid.* p. 262.

⁷ Cf. the report in RICCI, II., 217. See also the letter of Aldobrandini in HORVAT, 77.

⁸ See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 31.

discipline, and the discontent of the soldiers at the delay in receiving their pay. At the beginning of the cold season the army went into winter quarters.¹

Thus the auxiliary Papal troops as well found themselves condemned to inaction. For a long time past they had been so badly treated by the Imperialists in the matters of quarters and victuals, that the Pope had had to make bitter complaints.² There now broke out among them a contagious disease, and as early as October 5th Aldobrandini reported to Rome that the number of the sick was as great as 2,500. As well as the commanders Mario Farnese and Francesco del Monte, Aldobrandini himself fell sick. He went to Presburg, while the greater part of his troops were encamped on the islands in the Danube. There too the conditions, both as to quarters and provisions, were in no way better.

This news was bound to produce a very bad impression in Rome; it was even reported there that the Imperialists would not be sorry to see the return of the Papal troops, that Rudolph II. was inclined to make peace with the Porte, and that the bad treatment of the Papal troops was due to the Protestant Imperial councillors of war. As the result of this orders were issued to the Papal troops at the beginning of December to return, which was done in the case of the infantry, while Aldobrandini went with the cavalry to Vienna towards the end of the year.³

When Doria presented his account of the subsidies made to

¹ See *ibid.* and HUBER, IV., 394. For the capture of Petrinia see the *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand, October 14, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 278, Papal Secret Archives.

² See the report in RICCI, II., 218.

³ See MATHAUS-VOLTOLINI, 417 *seq.*, HORVAT, 72 *seq.* A *brief of December 14, 1595, asked the Doge for the free passage and provisioning of the Papal troops on their way back from Hungary (Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 341, Papal Secret Archives). Their return to Italy only took place at the end of May, 1596; see CERESOLE, *Relazioni fra la casa degli Aldobrandini e la repubblica di Venezia*, Venice, 1880, 20 *seq.* G. Fr. Aldobrandini reached Rome on June 16, 1596 (HORVAT, 85).

the Imperial court during the year 1594, and of the expenses of the Papal troops for the year 1595, it was found that these amounted to 600,274 scudi.¹ The Hungarian States, at their Diet, held in 1596, expressed their thanks for this generous help in the following terms: "We know of no higher duty than that of expressing to Your Holiness a fitting and eternal gratitude for the extraordinary favours granted by you to our poor country, which has been so sorely tried. With the exception of His Majesty no mortal man has afforded more help to our unhappy country than Your Holiness. May our destiny change in such a way that we may be able to show to Your Holiness and to the Holy See a fitting gratitude, and repay what we have received."²

Some compensation for this last and disappointing campaign in Hungary was afforded by the successes won by Sigismund Báthory against the Turks in Wallachia in the autumn of 1595. Supported in every way by the Papal nuncio Alfonso Visconti, the sovereign of Transylvania had collected a large force. With this he crossed the pass of the Törzburg, and at the beginning of October joined forces with the Voivode Michael of Wallachia. The Turks were unable to withstand this force; on October 17th they lost Tirgoschyl and had to withdraw hurriedly beyond the Danube. The Papal nuncio Visconti, who accompanied Báthory, sent a detailed report of this campaign to Rome, which was received with great joy. But it was overshadowed by the news that Báthory had not followed up his victory, and by the conduct of Poland, which sought once more to assert its claims to Moldavia, and thus prevent the carrying on of the Turkish war.³

¹ See FRANKÓI, *loc. cit.*

² See *ibid.* the nuncio at Venice stated: "La gloria di S. B. è in haver mandato contro i Turchi il più numeroso esercito che habbi mai mandato verun'altro Pontefice" (HORVAT, 86).

³ See HAMMER, IV., 250 *seq.*; FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 32 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 389 *seq.* JORGA, *Osmanen*, III., 316 *seq.*; FRANKÓI, *loc. cit.* In a *brief of November 8, 1595, Clement VIII., expressed to S. Báthory his sorrow at the events in Moldavia, which hampered his war against the Turks (*Brevia*, Arm. 44.

The news from Constantinople pointed to a great new attack during 1596.¹ The loss of Gran and their defeat in Wallachia had made a deep impression on the Turks; by command of the Sultan public prayers were ordered, a thing only done in cases of extreme necessity. Armaments were prepared on a grand scale, and the Sultan resolved to place himself at the head of his troops, a thing which contributed in no small degree to revive the flagging spirits of the army and the people.²

Sigismund Báthory was of the opinion that the principal attack would be delivered against himself. In January, 1596, therefore, he went, accompanied by the Papal nuncio Visconti, and his confessor, the Jesuit Alfonso Carillo, to the Imperial court, where he was promised abundant help.³ Clement VIII. had already at the beginning of 1596 appointed Count Lodovico Anguisciola as nuncio extraordinary to Transylvania. Anguisciola was to express the Pope's joy at the victories in Wallachia, to present to Báthory a blessed sword, to urge him to come to a peaceful settlement of the dispute with Poland, and to urge him to prosecute vigorously the war against the Turks.⁴ At the same time Bishop Benedetto

t. 49, p. 308b, Papal Secret Archives). The report of Visconti on the successes in Transylvania was read in the consistory of December 4, 1595 (*Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library). On December 6, 1595, a Te Deum of thanksgiving was sung at St. Peter's (*Diarium P. Alaleonis, Barb. 2815, *ibid.*

¹ Cf. Avviso degli apparati, della pompa e del numero de soldait con che Mehemet Re de Turchi parti da Constantinopoli per venire alla guerra d'Ungheria, Rome, 1596.

² See HAMMER, IV., 254 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, III., 601.

³ See HUBER, IV., 395. The Bishop of Caserta, B. Mandino, who was sent by the Pope to Poland, *reported from Prague on February 20 and 23 to Clement VIII. concerning his meeting with S. Báthory, and of the latter's warlike zeal: "Si bene è giovanotto di età, non dimeno è di spirito molto relevato e savio e devotissimo alla Stà V. et a questa S. Sede." Original in Doria Archives, Rome, sect. Aldobrandini.

⁴ The instructions for L. Anguisciola, January 23, 1596, in Docum. privit. la istoria Romanilor., III., 2, 410 *seq.*, and in

Mandino of Caserta was sent as nuncio to Poland.¹ He was to urge the formation of an anti-Turkish league between Poland, Transylvania and the Emperor. This is the most pressing matter, said the instructions he received, and they went on to enumerate all the previous efforts made by the Pope to form a league.²

The alliance between Poland and the Emperor met with great difficulties,³ but Clement VIII. did not lose heart. What store he set upon winning over Poland was shown by the fact that in April he attempted to win that kingdom over

VERESS, *Mon. Vat. Hung.*, II., 3, 172 *seq.* The *brief to S. Báthory concerning the blessed sword, January 20, 1596, in *Arm.* 44, t. 40, n. 41, Papal Secret Archives. Anguisciola only set out on May 5, 1596; see VERESS, *loc. cit.*, 206.

¹ See letters to Sigismund III., January 5 and 12, 1596, in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 249. Cf. VERESS, *loc. cit.*, 167 *seq.*; HORVAT, 86 *seq.*

² * *Instruttione per il vescovo di Caserta per l'unione contro il Turco*, dated: 1596, January 7: Dallo stringere in una ferma congiunzione di consigli et di forze il regno di Polonia con la M^{ta} dell'Imperatore et con il principe di Transilvania, acciò tutta quella potenza s'impieghi contro il Turco, dipende il maggior utile, che la republica christiana possa aspettare in questi tempi da opera humana, però V. S. può stimare d'essere conseguentemente detta per carico importante sopra tutti l'altri ch'hoggidì corrono. . . . Sin dal principio che la perfidia de Turchi cominciò ad inquietare questi anni addietro li stati della casa d'Austria, N.S^{re} voltò i pensieri suoi ad unire insieme i principi christiani per la resistenza, come prima havia in varii modi tentato d'unirli per l'assalto mentre si teneva che fosse per continuare la guerra di Persia et dare più commodità a christiani di scuotere il duro giogo della servitù barbara et ad altri d'assicurarsi di non havere a cader sotto l'insatiabil sete degli Ottomani et i loro continui spiriti di monarchia (Cod. CCLXIX. p. 7 *seq.*, 65 *seq.* of the Library of S. Croce in Gerusalemme, Rome). Other manuscript copies of the instructions in Vat. 9427, p. 220 *seq.* and Urb. 866, p. 92 *seq.* Vatican Library. Cf. LÄMMER, *Sur Kirchengesch.*, 16.

³ See the *report used by HORVAT (88), in Urb. 816 p. 419. Vatican Library.

to the war with the Turks by sending Cardinal Caetani.¹ At first he intended to send Gian Francesco Aldobrandini to Transylvania, and was prepared to grant 20,000 scudi a month for the maintenance of the cavalry that was to be levied there. Báthory on the other hand declared that he himself intended to summon to the colours the whole of his population capable of bearing arms, and that he desired the prompt financial assistance of the Pope. Thus the mission of Aldobrandini was cancelled.² The Pope granted Báthory, who had sent to Rome the indefatigable and hardworking Jesuit Carillo, a considerable financial subsidy for seven months, namely 20,000 florins a month, 60,000 of which were to be paid in advance.³ Acilia Amalteo, the principal commissary for the war, sent this sum to Transylvania on May 15th. At the end of July the Pope sent 30,000 florins to Visconti and promised another 30,000.⁴

In so doing Clement VIII. had done more than he was really

¹ The appointment of Caetani took place on April 3, 1596; see *Acta consist. card. S. Severinae, *loc. cit.*, Vatican Library. Cf. *report of Arrigoni, April 6, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the object of the mission see the briefs to Sigismund III. and the magnates of Poland, April 20, 1596, in THEINER, III., 262 *seq.*, and the *brief to the Emperor of same date (orig. in State Archives, Vienna). The Pope likewise wrote on April 20 in the *briefs to the "Princeps Transilvaniae" and the Duke of Bavaria; see Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 153 *seqq.* Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 161 *seqq.*, numerous credential *briefs for Caetani. The instructions for Cardinal Caetani, April 13, 1596, in Urb. 866, p. 333 *seq.* Vatican Library, and in Cod. N. 33, p. 21 *seq.*, Vallicella Library, Rome. The Cardinal started on April 15; see Lettres d'Ossat, I., 253, and *Avviso of April 27, 1596, Urb. 1064, Vatican Library. For the mission of Caetani see Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 113.

² See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*

³ Cf. Docum. privit. la istoria Romanilor, III., I., 264, 265, and VERESS, Epist. Carrillii, Budapest, 1906, 516 *seq.*

⁴ See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*; VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., 199, 219, 233.

able to do,¹ but Báthory, on the other hand, did not correspond to the hopes that had been placed in him. In June he laid siege to Temesvar, but was unable to capture that fortress as he did not possess cannon of heavy calibre. At the news of the approach of a Turkish army he withdrew to Transylvania, as the auxiliary troops promised by Rudolph II. had not arrived. In the autumn he sent 10,000 men to assist the Imperialists in Hungary.² It was against the latter that the principal attack of the Turks was directed. The Archduke Maximilian, to whom was attached Schwarzenberg as field-marshal, was given the supreme command. But the levying of the troops proceeded very slowly; money was lacking,³ though on June 15th the Pope had promised the imperial army every possible help.⁴ At the same time he urged Rudolph II. to begin operations at once,⁵ and on August 31st addressed a brief to the Archduke Maximilian, in which he suggested to him that he should make an attack upon Buda.⁶ At that time the Archduke was besieging the fortress of Hatvan with an army of 33,000 men; this was taken by assault on September 3rd, and burned, after which all the inhabitants, for the most part women and children, were massacred by the cruel soldiery.⁷

¹ Letter of Cinzio Aldobrandini to Visconti, July 27, 1596, in VERESS, *loc. cit.* 233.

² FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 33 *seq.*

³ See HIRN, Maximilian, I., 43 *seq.*

⁴ See *report of Arrigoni, Rome, June 15, 1596, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Raimondo della Torre had already *reported from Rome to Vienna on April 20 that the Pope had said that he would help the Emperor lavishly and that "venderebbe li calici *er aiutar la M^{te} V." State Archives, Vienna. The Este envoy preports on June 1, 1596, that if the Emperor was willing to embark on any serious undertaking against the Turks, the Pope would give him 12,000 scudi. State Archives, Modena.

⁵ *Brief to Rudolph II., June 15, 1596, Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 203, Papal Secret Archives.

⁶ **Ibid.* n. 359.

⁷ See HIRN, Maximilian, I., 47 *seq.*

In the meantime a Turkish army of more than 100,000 men had appeared before Szegedin. The Archduke Maximilian felt himself too weak to withstand this superior force and fell back to Gran. The Turks then turned upon Erlau, which had already once before (1552) offered them an heroic resistance. The siege of this important fortress was begun on September 22nd, and on October 13th it was obliged to capitulate. The Archduke Maximilian with his auxiliary army arrived too late, for he had been detained by heavy rains and the impracticability of the roads. But as Sigismund Báthory, who had again been helped by Clement VIII. with a subsidy of 30,000 florins,¹ had now joined him with his troops, he resolved to face the enemy with his army, now numbering 50,000 men, and possessing more than 100 cannon. On October 23rd there began the first engagements, to the east of Erlau, in the plain of Keresztes, and on October 26th there followed a great battle which at first went in favour of the Imperialists, but ended in their complete defeat.² The Turks, however, had suffered such heavy losses that they were obliged to retire to their winter quarters. Like the fall of Raab, the fall of Erlau, which was the key to Upper Hungary, increased, in a most anxious way, the danger of the invasion of Austria by the Turks.³ The dismay in Rome was very great;⁴ the Pope ordered prayers,⁵ and by means of letters of November 23rd, 1596, sought to revive the courage of the Emperor, the Arch-

¹ See VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., 260.

² See HUBER, IV., 396 *seq.*; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 321 *seq.*; HIRN, Maximilian I., 49 *seq.*, who also gives a plan of the battle-field of Keresztes, taken from the Aldobrandini Archives. An interesting contemporary account of the battle in RINIERI, Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala, 151 *seq.* For the loss of Erlau see the report of the engineer Claudio Cogarani to Rudolph II., in *Atti dell'Emilia*, IV., I, 213 *seq.*

³ See RITTER, II., 123.

⁴ See Lettres d'Ossat, I., 354 *seq.*, and VERRES, Mon. Vat. Hung., 261 *seqq.*

⁵ See *Avviso of November 27, 1596, Urb. 1064, II., Vatican Library.

duke Maximilian and Sigismund Báthory. "As for us," he wrote, "we will endeavour to give assistance, beyond our power and that of the Holy See, even if we have to melt down or sell the chalices and other sacred vessels; it may even be that we shall appear in person on the field of battle in order to excite courage."¹

Clement VIII. resolved to send another auxiliary force for the year 1597, which was once again to be commanded by his nephew, Gian Francesco Aldobrandini. At the beginning of February, 1597, he sent his nephew to the Imperial court, where the details and especially the question of munitions were to be discussed, so that the disadvantages that had been met with two years before, with regard to quarters and provisions, might be avoided.² The Pope once more enlisted

¹ See *briefs to Rudolph II., the Archduke Maximilian and S. Báthory in Arm. 44, t. 40, nn. 443-445, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. PARISI, *Epistolografia*, II., 194 *seq.* The Este envoy *reports on December 18, 1596, that the Pope at the suggestion of Madruzzo had yesterday convoked the Hungarian Congregation, to which Cardinals Cesi and Savelli were also summoned. They discussed the means of raising the money, which was difficult, because the financial straits were great. It was decided to send Mario Farnese to the Emperor. The ambassador reported that yesterday a messenger arrived from the Emperor with the news that no peace had yet been concluded with the Turks and that it was intended to go on fighting. State Archives, Modena.

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, I., 386, 427. This mission of Aldobrandini is referred to (his report in RINIERI, *loc. cit.*, 155 *seq.*, and HORVAT, 100 *seq.*) in the *briefs to Rudolph II., January 13 and 28, and April 19, 1597 (Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 15, 29, 99, Papal Secret Archives) and the *brief to S. Báthory, May 24, 1597 (*ibid.* n. 135). The Este envoy *reports on January 8, 1597, that Madruzzo asked for assistance for the Emperor, whose warlike zeal he guaranteed, saying that if Rudolph were not helped he would be obliged to make peace with the Turks. The Pope announced at the meeting of the Cardinals that the Imperialists asked for the mission of Gian Francesco Aldobrandini. The Cardinals agreed to send him. "Gian Francesco Aldobrandini brama questa andata." State Archives, Modena.

7000 men. This time he appointed Buonvisi as chief commissary for the war.¹ Among the commanders there again appeared Flaminio Delfino, who had so greatly distinguished himself in 1595 that the Emperor had wished to take him into his service.² The departure of the troops took place at the end of May, the same route being adopted as had been the case two years earlier.³ At the end of July they reached Altenburg in Hungary (Ovár), where the German and Hungarian troops were encamped under the command of the Archduke Maximilian. The Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo Gonzaga, took part on this occasion in the Turkish campaign.⁴

At the council of war Aldobrandini made a proposal to attack Buda and Raab, but Buda in the first place, because by such a stroke the capital of the country would be captured, the way would be opened for the fall of Raab, and the warlike intentions of Sigismund Báthory would be re-kindled. But the council of war did not adopt this proposal, and Aldobrandini bowed to the majority.⁵ The latter resolved to attack in the first place Pápa. The Papal troops played a distinguished part in the capture of that fortress,⁶ the castle of which capitulated on August 20th, a thing which especially rejoiced Clement VIII.⁷

¹ Cf. *brief to Rudolph II., May 17, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 124, Papal Secret Archives.

² See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* Cf. also SAGGIATORE, III., 42 seq., 202 seq., and VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., II., 3, xxxii. seq.

³ *Brief of May 17, 1597, to Vincenzo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) refers to the passage of the pontifical troops.

⁴ See the *brief of congratulation to him, July 26, 1597, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Cf. also *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 34 seq.

⁵ See report of G. Fr. Aldobrandini of August 8, 1597, published in a Hungarian translation by J. LUCKSICS in the periodical *Pápai Lapok*, 1901, No. 17.

⁶ See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.*, HIRN, Maximilian I., 57; Corresp. de Frangipani, 93.

⁷ See letter of Cinzio Aldobrandini in HORVAT, 118.

The Archduke Maximilian now retired again to Altenburg, but on September 10th began the siege of Raab. This dragged on for a long time. At the beginning of the rainy season epidemics broke out, from which the Papal troops, which were not accustomed to the Hungarian climate, especially suffered. Moreover, there was a lack of discipline and order in the army, which also suffered from the want of the necessary provisions. When, at the beginning of October, news came of the approach of an auxiliary Turkish force, Maximilian withdrew to Komorn, but successfully repulsed an attack upon his camp on November 6th.

The Papal troops also took part in this engagement, though they were already decimated by sickness. Aldobrandini too was ill. At the beginning of the winter the Imperialists went into winter quarters, after which Aldobrandini disbanded his forces, now reduced to 2000 men.¹ It was, however, some consolation to the Pope that they had borne themselves courageously.²

In the following year (1598) Clement VIII., who had up to that time, besides the sums he had sent to Transylvania, expended in Hungary alone a million and a half scudi,³ was not in a position to supply immediate financial assistance, as the annexation of Ferrara was a very heavy burden upon him.⁴ It was all the more consoling, therefore, that this time the campaign of the Imperialists was opened by an important success, the recapture of Raab on March 29th. Unfortunately this brilliant feat of arms, in which Adolph Schwarzenberg and Nicholas Pálffy covered themselves with glory, was not followed up with sufficient promptitude. It was only in July that the Imperial army made its appearance; it captured Totis and Palota, and occupied Vesprim, but then returned once more to the camp at Raab. At the beginning of October

¹ See ILLÉSHAZY, *Diarium: Mon. Ung. Script.*, VII., 47 seq.; FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 38; HUBER, IV., 400 seq.; FRANKÓI, *loc. cit.*; HORVAT, 119 seq.

² See VERESS, *Mon. Vat. Hung.*, II., 3, xxxiii.

³ See DOLFIN, *Relazione*, 454.

⁴ Cf. HIRN, *Maximilian I.*, 69.

an advance was made upon Buda. The lower city was indeed taken by assault, but it proved impossible to gain possession of the upper city. A further attempt undertaken by Schwarzenberg in the following April (1599) was equally unsuccessful, as was his enterprise against Stuhlweissenburg.¹

The Pope had granted for this undertaking an impost payable by the clergy in the territories of Rudolph II.;² he himself again gave considerable subsidies (in 1599 the sum of 80,000 crowns).³ All the more painful to him therefore was the news that they were treating with the Turks for peace. In consequence he wrote to Philip III. on August 10th, 1599, that every attempt must be made to lighten the burden of the war for the Emperor; that the loss would be incalculable if he succumbed or was forced to conclude an unfavourable peace; he, the Pope, had given subsidies to the limit of his resources; Spain must no longer delay in giving her aid.⁴

In the year 1600, at the beginning of which the Pope had made renewed attempts to form a new coalition against the Turks,⁵ the Holy See sent to the Emperor subsidies to the amount of 50,000 scudi, and a further 60,000 for the payment of the Walloon and French soldiers.⁶ The autumn brought a notable disaster to the Christian cause. On October 20th there capitulated the fortress of Kanizsa, which was counted the most important point on the frontier between Croatia

¹ See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 39 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 401 *seq.*; JORGA, Osmanen, III., 325 *seq.* The capture of Raab is referred to in the *brief to the Emperor and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, April 18, 1598 (Arm. 44, t. 42, nn. 122, 123, Papal Secret Archives), and the campaign round Buda in the *brief to the Archduke Matthias, January 2, 1599 (*ibid.* t. 43, n. 2).

² See letter of Clement VIII. to Rudolph II., August 12, 1598, in DUDIK, *Iter Rom.*, II., 175 *seq.*

³ See HURTER, III., 108.

⁴ *Regi Hispan. Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 341, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See in App. No. 32 the *report of G. C. Foresti of February 19, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁶ See HURTER, III., 108.

and Bosnia.¹ As Kanizsa was only sixteen miles distant from Styria, central Austria was seriously threatened, and we cannot be surprised that the news caused the greatest dismay there. This was increased when it was learned that the Turks were trying to enter into relations with the Protestants of Central Austria, and that they intended in the following year to march upon Vienna.² Italy too seemed to be threatened, and the Pope was filled with consternation.³ He insistently urged the Catholic princes in the kingdom of Germany to give their assistance,⁴ and resolved for the third time to send troops to Hungary. Gian Francesco Aldobrandini was again appointed generalissimo, and Giovanni Serra chief commissary for the war.⁵

While the Pope was projecting a great league of the Catholic princes,⁶ and was raising armaments in Rome,⁷ there arrived on April 5th, 1601, as representative of the Shah of Persia, whither two Papal envoys had been sent at

¹ See HURTER, IV., 348 *seq.*, 357; FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 47.

² See STIEVE, V., 551.

³ See *Avviso of November 11, 1600, Urb. 1068, Vatican Library. Cf. A. HARTTMANN, *Relat. hist.*, 1601, I., 73.

⁴ See *briefs to the Archduke Ferdinand November 11 the Archbishop of Salzburg, November 18, the Bavarian bishops, December 23, 1600, the Electors of Cologne, Trêves and Mayence and the Duke of Bavaria, January 13, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 383, 395, 425 *seqq.*, t. 45, nn. 4-7, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See FRANKÓI, *loc. cit.*; HORVAT, 154 *seq.* In the *letter of Cardinal Aldobrandini to D. Ginnasio, April 13, 1601, it is stated of the efforts of the Pope and the mission of the nephew: "Et cosi S.^{ta} ci porra la robba et il sangue proprio" (Barb. 5852, Vatican Library). The Emperor would have preferred a money subsidy, but Clement VIII. would not agree to this on account of the mistrust he felt of the financial administration of the Emperor, see STIEVE, V., 561.

⁶ Cf. ROTT, 107 *seq.*

⁷ See GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 149 *seqq.* For the raising of money by imposing taxes on the religious Orders in Italy, see *Miscell. di Clemente XI., t. 213, Papal Secret Archives.

the end of February in the interests of the Catholic missions,¹ a Persian named Luscinati Beg and an Englishman, Anthony Shirley. They had come from the Imperial court. Filled with jealousy of each other, each of them claimed precedence, and as they could not come to an agreement on this point, they each negotiated separately.² The news they brought with regard to the Turkish war was very encouraging. The Pope replied on May 2nd, 1601, to the letter from the Shah of Persia which they had brought, expressing his joy at the relations that had been formed, and at the hope held out that the Shah would fight with all his power against their common enemies, the Turks. With regard to the desired anti-Turkish league, he added that the Pope's thoughts and efforts were directed to that end, but that it was not easy to bring about such an alliance. The Emperor, however, was pledged to the war against the Turks, in which he, the Pope, was giving him every assistance. He expressed the wish that the Shah should attack the Turks in flank, while the war in Hungary was going on. What importance the Pope attached to an alliance with Persia had already been shown by him, by his sending P. Francesco Costa and Didaco Miranda, who should already have reached the Shah. Finally the Pope welcomed with special joy that passage in his letter which promised the Christians in Persia freedom to trade, and the undisturbed exercise of their religion. In consequence of this the Pope would send priests as soon as possible to Persia. The brief ended with the hope that the successor

¹ Particulars of the mission in Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 247 *seq.*

² For this, and the stay of the envoys see *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 350, 361, 375, 388 *seq.*, 404, the *report of the Duke of Sessa to Philip III., Rome, April 10, 1601, National Archives, Paris, Pap. de Simancas, K., 1630/94, the **Avvisi* of April 7 and 14, June 2 and September 25, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library, and the special literature given by MEYER (187 n. 2). Prof. J. v. Roscius of Petrograd intended to issue a new edition of the very rare work: *L'entrée solennelle faite a Rome aux ambassadeurs du Roy de Perse, le cinquième Avril, 1601. Traduit de l'Italien, imprimé a Rome (Paris, 1601).*

of the great Cyrus would conquer the Turks, and once again open Persia to the light of the Gospel.¹

In May the Pope turned to Venice and the other Italian powers, inviting them to go to the assistance of the Emperor.² If this appeal, like those that had gone before, met with no hearing from the republic of St. Mark,³ it was on the other hand welcomed by the other Italian princes. Duke Vincenzo of Mantua resolved once more to take part in person in the war.⁴ The same was the case with the brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, who sent 2000 men, who were to be placed under the supreme command of Aldobrandini. Philip III.

¹ *Regi Persarum, May 2, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 126, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 143 *Recommendation of A. Shirley, May 17, 1601, and n. 224, "Comunicazione, che tre dei compagni degli ambasciatori persiani si sono convertiti al cristianesimo," June 6, 1601.

² See the *briefs to the Doge, Genoa, the Dukes of Savoy, Parma, Urbino, Mantua and Modena, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Lucca, May 4, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, nn. 128-136, Papal Secret Archives. The *brief to the Doge of May 3 and 31, 1601, originals in State Archives, Venice. In an *autograph letter of May 26, 1601, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Pope praises the latter's warlike zeal. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3715.

³ See HURTER, IV., 361. To the year 1596 belongs the *Parlamento di Msgr. Minucci vescovo di Zara fatto a nome di P. Clemente VIII. in Senato Veneto per la lega contro il Turco, Barb. LVII., 66, pp. 106-131, Vatican Library. For a second fruitless attempt in 1598 see ZINKEISEN, III., 624. The reasons against the adhesion of the Venetians to a league against the Turks are collected in the "Discorso di Tomaso Contarini circa la lega della christianità contro il Turco," published in the rare *nozze* work; Documenti storici p.p. le *nozze* Bevilacqua-Neuenfels, Venice, 1856. Cf. also the *Discorso sopra il modo di muovere li Veneziani contro i Turchi (dated Sept. 1601) Urb. 860, pp. 308 *seqq.*, Vatican Secy.

money. *brief to V. Gonzaga, July 9, 1601, Gonzaga Archives, *Miscell. Cf. *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 37 *seq.*

too, enrolled some German infantry under Gaudenzio di Madruzzo.¹

Opinions differed as to the plan of the campaign. While the Emperor wished that all the auxiliary troops should be united to his own army, and should attack first of all Stuhlweissenburg or Buda, Aldobrandini was firm in wishing to proceed first against Kanizsa. On the feast of the Ascension (May 31st) the nephew had received the insignia of his office: he set out on June 1st.² His troops, which numbered about 9000 men, were conveyed by sea from Ancona to Fiume, whence they marched by way of Laibach to Agram, and reached Warasdin in the second half of August. There Aldobrandini was attacked by fever, and died on September 17th.³

¹ See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 406; *HURTER*, IV., 373 *seq.*; *HUBER*, IV., 407.

² See *Lettres d'Ossat*, II., 406 *seq.*; **Avviso* of June 2, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. According to the **Chirografo* of Clement VIII. to "Laudivio Zacchia commiss. d. nostra Camera," dated Pal. di Montecavallo, May 12, 1601, G. Fr. Aldobrandini received as a monthly payment "scudi tre mila d'oro" from the date of his departure until his return (Orig. in Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 42, 15). Cf. **brief* to Rudolph II., May 30, 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 190, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See *ΦΡΑΚΝΟΙ*, *loc. cit.*; *RINIERI*, Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala, 149 *seq.*; *HORVAT*, 157 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*, 180 *seq.* For the Jesuits as chaplains to the pontifical troops see *IUVENCIUS*, V., 380. For the obsequies of G. Fr. Aldobrandini, celebrated with great pomp in the church of the Minerva, see **Avvisi* of December 15, 19 and 22, 1601, Urb. 1069, Vatican Library. In that of December 19 there is a description of the catafalque on which were represented eight virtues. There too are given the inscriptions, *e.g.* *Strigoni expugnatori*. According to the **Avviso* of January 5, 1602, the body arrived on the Monday; it was carried by the family to the church of the Minerva, "et lo ripose in una cassa di piombo fatta a sepultura nella nuova cappella che fa far S.B." (Urb. 1070, Vatican Library). *EM. LUSITANUS*, in funere I. Fr. Aldobrandini S. R. E. generalissimi lacrimae, printed in Rome in 1602. Another funeral eulogy in *HORVAT*, 180, n. 5.

When the Pope heard of the grave state of his nephew he entrusted the supreme command to Flaminio Delfino.¹ The latter led the Papal troops against Kanizsa, the siege of which had been begun by the Archduke Ferdinand on September 10th. Unfortunately this prince had as little military talent as his lieutenant, the Duke of Mantua, who was more inclined to the amusements of the court than to the hardships of the camp. The Imperialists, among whom the venerated Capuchin, Lorenzo da Brindisi acted like another Capistrano, had in the meantime recaptured Stuhlweissenburg on October 11th, and won a further victory against the Turks on October 14th, forcing them to retreat.² But this success could not make up for the unfortunate result of the siege of Kanizsa. An assault which was delivered on October 28th, and in which the Papal troops took part, failed to achieve its purpose.³ Since the winter set in earlier than usual, the mortality

¹ See *brief of September 17, 1601, Arm. 41, t. 45, n. 314, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *Acta consist. September 16, 1601, Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library.

² See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 48; STAUFFER, *Rusworm*, 80 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 407 *seq.*; JORGA, *Osmanen*, III., 334 *seq.*; HORVAT, 181 *seq.* For Lorenzo da Brindisi see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 1525. Clement VIII. said at the consistory on October 22, 1601, that thanks must be given to God for the recovery of Alba-Reale, which for forty years had groaned under the yoke of the Turks (*Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library). Cf. the "Avviso della presa d'Albareale dell'Ungheria 1601," Rome, 1601, and HEILE, *Der Feldzug gegen die Turken und die Eroberung Stuhlweissenburgs unter Erzherzog Matthias 1601*, Rostock, 1902. During the siege of Kanizsa, Fed. Ghislieri, who was fighting among the pontifical troops, had distinguished himself especially; see *brief to Philip III., March 2, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 70, Papal Secret Archives. The breaking off of the undertaking was ignominious; see HORVAT, 201. A satire on the "cose di Canisa" was suppressed; see *reports of Arrigoni of January 26 and February 2, 1602, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

³ Cf. HURTER, IV., 375 *seqq.*; STAUFFER, *Rusworm*, 88 *seq.*; *Mitteil des österr. Instit.*, VII., 273; HORVAT, 186 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Lombardo*, XLII. (1915), 54 *seq.*

among the troops, who were encamped in tents and miserably fed, assumed an alarming extent. At the end of November the Archduke suspended the siege. The Papal troops too had suffered bitterly, and when Delfino reviewed them at Marburg, their number had fallen to 3500, and even among these there were many who were sick.¹

This unfortunate campaign had not only cost the lives of the generalissimo Aldobrandini and five and a half thousand men, but had also eaten up a million florins. In spite of this the Pope listened to the appeal of Rudolph II. and did not recall the remainder of his troops, but left them for the time being under the Imperial command; all he asked was that they should be better treated than in the past in the matter of their lodging and provisions.²

In the year 1602 the Turkish attacks were directed against Stuhlweissenburg, which they succeeded in taking on August 29th.³ The Pope's sorrow was all the greater because he had provided the Emperor with a considerable subsidy, namely 100,000 scudi.⁴ At that time Clement VIII. feared the fall of Gran,⁵ but fortunately the Turks remained inactive for a time, and employed a part of their army against the rebels in Asia Minor. After the Grand Vizier had turned towards Transylvania, which had been ceded by the Emperor

¹ See FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* Cf. VERESS, Mon. Vat. Hung., III., 3, xxxiii.; HORVAT, 193 *seq.*, 203.

² See brief of November 18, 1601, in *Archiv f. osterr. Gesch.*, XV., 235. Cf. FRAKNÓI, *loc. cit.* On December 14, 1601, there was a consistory: "dixit [Clement VIII.] maxime dolendum quod exercitus S.S. discesserit re infecta ab obsidione Canisae. causasque se non explicare, cum notae sint, sicut magnopere laetandum, quod Imperatoris exercitus Alb. Reg. in ditionem restituerit"; he had a letter read, which had arrived on the previous day from the Archduke Matthias, *Acta consist. *loc. cit.* Vatican Library.

³ See JORGA, Osmanen, III., 335.

⁴ See report of Serra in MEYER, Nuntiaturberichte, 629.

⁵ See *report of Arrigoni, September 22, 1602, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to Sigismund Báthory, the intrepid Rusworm undertook the siege of Buda-Pesth. He succeeded in getting possession of Mount Gebhardt and of Pesth, but Buda resisted all his attacks. The coming of winter put an end to the fighting.¹

After the course taken by the Turkish war so far, we cannot feel surprise if at the beginning of 1603 the Pope felt reluctant to give any financial assistance.² Nevertheless in the end he paid another 50,000 scudi. The Papal commissary, Serra, sought to employ this money to the best advantage; he gave 30,000 scudi for the undertaking against Hatvan, in which he himself took part.³ The capture of this fortress, which Rusworm succeeded in taking in November, was all the more important in that henceforward Buda was threatened on the flank.⁴

Serra and the nuncio at Prague, Ferreri, in their reports to Rome, strongly criticized the organization, as expensive as it was inadequate, of the Imperial armies, a criticism that was held to be justified by all who were skilled in such matters. Serra mentions the following abuses, without the removal of which the war would continue to be futile:

1. The Emperor was cheated in the matter of the pay of the troops, and was paying twice as much as was necessary. If a regiment numbered 1800 men, pay was sent for 3000, and for three months the pay was maintained at that figure, although every month the regiments were becoming reduced in numbers. In this way the commanders became rich in the course of a few years, but there was no question of taking proceedings against them as most of them were relatives of the ministers.
2. The contributions and other receipts were always spent in advance, so that the Emperor lost 25% of them.
3. Instead of forming a permanent army

¹ See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 55; STAUFFER, Rusworm, 104 *seqq.*, JORGA, Osmanen, III., 336. For the manifestations of joy in Rome on the receipt of the news of Rusworm's success, see SCHMIDLIN, Anima, 441.

² See Meyer, *loc. cit.*, 24, 41, 43, 48.

³ See *ibid.* 60 *seq.*, 62, 71 *seq.*, 75 *seq.*, 120.

⁴ See HUBER, IV., 411.

and letting it spend the winter in Hungary at the seat of war, the troops were only kept under arms there for half the year. This "madness of disarming every half year, and of making a present of the arms to the commanders," thought Ferreri, "causes the Emperor a loss of a million or more; it is impossible to obtain brave troops; the hereditary territories are ruined by the coming and going of soldiers, and the Emperor never finds his army ready in the spring, which is just the time when every year it would be possible to recapture some important position, as the Turks are unable to be on the spot until the autumn."¹

All this took place again during the year 1604, during which no advantage was taken of very favourable circumstances: the rising of the Turks in Asia, the victory of the Shah of Persia, Abbas the Great, and the death of the Sultan Mahomet III.,² which occurred on December 22nd, 1603.

¹ See MEYER, lxxxii. *seq.*

² Clement VIII. on receiving news of the death of the Sultan, made a fresh attempt to win over the renegade Turkish general, Sinan Pasha Cicala. Cf. for what follows the articles by RINIERI, based on Roman documents, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1897, I., 693 *seq.*, II., 151 *seq.*, 272 *seq.*, 671 *seq.*; 1898, I., 164 *seq.*, which prove among other things that Sinan Pasha Cicala did not die, as has hitherto been supposed, soon after 1602, but only on December 2, 1605, after a serious defeat by the Shah of Persia, Abbas. A recent elaboration of the articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which gives for the first time the history of Cicala in conformity with the documents, appeared under the title Clemente VIII., e Sinan Bassa Cicala, Rome, 1898. Cf. also P. OLIVA, Sinan Bassà, in *Arch. stor. Messin.*, VIII. (1907), and IX. (1908). Sinan Pasha Cicala, a Genoese born at Messina, was taken prisoner by the Turks together with his father. The father was killed in prison at Constantinople, and the son was brought up as a Mahometan. He attained to the highest rank, directed the attack on Reggio in September, 1594, and also fought in Hungary. But the renegade could not forget his mother, Lucrezia Cicala, who was still living at Messina. By means of negotiations with the Spanish viceroy at Naples, Sinan succeeded in seeing his beloved mother again. The news of this reached Clement VIII.,

Clement VIII. then wrote at once to Philip III.¹ In an who then in 1599 made his first attempt to win back Sinan Pasha to Christianity, and to induce him to desert the Sultan. During these secret negotiations (the Mantuan envoy, Giulio Cesare Foresti, was unable to explain them ; see *report, February 12, 1600, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) the celebrated poet philosopher, Tommaso Campanella, a member of the Dominican Order from 1584 onwards, organised a conspiracy against the Spanish government, in which Sinan Pasha was to take part. The conspiracy was discovered, and brought Campanella an imprisonment of many years, from which he was only released by the intervention of Urban VIII. Cf. the great work, not always correct, and filled with hatred of the Catholic Church, by L. AMABILE: *T. Campanella, sua congiura, suoi processi, sua pazzia*, 3 vols., Naples, 1882. See also AMABILE, *Fra T. Campanella nei castelli di Napoli ecc.*, Naples, 1887. GENTILE (*Il primo processo d'eresia di T. Campanella*, in *Arch. Napol.*, XXXI., [1906], 629 *seqq.*) shows that there are still doubts, both concerning the first process against Campanella before the Naples Inquisition in 1591, and the second in Rome in 1595. These doubts might be solved by an examination of the Archives of the Roman Inquisition, which however are not yet accessible. Further literary information in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, II., 1143 *seqq.* Of the literature which has so far appeared, the following must be mentioned : J. KVAČALA, *Th. Campanella, ein Reformier der ausgehenden Renaissance*, Berlin, 1909 ; FIORENTINO, *Studi e ritratti d. Rinascenza*, Bari 1911, 375 *seq.*, 391 *seq.* ; RINIERI, *Clemente VIII. e Sinan Bassà Cicala*, 47 *seqq.*, 167 *seq.* ; J. KVAČALA, *Ueber die Genese der Schriften des Th. Campanella* (1911) ; DEJOB, *Est-il vrai que Campanella fut simplement déiste ?* *Estr. du Bull. ital.*, 1911 ; GOTHEIN, *Reformation u. Gegenreformation*, Munich, 1924, 185 *seq.* ; MEINECKE, *Die Idee der Staatsraison in der neueren Gesch.*, Munich, 1924 ; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 319 ; GENTILE in *Giorn. crit. d. filosofia ital.*, V. (1924). The more recent monograph by CECILIA DENTICI D'ACCADIA (in the collection, *Il pensiero moderno*, Florence, 1925) is too much influenced by the anti-Catholic insinuations and tendencies of Amabile ; see the criticism by G. ZUPPONE-STRANI in the *Corriere d'Italia*, May 27, 1925. T. Campanella, *Del senso delle cose e della magia*. Testo ined. ital., ed. A. BRUERS, Bari, 1925.

¹ See MEYER, 126.

instruction to the nuncio in Spain it is said that now was the time when the Christian princes must at last rouse themselves from sleep, and take advantage of the favourable moment¹ for the complete extermination of the Ottoman tyranny. The Pope did all that he could,² but his hopes were not to be realized. On the contrary, Pesth, Vác and Hatvan were again lost, and they were obliged to content themselves with having at least retained Gran.³

After the retirement of the Turks from Gran, Basta, who was appointed in this year to command the Imperialists in Hungary, had to turn his attention to the disastrous revolution which had broken out both in Hungary and Transylvania. At the head of this movement was a rich magnate of Transylvania, a relative of Báthory, Stephen Bocskay. This ambitious man, who was at heart absolutely indifferent as to the issues between the Catholics and the Protestants,⁴ made religion his pretext for raising the standard of rebellion against the Emperor. The moment was favourable for him, since Rudolph II. had aroused the excitement of the Hungarian Protestants by the forced restoration of the cathedral at Kaschau, and by very severe enactments against the innovators, together with an absolute rejection of their

¹ "Non è dubbio che questa morte nei tempi presenti doverebbe essere a principi christiani uno svegliamento dal sonno nel quale si può dire che habbino dormito sin'hora con tanto danno della christianità, et che mentre regna questo giovanetto inhabile all'armi et al consiglio potrebbero servirsi dell'occasione non solo di recuperare a Dio benedetto i regni intieri, ma di estinguere affatto questa tirannia del Ottomano." Cardinal Aldobrandini to the Spanish nuncio D. Ginnasio, February 10 1604, Barb. 5852, Vatican Library. Cf. *ibid.* the *letter of March 8, 1604.

² Cf. *ibid.* the *letters of Aldobrandini of July 24, and October 19, 1604; see also the *brief to the Shah of Persia, June 30, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, f. 262b, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See FESSLER-KLEIN, IV., 56; HUBER, IV., 411; JORGA, OSMANEN, III., 337.

⁴ Cf. report of Ferreri, September 20, 1604, in MEYER, 261.

claims, and that in such a way as profoundly to offend their constitutional ideas. At the Diet held at Pressburg in February, 1604, to the 21 legal statutes, the Emperor, "of his own authority" added a 22nd, in which he confirmed all the laws and prescriptions which had been issued since the time of the reign of King Stephen I. onwards for the protection of religion, threatening with severe penalties those who henceforward on any pretext introduced religious questions into public affairs. The malcontent nobles and Szekler of Transylvania chose Bocskay as their sovereign as early as February 22nd, 1605, and the Hungarian revolutionaries took the same step on April 20th, 1605. Both parties sought to obtain the support of the Porte.¹

Clement VIII. only saw the beginnings of this insurrection, which not only seriously threatened the struggle against the Turks, but also the reform and Catholic restoration which he had promoted with all his powers, not only in Hungary and Transylvania,² but also in Austria itself. He once more in

¹ See GINDELY, Rudolf II., Vol. I., 69 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 448 *seq.*, 451 *seq.*, 455 *seq.*

² HUBER (IV., 412 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*) gives a good summary of political events in Transylvania and Hungary, though his account of ecclesiastical conditions is quite inadequate (*cf.* as to this *infra* Chapter VII). FRAKNÓI (in Magyarország és a római szentszék, III., 245 *seqq.*) has treated briefly but well of the relations of Clement VIII. with Transylvania. He shows how the Pope always kept two objects before him, the war against the Turks and the restoration of unity of faith in Transylvania. As the plan for the abdication of Sigismund Báthory threatened both these objects, it was vigorously resisted by the nuncio, A. Visconti. When Sigismund insisted upon abdicating, Clement VIII. objected to the principality being held by Cardinal Andrew Báthory, whom he rightly looked upon as unfit to govern it. Sigismund abdicated on April 10, 1598, in favour of the Emperor, then repented of what he had done, and returned once more to Transylvania in August, in order to abdicate finally, in March, 1599, in favour of Cardinal Báthory. The latter sought the intervention of the Pope to obtain the recognition of the Emperor. Clement VIII. tried to make use of this event on behalf of the war against the

1604 decided to give financial aid to the Emperor, while at Turks. The mission of Germanico Malaspina was directed to this end ; this is dealt with, on the basis of the archives in Rome by Adalbert Ambro in his article on the labours of Malaspina in Transylvania in 1599, in the Hungarian periodical *Kath. Szemle*, 1887, 253-290. Cf. also VERESS, *Mon. Vat. Hung.* 317 *seqq.* The efforts of Malaspina to maintain the rule of Báthory were frustrated by the victory of the voivode Michael over Cardinal Báthory, who met with his death on October 28, 1599, at the battle of Nagyszeben [Sibiu] (*cf.* for this the report of Malaspina, November 14, 1599, in *Docum. privit. la storia Romanilor.*, III., 1, 511 *seqq.*, and VERESS, *loc. cit.*, 358 *seqq.* Then followed the episode of Michael, the "Vallacco," whom Clement VIII. invited on April 22, 1600, to return to the Catholic Church (see brief in *Archiv. f. Gesch. Siebenburgens*, N. S. XIX., 1884, 596 *seqq.*). Sigismund Báthory, who was once more elected Prince of Transylvania on February 3, 1601, was already tired of his sovereignty in the following year ; he ceded the country to the Emperor, whose commissaries tried to heal the wounds of the long wars and at the same time to restore the Catholic Church (*cf.* brief of 1602 in *Archiv. f. Gesch. Siebenburgens*, N. S. XIX., 601 *seqq.*). After the suppression of a revolt in 1603, the Imperial general Basta was of opinion that it was only possible to keep the country in check by rigorous measures. The aristocracy were severely punished, and henceforward only the Catholic religion was tolerated in the cities. The Jesuits were recalled to Kolozsvar [Cluj]. The annulment of political rights then led once more to a revolution, which made common cause with that which had broken out in Hungary (see HUBER, IV., 434 *seqq.*). Full information as to the events of that time, in accordance with the documents, is to be looked for from the publication of Prof. Veress, which is still only in its initial stages. Of the greatest importance are the *Relationes Nuntiorum apost. in Transilvaniam miss. a Clemente VIII.* 1592-1600, ed. VERESS, Budapesth, 1909, and published in *Mon. Vat. Hung.*, II., 4. Cf. also the rehabilitation of Sigismund Báthory's master and confessor, the Jesuit Alfonso Carillo, by Veress in the publication of his *Epist. et acta* (*Mon. Ung. Hist.*, Vol. 32) Budapesth, 1906. Cf. *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXIX., 945 *seq.* Vol. 34 of the *Mon. Ung. Hist.* contains the "Cod. epist." of G. Basta (1597-1607), Budapesth, 1909.

the same time he sought to prevent the conclusion of peace between Rudolph II. and the Porte.¹

The idea of a coalition against the Turks again occupied the attention of the Pope during the last months of his life. To this end he sought especially to bring about a rapprochement between Poland and the Emperor,² and dreamed of winning over not only Spain but even France to the war against Turkey.³

¹ See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, liii., 192 n. 2, 223, 239, 251.

² Cf. MEYER, 9, 22, 24, 79 *seq.*, 117, and Vol. XXIV. of this work, p.

³ See in App. No. 45 the *instructions for M. Barberini, December 4, 1604, Vatican Library.

CHAPTER VII.

CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN SOUTH GERMANY, BAVARIA AND AUSTRIA.

THE greater part of the relations between Clement VIII. and Rudolph II. were concerned with religious conditions in the Empire, even more than with the struggle against the Turks.

On such matters the Pope took counsel with the German Congregation, which had been re-established by Innocent IX.¹ Like his predecessors, Clement VIII., from the beginning of his pontificate, was anxiously careful to protect the Catholic faith in Germany from further losses at the hands of the Protestants, who were raging with the desire to destroy it, as well as to promote the reform and Catholic restoration which had already been begun with gratifying success. In this he counted upon the support of Rudolph II.² His hopes

¹ According to Minucci, Cardinals Spinola, Allen, Paravicini, Borromeo and Farnese belonged to the Congregation in 1593 (STIEVE, IV., 126, n. 1).

² In the *brief dated February 2, 1592, in which Clement VIII. informed the Emperor of his election, which he had accepted with an anxious heart, and confidence in the help of God, the Pope spoke of " tanta morum depravatio, impiorum crudelitas, rerum omnium perturbatio," and appealed for the help of Rudolph, Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 36, n. 63 (minute of February 1; see SCHWEIZER, III., 450 n.), Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* n. 102, *briefs of February 15, 1592, to Rudolph II., the Archduke Ferdinand and the Duke of Bavaria (*cf.* *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 156) exhorting them to resist the heresies which had been propagated in Styria and Carnia since the death of the Archduke Charles. *Cf.* n. 100, *brief to the Archduke Ernest, February 19, 1592, to the same effect, but also containing eulogies of his Catholic zeal, which the Pope had occasion to see for himself when a legate in 1588 (see SCHWEIZER, III., 447). The briefs of

of this were increased by the fact that just at that time the Emperor had entrusted the chief offices under the crown of Bohemia to fervent Catholics.¹ The nuncio at the court of Prague, Camillo Caetani, who had held that position since April, 1591, had had a share in these appointments. Caetani was very cautious and wanting in initiative, and it was probably for that reason that Clement VIII. thought that the time was come to replace him.

Immediately after the election of the Pope the rumour had spread that the nunciature in Spain was destined for Caetani. A man who belonged to the school of Gregory XIII., Cesare Speciani,² Bishop of Cremona, was chosen to succeed him. As Speciani only left Rome on May 8th, 1592, and reached Prague on June 27th, Caetani remained at the Imperial court until July.³ The task which fell to Speciani was not an easy one, as the stability of the Catholic Church was seriously threatened in various parts of the Empire. The destruction of the last remnants of Catholicism at Halberstadt, Osnabrück and Lübeck seemed to be only a question of time ; at Jülich-Cleves Catholic interests were in grave danger ; at Strasbourg they depended upon one person.⁴

February 20, 1592, were concerned with the defence of the Catholic cause in Jülich-Cleves (SCHWEIZER, III., 453 ; *cf. Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 152). On February 22, 1592, letters were sent to the Bishop of Würzburg, the Archbishops of Trêves, Cologne and Mayence, Rudolph II. and the Duke of Bavaria (*cf. as to the latter STIEVE, IV., 405, and Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 154 *seq.*) asking them to protect the Catholics of Halberstadt (SCHWEIZER, III., 460 *seq.*). To secure the election of a good abbot for the abbey of Hersfeld, which was being persecuted by the Landgrave of Hesse, Clement VIII. *wrote on August 8, 1592, to the chapter there. Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 471, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ *Cf. ZÖCHBAUER, Rudolph II., Part I., 42.*

² *Cf. as to this Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 615.*

³ *Cf. ZÖCHBAUER, loc. cit., 43 ; SCHWEIZER, III., xxxvi seq., 571. The *brief in which Rudolph II. was informed of the mission of Speciani is dated May 14, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 306, Papal Secret Archives.*

⁴ SCHWEIZER, III., xxxviii.

A special cause for anxiety was the fact that the innovators were energetically at work at the same time in the Austrian dominions. In Bohemia some of the sects had once more boldly raised their heads; the excellent Bishop of Olmütz, Stanislaus Pawlowski, found himself in a difficult position in Moravia on account of the Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists and Piccardi. In Silesia and the Lausitz,¹ the state of affairs was even worse. It was therefore a matter of great regret in Rome that the hopes of the establishment of a Jesuit college in Breslau had not been realized, as an improvement had been looked for from its activities.²

In Upper and Lower Austria the administrator of Wiener-Neustadt, Melchior Klesl, who had been appointed by the Emperor in 1590 as director of the reform commission, and furnished with wide faculties by Sixtus V., met with serious hindrances in his efforts for restoration, both on the part of the neglected clergy, as well as of the council for the convents, which was for the most part biassed, and jealously aimed at maintaining the civil jurisdiction.³ To this was added the fact that the friendly relations of Klesl with the Jesuits at Vienna had become changed into quite opposite sentiments "to the satisfaction of the Lutherans and our own disadvantage" says Caetani in the information drawn up for his successor.⁴ In the territories of Central Austria, where, after the death of the Archduke Charles, the Archduke Ernest was governing in the name of his infant son Ferdinand, the greater part of the Protestant aristocracy refused their obedience unless they were given full liberty to propagate the religious innovations. The audacity with which the Protestants acted was shown by their claim that the Archduke Ernest should take the oath concerning the national liberties,

¹ Cf. information from C. Caetani to C. Speciani in SCHWEIZER, III., 583.

² Cf. DUHR, I., 175 *seq.*

³ See, besides the works indicated by HUBER, IV., 294 *seq.*, HAMMER, I., 52, and KERSCHBAUMER, Klesl 26, 29 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*

⁴ See SCHWEIZER, III., 585. For the questions between Klesl and the Jesuits see DUHR, I., 274 *seq.*

not in the name of God and the saints, but on the Gospel, in conformity with the formula of the new religion.¹ The still unfilled bishoprics in those parts of Hungary which had remained free from the Turkish rule, and the revenues of which fell to the Emperor, was a cause for all the more anxiety in that the innovators were very numerous in those territories.²

In the instructions which were drawn up at the end of April, 1592, for the new nuncio at the Imperial court, it was clearly shown that the Holy See intended to face these dangers energetically, and to carry on the work of restoration. Above all things Speciani—so these state—must interest the Emperor in the Catholic cause and bring it about that he should only appoint good Catholics to the greater offices. It also seemed to be of importance that the confessor of the Emperor should be a zealous, prudent and virtuous man. The nuncio must especially bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor for the speedy appointment of bishops for Prague and the vacant sees in Hungary. There, the instructions go on to say, it is also very necessary that the care of souls be provided for among the soldiery; in Bohemia a great point was made of the conversion of the Hussites, as well as of the carrying on of pastoral work in the Lausitz which belonged to the diocese of Meissen, suppressed by Saxony. The great importance of the representation of the Catholics in the Diet was insisted upon for the well-being of the Church in Germany. Speciani must therefore look to the consolidation and increasing of that representation, and endeavour to bring it about that no one should receive the regalia, nor a seat, nor a vote in the Diet, who had not been confirmed by the Holy See. In like manner the nuncio must see to it that the Imperial chancery has a majority of Catholic officials. It would be of great importance if he could succeed in forcing the Archbishop

¹ See HUBER, IV., 335, who remarks: "Whereas the Protestants demanded not only liberty of conscience, but absolute religious freedom for their coreligionists, they had no scruple in bringing pressure to bear on the conscience of their sovereign."

² See the information of Caetani in SCHWEIZER, III., 584.

of Mayence to publish the Tridentine reform decrees. In Jülich-Cleves his principal aim must be to exclude the Protestants from the government; at Strasbourg he must prevent the threatened appointment of a Protestant as bishop. As to the affairs of Aix, much would depend upon the attitude of the Emperor. It also lay with the supreme head of the Empire to prevent the threatened total loss of Halberstadt, Osnabrück, Lübeck and Bremen. In accordance with the terms of the religious peace, the instructions insisted, all these dioceses must be restored to the Catholics. It was in full accordance with the idea of Catholic restoration that this document made it clear that the nuncio was urged to support the establishment of a Jesuit college at Linz, as being the special wish of the Pope. Pressure is also to be brought to bear for the appointment of an Imperial ambassador in Rome. Finally the instructions urge Speciani to keep on close terms with all the great officials who were sincere Catholics.¹

As early as the summer of 1593, when it seemed certain that the Turkish war would again break out, Clement VIII. urged the Emperor, through Speciani, in addition to other steps, to convoke a Diet. But Rudolph II., who was always undecided and timid, sought to avoid any such assembly, because ecclesiastical questions would also come under discussion.²

The Emperor also showed a like indecision with regard to his marriage and the succession. When, in October, 1592, Baron Kobenzl, who had been sent to Rome on account of the Turkish war, was in the presence of the Pope, he was obliged to listen to bitter, though not unwarranted, complaints against the Emperor. Clement VIII. said that Rudolph II. ought already to have married the Infanta of Spain, if for no other reason than that this would have ensured the aid of Philip II.

¹ See *ibid.* 589-605. In the introduction to the Instructions it is expressly stated that it is the intention of the Pope "di restaurare la religione catholica in Alemagna."

² See ZÖCHBAUER, Rudolph II., Pt. II., 7 *seq.*

against the Turks. The attitude of Rudolph in the matter of the succession seemed to the Pope to give even greater cause for anxiety. He openly told Kobenzl as to this that it was his opinion that Rudolph did not *wish* to provide the Empire with a successor ; he ought to reflect what would have happened to his ancestors if they had acted in such a way. At that time, moreover, it was only a question of earthly considerations, whereas now the whole religious future of the Empire was at stake. If the throne were to remain vacant at this time, a Protestant would almost certainly be elected. It was enough to take the case of Strasbourg alone, the Pope rightly said ; if a coadjutor had been appointed for the dead bishop there, the present disturbances would not have occurred ; it would be the same with the Empire. When Kobenzl tried to excuse his sovereign by alluding to the difficulties of the times, and begged the Pope to inform Rudolph of these things, Clement VIII. replied : “ We have done what we could ; if we were to begin to importune him again on the subject of the succession, we should fear to be over-insistent, since he might believe that it was wished to take the Imperial dignity away from him in order to confer it upon one of his brothers, whereas we esteem them all alike.” The Pope then once more strongly urged the immediate convocation of the Diet, at which the matter of Strasbourg could be settled, and pointed out that the moment was favourable, since, owing to the death of the Elector of Saxony, Christian I., and of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, the Emperor had been delivered from his most dangerous enemies. This most pertinent consideration induced Kobenzl, in his report to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, to say : “ I see that the Pope is better informed as to the affairs of the Empire than the Emperor himself.”¹

When, on September 12th, 1593, Clement VIII. sent the Cardinal and Archbishop of Trent, Lodovico Madruzzo, to the Emperor, in order to further the Turkish war with all energy, he at the same time charged him with the task of pointing out

¹ Letter of October 30, 1592, in HIRN, Ferdinand von Tyrol, II., III n.

the necessity of the Diet, and also of discussing with him the election of a King of the Romans.¹ A short time afterwards news reached Rome that the convocation of the Diet had been decided upon.² Madruzzo begged the Emperor to attend it in person. Rudolph II. promised to do this, but gave a very evasive answer as to the election of a King of the Romans. The hesitation of the Emperor in this matter was just at that time especially great, because the journey of the young Maximilian of Bavaria to Rome had aroused in him the suspicion that the Wittelsbach prince was aiming at that title. Rudolph's ambassador in Rome, Count Harrach, even went so far as to hint as much to the Pope.³

To proceed from making a decision to carrying it out was always very difficult for Rudolph II. Speciani, the nuncio at Prague, learned at the beginning of 1594 that the act of convocation of the Diet was already printed, but that it was still being held back in the Imperial cabinet. The Pope was displeased at this and only breathed freely when, on January 17th the Diet was officially summoned to Ratisbon for April 17th.⁴

Clement VIII. attached the greatest importance to this coming assembly of the states of the Empire, not only on account of the Turkish war, but also because of ecclesiastical

¹ See "Instruttione mandata al sig. card. Madrucci che d'ordine di N.S. deve andare alla corte Ces." dated Rome, September 12, 1593, in ZÖCHBAUER, II., 14. Cf. in App. No. 6 the *brief to Rudolph II., February 19, 1593, Papal Secret Archives.

² See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 15.

³ See STIEVE, Die Verhandlungen über die Nachfolge Kaiser Rudolfs II., in *Abh. der Hist. Kl. der bayr. Akad.*, XV., Munich, 1880, 16; the same, *Briefe u. Akten*, IV., 269, 545. In 1593 Harrach became the successor of the dead Veit von Dornberg; see *ibid.* 187 n. Harrach's confidant was not called Carlo Crotta, as Stieve says, but Grotta. He was the conclavist of Madruzzo.

⁴ See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 18. For the displeasure of Clement VIII. cf. in App. No. 14 the *letter of C. Aldobrandini to Madruzzo, February 15, 1594, State Library, Trent.

conditions, the restoration of which, in his very reasonable opinion, could not be deferred any longer.¹

The first necessity was to save the diocese of Strasbourg. On May 2nd, 1592, at the very moment when Clement VIII. was drawing the attention of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol and of Cardinal Andrew of Austria to the intrigues of the Protestant canons of Strasbourg,² Bishop Johann died suddenly of paralysis. The Emperor then wished to sequester the bishopric and decide later between the parties in the chapter. Clement VIII. consented to this, but he called upon the assistance of the neighbouring Catholic princes and exhorted the Catholic canons to elect a new bishop.³ But, as early as May 30th, the Protestant canons elected the fifteen year old Margrave George of Brandenburg, the nephew of the Elector of the same name, as administrator of Strasbourg. The Catholic canons replied on June 9th by the election of the Bishop of Metz, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine. Both parties appealed to arms. Clement VIII. at once confirmed the Cardinal of Lorraine,⁴ and took up his cause energetically.⁵ He would gladly have granted as well a subsidy in money, but his financial position did not allow of this.⁶ On the second day of the Nativity, 1592, the Pope addressed to the Emperor, the Bishop of Würzburg and the Duke of Bavaria an urgent summons to come to the assistance of the Cardinal of Lorraine.⁷ This appeal remained without effect, because the

¹ See *letter of Card. C. Aldobrandini to Card. Madruzzo, dated Rome, February 14, 1594, in Cod. Campori, Nr. 214, Este Library, Modena.

² Briefs in SCHWEIZER, III., 511, n. 2.

³ See briefs of May 28, 1592, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 148.

⁴ See SCHMIDLIN, 409, n. 1.

⁵ See briefs to the Cardinal of Austria, the Archduke Ferdinand, Card. Charles of Lorraine, and the Duke of Parma in SCHWEIZER, III., 556, n. 2.

⁶ *Brief to Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, November 1, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 103, Papal Secret Archives.

⁷ The brief to Duke William of Bavaria in STIEVE, IV., 446 *seq.* Similar *briefs were sent on December 26 "archiep. Colon.,

fear of becoming involved in a war with the Protestants was too great among the parties interested. The war over the election of the bishop dragged on for eight months, and ended with the pact of February, 1593, by which the diocese was divided between the Cardinal and the Protestant administrator. Clement VIII. had to condemn this expedient because it handed over Church property to the Protestants, even though only temporarily. Moreover the Pope, as well as Duke William V., knew very well that the Protestants, in all these conventions, were aiming at the removal of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*.¹ Clement VIII. laboured to obtain for the Cardinal of Lorraine the complete possession of his diocese.²

If there was reason to fear that at the Diet the Protestants would, by means of threats, obtain concessions from the Emperor in the matter of Strasbourg, there was no less danger that they would interest themselves on behalf of the Calvinist magistracy of Aix, who had appealed against the judgment issued by the royal council on August 27th, 1593, to the Emperor better informed and to the States of the Empire. This Imperial judgment declared that all the changes in questions of religion and in the government of the city which had been introduced since 1560, were abrogated.³

A third danger menaced the Church in the western part of Treveren., Mogunt., ep. Herbipol., archid. Ferdin., duci Bavariae, Imperat., duci Etruriae." Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 151, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ See STIEVE, IV., 71, and 446 *seq.*, the brief of June 5, 1593. Clement VIII. likewise *wrote to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 340, Papal Secret Archives. For the dispute of the bishops *cf.* also the *Beiträge zur neueren Gesch.*, I., Strasbourg, 1910, published by M. Spahn.

² See the *letters of June 12, 1593, to the Archbishop of Mayence and the Bishop of Würzburg, and June 23 to the Cardinal of Lorraine, Arm. 44, t. 38, pp. 352, 361, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See RITTER, II., 71. Clement VIII. had already appealed on December 19, 1592, to the protection of the Emperor for the Catholics of Aix. *Arm 44, t. 38, p. 147, Papal Secret Archives.

the Empire after the death of Duke William IV. of Jülich-Cleves, who had died without issue on January 5th, 1592. The Duchess Jacobea, the wife of the half-witted John William, who was as ambitious as she was untrustworthy, gave so little guarantee of the safeguarding of Catholic interests that Clement VIII. was filled with the gravest anxiety. His embarrassment was still further increased by the reports, which were full of contradictions, of the nuncio at Cologne, Frangipani, concerning the intrigues in Jülich. The Bishop of Ossero, Coriolano Gazzadoro, was therefore sent to Cologne on December 11th, 1593, as representative extraordinary of the Holy See ; he was to deal with the affairs of Jülich as well as with the conclusion of the negotiations for the appointment of Prince Ferdinand of Bavaria as coadjutor to the Elector Ernest. As all the attempts of Clement VIII. to induce the Emperor to intervene were in vain, the only hope of Rome lay in the coming Diet. If the latter should not apply a remedy then the Holy See rightly feared that there would be a catastrophe.¹

Clement VIII.'s choice fell upon Cardinal Madruzzo as legate to the Diet of Ratisbon, although the Duke of Bavaria, William V., and Rudolph II. as well, would rather have seen the Pope's nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini, chosen.² But the

¹ Cf. the article, packed with material, by Unkel, and making use of the Vatican Archives : Jakobe, Herzogin von Jülich, und der Jülicher Regierungstreit, in the *Annalen des Hist. Ver. für den Niederrhein*, LIV., 123 seq., 161 seq. There too may be found particulars of the subsequent development of the question. As to the murder of the Duchess (September 2-3, 1597) Unkel rightly remarks that Jacobea "was not sacrificed to the interests of the Church, but to the politics of a people that was anything but Catholic in its sentiments." It is not therefore correct when K. MÜLLER (*Kirchengesch.*, II., 2, 284) speaks of Jacobea as a victim of the "counter-reformation."

² Madruzzo had warned the Pope by means of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini of these obstacles ; see the *letter of Aldobrandini to Madruzzo, January 15, 1594, Communal Library, Trent, in App. No. 14. The Este envoy *reports on January 8, 1594,

former prince of the Church rightly seemed to the Pope to be far better fitted for the office than his nephew. Madruzzo, who had been for many years Cardinal Protector of the Empire in Rome, was far more familiar with the affairs of Germany than any other ; he was himself a German, and at the same time a prince of the Empire ; he was esteemed by the Catholic princes, as well as by the Emperor, while his ecclesiastical zeal promised the best results.

On February 6th, 1594, Clement VIII. addressed an autograph letter to the Cardinal, who was already advanced in years and frequently ill, in order to induce him to accept the difficult mission. In this he says that no one was better fitted than he to resist the attacks of the Protestants and influence the discussions, so that, even though there were no improvement in the religious position, at least it should not be changed for the worse. The Pope looked to the Cardinal's zeal for religion and his love for the Holy See to induce him to submit himself once more to the burden of such a task, for Madruzzo had previously been sent as legate at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582 : the Pope would see to the expenses. He would have liked to have also undertaken the care of his health, but God, whose interests were at stake, would do that which he was not able to do.¹

concerning the mission of Madruzzo : " Il Minutio fa quanto può per persuadere l' ill. S. Giorgio di accettar la carica di Legato alla dieta imperiale, cosa che non vuol fare a patto veruno. Sforza l' aiuta quanto può per tal effetto et Manruzzo dice di non poter ne voler questa carica." Sessa is working for the mission of Madruzzo ; January 15, 1594. The Pope has sent a courier to Madruzzo so that he may accept the legation ; January 19, 1594 : To-day at the consistory the appointment of a legate to the Diet was vainly looked for ; January 29, 1594 : Madruzzo sent a messenger to make his excuses, but he will be forced to accept ; February 2, 1594 : Madruzzo will have to accept, the Pope is writing to him in his own hand. State Archives, Modena.

¹ See the text of the hitherto unknown *letter, from the minutes in the Este Library, Modena, in App. No. 15.

Clement VIII. was exceedingly gratified¹ when Cardinal Madruzzo at once declared his readiness to accept the legation. A consistory was hastily summoned for February 14th, 1594, at which, with the general approval of the Cardinals, his appointment was made. The Pope spoke of the aim of the Protestants, not only to maintain their power, but also to extend it at the expense of the Catholics ; he touched especially upon the events at Strasbourg, Aix and Jülich-Cleves. He said that the situation demanded that there should be sent to the Diet a legate who was influential, learned, and prudent in every way, and that the Prince-Bishop of Trent united all these qualities in himself.²

In an autograph letter of February 23rd, 1594, Madruzzo assured the Pope that he would not be found wanting in zeal, in order that he might serve the Holy See with all his powers and uphold the rights of the Church at the Diet, in spite of the difficulties of the state of affairs.³ He expressed himself in similar terms in a letter of the same date addressed to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini, in which he assured him that he would employ all his skill on behalf of the Catholic cause in the three matters mentioned.⁴

¹ Cf. the *letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Cardinal Madruzzo, dated Rome, February 12, 1592, Este Library, Modena, Cod. Campori, No. 214. The Este envoy *reported on February 12, 1594, concerning the pleasure of Clement VIII. at the acceptance of the legation by Madruzzo. State Archives, Modena.

² See *Acta consist. Cod. Barb. XXXVI., 5, III., Vatican Library ; *letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Cardinal Madruzzo, February 14, 1594 (sent by special messenger), Este Library, Modena, *loc. cit.* Letter of Peranda, February 15, 1594, in LÄMMER, Melet., 435, n. 1. The *briefs of March 19, 1594, to the Emperor and the princes of Germany concerning the legation of Madruzzo in Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 132 *seqq.*, Papal Secret Archives. The brief to the Archduke Maximilian in BONELLI, III., 466. For Madruzzo's faculties as legate see SCHELHORN, *De consilio de emendanda ecclesia a Paulo III. executioni non dato*, Tiguri, 1748, 36 *seq.*

³ Cf. in App. No. 16 the *letter of Madruzzo to Clement VIII., February 23, 1594. Original in my possession.

⁴ Cf. *letter in App. No. 17. Original in my possession.

It went without saying that the nuncio at the Imperial court would also take part in the Diet. It was, however, an innovation when Clement VIII. also sent thither the nuncio at Cologne, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, and Count Girolamo Porzia, who had been given the nunciature at Graz in the summer of 1592.¹ The Protestants, who already looked upon the increase in the nunciatures from one to three with suspicion, openly expressed their displeasure at the Pope's sending so many representatives to the assembly of the princes of the Empire.²

The foresight of the Pope, who also pointed out to the Elector of Trêves the importance of the Diet,³ was amply justified, because another attempt was to be made at Ratisbon to remove the barrier which the religious peace of Augsburg had put in the way of the secularization of the principalities and ecclesiastical lordships. Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini wrote on February 19th, 1594, that the greater the difficulties were, the more necessary was the presence of the legate. The Pope, the Cardinal nephew said again on February 26th, places the greatest confidence in Madruzzo, especially for the safeguarding of the interests of the Church in Germany.⁴

Detailed instructions, sent on March 26th, 1594, again pointed out to the Cardinal legate the matters to which he was to turn his attention at the Diet, in addition to obtaining prompt help against the Turks ; these were the settlement of

¹ Cf. SCHWEIZER in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 162.

² See HABERLIN, XVIII., 128 ; STIEVE, IV., 187. From the first there had been the intention of sending the nuncio extraordinary Gazzadoro to Ratisbon ; see *Annalen des Hist. Ver. für den Niederrhein*, LIV., 162.

³ See *brief of February 11, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 101, Papal Secret Archives. In like manner on the same date to "card. Austriae," *ibid.*

⁴ Both *letters in the Este Library, Modena, *loc. cit.* In that of February 26 it is stated : " N.S. abbandona tutta la cura del negotio principale che s'ha da trattare nella dieta a Lei sola confidandosi che se debba riportare qualche avvantaggio per la religione Catholica o almeno assicurarsi d' ogni perdita."

the succession to Rudolph II., the protection of the Catholic Church in the Austrian territories as well as in the Empire, and at the same time the encouragement of reform in ecclesiastical matters.¹ Since the election of a King of the Romans was equally necessary for the welfare of the Empire and for that of the Church, Madruzzo was specially charged to urge the Diet to take steps for the succession to Rudolph, and to further these in the interests of the Holy See. If the Emperor should himself come to a decision, then the matter could be settled even without the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate, and without the Elector of Brandenburg, who probably intended to sell his vote in return for concessions in the matters of Strasbourg and Jülich-Cleves, since the three ecclesiastical Electors and Saxony would do as Rudolph wished. None of the Archdukes was put forward by name as a candidate, and only the paternal love of the Pope for the house of Austria in general was alluded to. But Madruzzo knew beyond all doubt that Clement VIII. secretly wished for the choice of the Archduke Ernest, who was both energetic and a strict Catholic, and on whose behalf Philip II. as well was sincerely interested.²

With regard to Catholic reform and restoration Madruzzo had already been urged to protect Catholic interests at Strasbourg, Aix and Jülich-Cleves. In the further instructions of March 26th, 1594, his attention was called to the archdiocese of Bremen, the administrator of which, Adolphus of Holstein, intended to marry. If this took place the Pope

¹ * "Alcuni avvertimenti mandati d'ordine di N.S.^{re} al ill. card. Madruzzo legato alla dieta di Ratisbona, Cod. 468, pp. 37a-37b, of the Corsini Library, Rome, dated March 4, 1594 (from which some passages are given in LÄMMER, Melet., 435 n.); also in Borghese, *Varia*, I., 751-52, pp. 141-159, Papal Secret Archives, and in Cod. 2920 of the Communal Library, Trent, there dated March 26, 1594. That this date is correct is clear from the *letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini to Cardinal Madruzzo of March 26, 1594, in the Este Library, Modena, with which instructions as to the various points were sent.

² See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 19 *seq.*

desired that one of the Archdukes should be given the diocese. An attempt should also be made, the instructions went on to say, to recover the dioceses of Lübeck, Verden, Halberstadt and Osnabrück, and in this way ensure the safety of Münster, Minden, Hildesheim and Paderborn.

As for those parts of the Empire which had remained loyal to the Catholic Church, Clement VIII. enjoined the propagation of Catholic reform ; especially did he desire the carrying into effect of the reform decrees of Trent in the three electorates of the Rhine, a thing which had been done with such good results at Salzburg and Liège. If the metropolitans of the Rhine would gather together their suffragans, these would certainly bear witness to the need of bringing about an improvement of ecclesiastical conditions by this means. Should the Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, make any difficulties, the legate should urge the Archbishops of Cologne and Trêves to set him a good example. Madruzzo must also urge the Archbishops of Cologne and Mayence no longer to defer receiving episcopal consecration, as this was binding on them in conscience ; Ernest of Cologne could no longer excuse himself on the score of the war.¹ Moreover the legate must oblige all the bishops of the Empire to fulfil their duty of making a canonical visitation and of reforming their dioceses, and must encourage them, by founding seminaries and educating suitable youths, to remedy the lack of priests. A similar exhortation must also be addressed to the German abbots. With regard to the needs of the territory of Fulda, whose prince-abbot, Balthasar von Dernbach, was in exile, Madruzzo was directed to obtain information from the nuncio at Cologne, and to invoke the assistance of the Emperor. With the help of the latter and of the Duke of Bavaria, the Dominican convent which had been confiscated by the

¹ Ernest had put forward this excuse in his episcopal report for 1590 ; see SCHMIDLIN, 505. Clement VIII. had already in *briefs of November 21, 1592, called upon the Electors of the Rhine to make a visitation of their dioceses. Arm. 44, t. 34, nn. 10-15, Papal Secret Archives.

magistracy of Augsburg might also be recovered. Since Madruzzo, as the instructions point out, was acquainted with the needs of Germany from his own experience, they were restricted to the points mentioned.

Restoration and Catholic reform was only the programme which the instructions laid down for the Hapsburg dominions. Since Central Austria would shortly come under the government of the young Archduke Ferdinand, the legate must enkindle his zeal for the Catholic faith. In view of the abuses which had come to light on the occasion of the visitation by the Patriarch of Aquileia, Clement VIII. wished a remedy to be applied by the establishment of Jesuit colleges in Laibach and Görz. As for the reform of that part of Central Austria which belonged to Salzburg, the archbishop of that place must make provision. The Pope, who had been kept well informed by the nuncio Speciani,¹ had for a long time past wished to see the establishment of a college of the Society of Jesus in the capital of Upper Austria, which was strongly infected by the religious innovations. The instructions did not enter into details concerning the needs of Austria proper, as the legate already knew these for himself. In the Kingdom of Bohemia, Clement VIII. looked upon the reform of the University of Prague as being especially necessary, since anti-Catholic views had developed there. Madruzzo must also see what could be done in the Lausitz, as that province was very neglected and was almost entirely in the hands of the innovators. In Moravia and Silesia things were rather better, but there too it was necessary to take great care to maintain and propagate the faith. The instructions entered in detail into the exceedingly lamentable state of affairs in Hungary, in the case of which Clement VIII. insisted principally upon the appointment of bishops to the vacant sees.²

¹ Cf. DUHR, II., 1, 327.

² The sad state of affairs in Hungary is clear from the *Discorso dello satato della religione nel regno di Ungheria, probably composed by the nuncio Speciani in 1595 for Clement VIII. (Cod. 677, p. 338 *seq.* of the Corsini Library, Rome). This states that the clergy had been deprived of their property, partly by

By the end of April, 1594, the Cardinal legate and the nuncio

the Turks and partly by the Imperial decrees ; the officials of Rudolph II. were for the most part heretics : " Così il vero culto di Dio in infiniti luoghi dell' Ungheria superiore è stato ed tutto abbandonato e particolarmente nel vescovato d' Agria presento che a pena vi sono vestigii della religione catholica. . . . Hora in somma della parte che possede l' Imperatore la minor parte sono catholici . . . de magnati, ch' è il primo ordine del regno, non vi è altro catholico che il sig. Palfi." Even though now, during the war, any radical improvement was impossible, it would nevertheless be possible " preparar la medicina per applicarla in quanto si potrà secondo l' opportunità del tempo." To this end the author suggests : 1. The appointment of a Catholic " Governatore " ; 2. L' altro rimedio più necessario è riformar il clero e operar che S.M. ritorni tutti li suoi beni acciò si possa sustentare un buon numero di preti che attendono al culto divino, e soprattutto operar che S.M. nomini l' arcivescovo di Strigonia primate di questo regno, poichè con la sua autorità grandissima in tutte le cose potria difendere li catholici, tener a freno gli heretici, riformar il clero. . . . Saria ancor necessario che S.M^{ta} conferissi il vescovato d' Agria, il quale è grandissimo e richissimo ; 3. The sending of an Apostolic Visitor and the introduction of the Capuchins and Discalced Carmelites (see this passage in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 173 *seq.*) ; 4. The erection of a large Jesuit college at Kaschau as a " seminario si sostentassero almeno cento scholari, cinquanta delli christiani soggetti all' Imperatore ed altre tanti che son sotto la tirannide del Turco " since they could not count upon the Germanicum in Rome, " perchè questa è una natione che malvolentieri esce fuor del regno." Gran had been entirely abandoned since 1593, but was again invested in 1596, as was Kalocsa, and Erlau in 1597 (see GULIK-EUBEL, III., 188, 323 *seq.*). Among the bishops there stood out especially Franz Forgacs (from 1587 at Veszprem, from 1596 at Neutra, and from 1607 at Gran) who since 1601 had had as coadjutor Peter Pázmány, who was of such great importance for Catholic restoration (*cf.* FRANKÖI, *Peter Pázmány es kora*, 3 vols. Pesth, 1868, and *Peter Pázmány*, Budapesth, 1886) ; also Johann Kuthassy (from 1592 at Raab, and from 1597-1601 at Gran) and Stefan Szuhay (from 1600 at Erlau). The work of Forgacs was recognized in a *brief of August 9, 1595, in which he is exhorted

at the Imperial court had arrived in Ratisbon for the Diet;¹ but its opening was delayed until June 2nd. Thus they had ample time to prepare the way for the carrying out of their instructions; to their disgust, however, they were soon forced to realize that the Emperor, who only arrived on May 18th, was only really interested in obtaining the consent of the Diet to assistance against the Turks, and then wished to return as quickly as possible to Prague. For this reason there were but scanty hopes of the carrying out of the extensive programme which Clement VIII. had recommended to the Cardinal legate.

From the outset the settlement of the succession to

to further labours for the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical discipline (Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 216, Papal Secret Archives), and the labours of Stefan Szubay in a brief of December 20, 1603 (see MEYER, 88). For the visits *ad limina* of the Hungarian bishops see Bull. X., 777 *seq.* As Rudolph II. liked to use the revenues of the vacant bishoprics for the expenses of the war, Clement VIII. had repeatedly to insist on their being filled; see MEYER, 59, 72 (*cf. ibid.*, 104 the instructions to Ferreri). A brief of praise to Rudolph II., April 10, 1604, for having handed over the college at Cassovia to the Jesuits, *ibid.* 194. For the Jesuits in Hungary, whom Clement VIII. supported as much as possible (*cf.* Synopsis, 164 *seq.*, 176), see Litterae annuas, *passim*, and the monograph by L. VELIKS: *Vázlatok A Magyar Jesuiták Multjából*, I. (1560-1610), Budapesth, 1912, where abundant manuscript sources are indicated. The names of the alumni of the Germanicum in *Fontes rerum Hungaric. Matricula et Acta Hung. in univ. Italiae student.*, II., 1 (Budapesth, 1917), 1 *seqq.* According to these between 1559 and 1591 there came 35 students to the German-Hungarian College in Rome, and between 1592 and 1605 32 students. *Cf.* also in general L. BALICS, *Gesch. der röm.-kath. Kirche in Ungarn*, 2 vols., Budapesth, 1885-90.

¹ From the reports of Speciani published by ZÖCHBAUER (II., 41 *seq.*) it is clear that it is incorrect that Madruzzo only reached Ratisbon on May 17. His arrival must have been earlier, as on May 8 Cardinal C. Aldobrandini *expresses to the Cardinal legate his joy at his safe arrival at Ratisbon. Este Library, Modena, Cod. Campori, n. 214.

Rudolph II. met with the greatest difficulties.¹ The Emperor, who was infected with melancholia and misanthropy, showed such a want of decision in this matter that Speciani, as well as the Spanish ambassador, San Clemente, soon came to the conclusion that nothing could be effected by human means. He therefore proposed on June 9th that the Pope, by holding back the subsidies against the Turks, should force the Emperor to fulfil his duty. Madruzzo, who had not been informed of this step, wished to proceed with greater moderation. But when the middle of June arrived without either he or the Spanish ambassador being granted the audience which they had asked for, the legate too gave way to his impatience, and he told Speciani that with Rudolph medicinal rather than diplomatic methods would have to be employed.

At the beginning of the fourth week of June Madruzzo at last obtained his audience with the Emperor. He pointed out to him all the reasons for the appointment of a successor. San Clemente did the same even more insistently, saying that many of the princes of the Empire intended to offer the crown to Henry IV. of France, a thing which could only be prevented by the immediate election of a King of the Romans. Rudolph listened courteously, both to the representative of the Pope and the ambassador of Philip II., and promised to begin negotiations with the Electors; he remarked, however, that the matter could not be arranged so quickly. Speciani too, who for his part exhorted the Emperor with all the warmth at his command, and alluded to the intention of the Protestants of bringing about the ruin of the house of Hapsburg by placing the Imperial power in other hands, was told that the matter must be settled by an electoral Diet, since now all the Electors were not present, and those who were there had not been summoned for that purpose. At the beginning of August Speciani and Madruzzo induced the ecclesiastical Electors once again to lay before the Emperor at a joint audience all the disadvantages which the want of a successor

¹ Cf. in App. No. 18 the *letter of Madruzzo, May 4, 1594, Original in my possession.

to the Empire involved. Although the Electors promised to give their votes to any candidate whom the Emperor desired, and even hinted at the favourable dispositions of the administrator of the electorate of Saxony, they were unable to obtain a definite promise. Nor was anything further said about the convocation of the promised electoral Diet.¹

An anxiety, far greater than the question of the succession to Rudolph II., was caused to the legate and the nuncios during the Diet by the efforts of the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate, Frederick IV., and of his advisers, to profit by the dangers which threatened the Empire from the dreaded attack of the Turks, in order to carry out their revolutionary projects. The audacity and want of consideration with which they acted was shown by the decision arrived at in March, 1594, at a meeting at Heilbronn, to give no further help to the Emperor against the Turks unless he first agreed to the demands of the Protestants, the very first of which was the abolition of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*.

The representatives of the Palatinate at Ratisbon acted there in accordance with this decision. In a special assembly of the Protestant States they demanded the admission of reformers into all the ecclesiastical principalities, the abrogation of the Papal excommunication—since the Pope was not the head of the Church, but the Babylonian harlot—the free exercise of their religion for Protestants living in Catholic territories, and the transformation of the tribunal of the Chancery, so that it could no longer extend its protection to the Catholics.²

¹ See ZÖCHBAUER, II., 22 *seq.* In the Appendix, *ibid.* 41 *seq.* are published the cypher reports of Speciani of April 24, May 4, 14 and 20, June 9, 16, 23 and 30, 1594. The reports of Madruzzo are only partially preserved. A cypher *report, written about June 6 (decifrato 22 Giugno) states: "Circa l'elettione del Re de Romani dovendo Don Guglielmo [de San Clemente] prima ch'io ne faccia alcun offitio presentar al Imperatore la littera del Re di Spagna che ha in detta materia, non ne posso per hora scrivere altro se ben vedo che il studio che si mette in accelerare è contrario a quanto si potria desiderare." Papal Secret Archives.

² See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 123; RITTER, II., 118 *seq.*

The power to reject these demands depended on the possession of a majority of the votes in the council of the princes. Cardinal Madruzzo had already pointed out in his letter of February 20th, 1594, to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini,¹ the great importance of this matter. In a second letter of March 2nd, 1594, Madruzzo showed how at the present time the question was even more threatening than it had been in 1582. Even at that time it had entailed much labour to induce many of the Catholic princes to resist the claim of the administrator of Magdeburg to a seat and vote at the Diet, since none of them was willing to act in opposition to a house that was so important and powerful as was that of Brandenburg. The danger of a breaking up of the Diet in 1582 had even led the Emperor to beg the legate not to raise difficulties in this matter; now, however, Brandenburg was interested, because of Halberstadt and Osnabrück, Holstein and other princely houses because of Bremen and Lübeck, and almost all the Protestant princes, because of the question of Strasbourg. It was therefore probable that the Catholic princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, would prove themselves weak and vacillating in this matter. In these circumstances Madruzzo asked for special briefs to the Emperor, the three ecclesiastical Electors, the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, the Duke of Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Salzburg, as Primate of Germany. These briefs must declare that any concession on the part of the princes in the matter of admitting the administrators to the Diet was looked upon by the Pope as directly harmful to the Church in Germany, since it would lead to the loss of the Catholic dioceses of the Empire.²

The outcome of this matter was more favourable than the legate had dared to hope. When the Protestant administrators claimed a seat and vote at the Diet, contrary to the decrees of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*,³ the Catholic princes offered

¹ Cf. in App. No. 16 the *letter of Madruzzo of February 23, 1594. Original in my possession.

² Cf. *letter of Madruzzo of March 2, 1594. Original in my possession.

³ Cf. STIEVE, IV., 201 seq., 205 seq., 207 seq., 230 seq., 237 seq.

an energetic resistance, and, strongly supported by Madruzzo,¹ they succeeded in preventing it.

In this matter, as the legate had foreseen, the disagreement among the Protestants had injured their cause ; this was even more the case when it came to defending the decisions arrived at at Heilbronn. The administrator of the electorate of Saxony, Duke Frederick William of Weimar, who was a strict Lutheran, together with his supporters, refused, in accordance with the advice of their theologians, to make common cause with the Calvinist representatives of the Elector of the Palatinate.²

It was to this turn of events that the Emperor owed the consent given to a considerable subsidy for the war against the Turks. But with this his interest in the Diet was exhausted, and he closed it on August 19th even before the Protestants were ready with their reply to that of the Catholics.

The Cardinal legate had wished the Catholics to demand satisfaction for the acts of violence they had met with, contrary to the religious peace, but he found no support in this from Duke William V. of Bavaria. The latter was of opinion that, in view of the Turkish peril, the Catholics should for the time being let questions of religion remain as they were.³ This, however, proved to be impossible, after the Elector Palatine had presented his demands to the Emperor on June 26th.

The reply of the Catholics, which was only concluded on July 30th, fell into two sections : a refutation of the Protestant accusations and a setting forth of their own grievances. The principal importance was attached to the fact that, in addition to the two confessions which were comprised in the religious peace, new sects had constantly been surreptitiously introduced, especially Calvinism. If, as the religious peace had laid it down, only the ancient Catholic faith and the confession

¹ Cf. in App. No. 19 the *letter of Madruzzo of the end of May, 1594. Original in my possession.

² See HABERLIN, XIX., xviii.

³ See STIEVE, IV., 261.

of Augsburg had been tolerated, it would have been possible to live together in harmony, since the adherents of the confession of Augsburg in 1557 and 1576 had declared themselves in favour of the maintenance of the metropolitan sees and the bishoprics of the Empire. But, owing to the spread of the Calvinists and other sects, further cockle had been sowed, so that there was no longer any thought of the religious peace, either in its letter or in a just interpretation thereof, but men now aimed solely at the destruction of the Catholic religion. The bitterness that had been aroused by this was further increased by the unrestrained insults hurled at it from the Protestant pulpits. No defence, either written or spoken, that was made by the Catholics was listened to ; on the contrary, the latter had to listen, even at the Diet, to the preachers calling the Pope Antichrist and the spawn of the devil. Then abundant documentary evidence was given to show how the Protestants claimed for their co-religionists everywhere in the Catholic principalities and cities of the Empire, rights and privileges that they themselves absolutely denied to the Catholics in their own provinces and cities, and, in defiance of the religious peace, confiscated abbeys and took possession of the dioceses of the Empire. The Emperor, therefore, was begged to apply a remedy, and to see that the two confessions recognized in the Empire were treated equally, and not to allow the introduction of new sects.¹

Thus, as far as the Catholics were concerned, they limited themselves in substance to demands for the future. They refrained from any such demand for the satisfaction for the acts of violence committed by the Protestants in defiance of the religious peace as Madruzzo and the Pope² had wished for ; they also refrained from any energetic opposition to the Protestants, by means of threats of acting in self-defence, in accordance with the suggestion of each of the Catholic states.³

¹ *Ibid.*, IV., 261, 452 *seq.*

² See *letter of C. Aldobrandini of May 7, 1594. Original in my possession.

³ See report of Contarini, Aug. 11, 1594, in STIEVE, IV., 256 n.

In the matter of the furtherance of Catholic reform as well, the Cardinal legate did not meet with that support which he had expected. Strongly worded remonstrances on his part were not lacking. If the Catholic Church in Germany, he declared in the Pope's name to the ecclesiastical Electors, did not wish to suffer further sensible losses, and wished to retain what was still left to her, a more rigorous application of ecclesiastical discipline was essential. In accordance with this Madruzzo exhorted the archbishops, bishops and prelates who were present, in weighty words, to inaugurate the work of reform. To this end Madruzzo especially urged the necessity of regularly summoning provincial councils and synods, of scrupulously carrying out the visitation of the dioceses, and particularly of publishing and enforcing the decrees of the Council of Trent. If they did not wish to suffer the loss of yet more bishoprics they must prevent the election and postulation of unsuitable and unworthy men, and see to it that everywhere the chapters complied, in the matter of age, education and manner of life, with the prescriptions of Trent. It was the duty of the metropolitans, whenever unlawful elections occurred in the churches subject to them, to interfere at once, and in case of need to appeal to the Emperor for assistance. The legate warmly recommended all the bishops to establish seminaries and to eradicate a number of abuses which had come to the knowledge of the Pope, and which he proceeded to enumerate one by one.¹

Although by no means all that Clement VIII. and his legate had hoped for had been attained at the Diet of Ratisbon, yet the Pope had every reason for satisfaction in what had been accomplished. Of great importance was the fact that the Protestants in the assembly had been divided into two parties, a thing which had ensured the exclusion of the

¹ See LÜNIG, Reichsarchiv, XXI., 264, and LÄMMER, Melet., 435 *seq.* The reply of the ecclesiastical states, given by STIEVE, IV., 282 *seq.*, from the State Archives, Vienna, in Reichstage n. 90, was not found there, either by myself or by Prof. Pogatscher.

Protestant administrators from a seat and vote at the Diet. The praise that was bestowed upon Madruzzo and the Catholic princes was well deserved.¹

The state of affairs in the dioceses of Salzburg and Bamberg proves how necessary were the exhortations to reform which the Cardinal legate had addressed to the Diet of Ratisbon.

At the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had had to address severe admonitions to the Archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, both on account of his neglect in the administration of his diocese and his disputes with Bavaria, and on account of his personal conduct.

Raitenau sought to excuse himself, by attributing the accusations made against him to personal jealousies. This might have been the case on several points, but the accusations against the immoral manner of life of the archbishop were certainly justified, as he was secretly living in concubinage with Salome Alt, the beautiful daughter of a merchant of Salzburg. From this union many sons were born, for whose future Raitenau carefully provided. The significant fact that to the archbishop's buildings were attached his coat-of-arms without the emblems of his ecclesiastical dignity was attributed to an intention of secularizing the archdiocese.² Bavaria suggested to Rome that they should proceed against the archbishop by depriving him, but such a course seemed to Clement VIII. to be too dangerous, as he knew the energy, and the violent and choleric character of Raitenau, and feared a repetition of the tragedy of Cologne.³

¹ The *brief to Madruzzo, September 2, 1594, in Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 268, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *ibid.* n. 279 the *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand, September 9, 1594; the brief to the Elector of Cologne in BONELLI, III., 453 *seq.*, and that to William V. in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 146.

² See SCHMIDLIN, *Kirchl. Zustände*, 85 *seq.*, WIDMANN, III., 161 *seq.*, 170, 187 *seq.* Cf. also F. MARTIN, *Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau, Erzbischof von Salzburg*, Vienna, 1925.

³ See STIEVE, IV., 320 *seq.* WIDMANN (III., 163) is of the opinion that if no further mention was made in Rome of the

The archdiocese of Bamberg as well had the misfortune of being given an unworthy bishop in 1599. Bishop Ernest von Mengersdorf (1583-1591) had taken the first steps towards Catholic reform at Bamberg.¹ He was succeeded in 1591 by Neidhardt von Thüngen, who, although he had been lukewarm hitherto, and had led a frivolous life, underwent a complete change when he received his new dignity. Full of zeal, he henceforward devoted himself entirely to the duties of his office. By the advice of the German Congregation, the Pope in August, 1593, pointed out to him the tasks that devolved upon him: the extirpation of the religious innovations which were widespread in the city and diocese; the reform of the greater and lesser clergy; the preservation and maintenance of the seminary established by Bishop Mengersdorf, the rector of which was an alumnus of the German College, and his duty of making a visitation and holding a synod. In spite of the opposition of the cathedral chapter, Neidhardt, who was supported and encouraged by the Pope, the nuncio and the Duke of Bavaria, worked indefatigably at the renewal of his diocese, and as Protestantism had not yet taken any deep root among the people, but had only been forcibly imposed in certain places upon the inhabitants by the aristocracy, the greater part of his subjects obeyed the archbishop when they were given their choice between conversion and expatriation. Following the example of the Jesuits, Niedhardt directed his special care to the

concubinage of Raitenau "we need feel no surprise at this in view of the lax moral principles which prevailed there"; this insinuation is quite unfounded, in view of the well-known strictness of Clement VIII., about morals. Widmann displays "principles of moral laxism" when (III., 187) he passes the following judgment on the "ties of affection" of Raitenau: "Even in this we may see a man who was sure of himself, who rose superior to foolish scruples, but who at the same time displayed great tact, and inspires us with a feeling of esteem for the way in which he remained faithful to her whom he had once chosen, and faithfully provided for his children."

¹ Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 191.

young ; he introduced the catechism and personally instructed the parish-priests in it. The reform of the clergy, and above all of the chapter, proved to be very difficult. The soul of the opposition was the dean of the cathedral, Johann Philip von Gebsattel, who was living in concubinage. At last Neidhardt lost courage to such an extent that he wished to resign, and Clement VIII. had to exhort him to remain.¹

After the death of the old bishop in 1599 the chapter elected the dean, Gebsattel. This man knew that his predecessor had obtained from Clement VIII. a brief for his deprivation, which, however, had never been carried into effect because at the last moment Gebsattel and the chapter had apparently submitted. In order that he might now obtain approbation, Gebsattel now feigned a great ecclesiastical zeal, and sent envoys with the most reassuring promises to Munich and Rome. He encountered great mistrust in both places. Clement VIII. sent the nuncio at Graz, Porzia, to Bamberg, in order to obtain information and ask for guarantees. Gebsattel showed himself ready to do anything. With Porzia he displayed the most ardent zeal for the Church, and an absolute submission to the Holy See. He again made the Tridentine profession of faith, and with his chapter promised everything that the nuncio asked : the completion of the work of Catholic restoration, the abolition of all the abuses, and the establishment of a Jesuit college in Bamberg. The greater part of these promises were never fulfilled, while the worldly bishop especially refused to hear of the Jesuits, who led such strict lives. Therefore, in the spring of 1602 Clement VIII. called upon Gebsattel to give an account of himself. When the Pope refused to be satisfied with a written reply, the vicar-general of Bamberg, Schoner, was sent to Rome. The latter pointed out how his bishop had taken energetic proceedings against the Protestants in several parts of his diocese, as well as in that part of Carinthia which was subject to his civil authority, and, quite contrary to the

¹ See STIEVE, IV., 388 *seq.*, SCHMIDLIN, 333 *seq.*, and the special literature given in JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 243 n. 5.

truth, depicted the conditions in the diocese of Bamberg in the most rosy colours. Once more they were successful in deceiving the Pope and his advisers.

As for his sacerdotal and episcopal consecration, to which Clement VIII. exhorted Gebsattel in May, 1603, as well as to a change in his scandalous manner of life, he paid very little attention to the Pope's words. It is obvious that such a pastor could never reform his clergy, but he had no intention of apostatizing and secularizing the diocese, as was often said to be the case.¹

Among the non-ecclesiastical principalities of the Empire, Bavaria again, in the time of Clement VIII. proved itself the strong supporter of the Catholic Church in Germany. An outward proof of this was to be seen in the fact that the Pope, in his letters to the Dukes of Bavaria, at the end of 1593, conferred upon them a higher title than heretofore.²

Duke William V., who had rightly been given the surname of "the Pious," jealously watched over the maintenance of the ancient faith within the boundaries of his duchy, and wherever he could spread Catholic reform among both clergy and people. The duke knew the importance of the Society of Jesus for the Catholic education of his subjects, and this prince who was so great a lover of the arts, and had built for the Jesuits in Munich, not only a magnificent college, but also the splendid church of St. Michael, continued to prove himself their generous benefactor. This "grand ecclesiastical building of the German renaissance" was able to be consecrated³ on July 6th, 1597. The legal position of the Jesuit school in the state was regulated by William by a letter of exemption in 1590; its financial position was assured by three supplementary letters of endowment, of the years 1589, 1592, and 1597. At Ingolstadt the duke

¹ See STIEVE, IV., 354 *seq.*, V., 528 *seq.*, LOOSHORN, V., 278 *seq.*, 362; SCHMIDLIN, 335 *seq.* Cf. also the articles on Gebsattel in *Diözesan-Archiv für Schwaben*, IV. (1887), 526 *seq.*

² See STIEVE, IV., 545.

³ See GMELIN, *Die St. Michaelskirche zu München* (Bayr. Bibl., Vol. 16). DUHR, I., 526 *seq.*

made over the faculty of arts to the Jesuits in 1588, and assigned to their college there the abandoned abbey of Biburg.

In like manner the college at Munich received from him the half-deserted Benedictine abbey of Ebersberg. Clement VIII. approved this incorporation by special bulls, though the Holy See had at first hesitated, out of consideration for the ancient Orders. A third house of the Society of Jesus was founded by William V. at the celebrated and ancient sanctuary of Altötting in Upper Bavaria. The pilgrimages to this place of miracles increased in such a way that often the church was unable to contain the pilgrims, so that in 1598 it became necessary to erect a pulpit in the open air. Even people of heretical opinions went to Altötting, where in 1600 no less than sixty-two conversions took place. At the same time many were converted during the missions in the neighbouring districts; for example, in the year mentioned 1700 persons in the territory of a monastery, where a Jesuit had been labouring for four months.¹ Yet the number of conversions effected by the Jesuits at that time was not actually so great as is generally supposed. On account of the great labours that were called for by the spiritual care of the Catholics, both strength and time were lacking for winning back the Protestants in any large numbers to the catechism.² Not a few conversions took place among

¹ See DUHR, I., 62, 186, 376 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*, 399 *seq.*, RIEZLER, VI., 263 *seq.*

² Cf. DUHR, I., 485, II., 2, 66 *seq.* RÄSS (III., 296, 395, 453, IV., 89), mentions several important converts of the time of Clement VIII.; others are mentioned in the briefs of Clement VIII. (see *briefs to Dietrichstein, May 12, 1600, the Bishops of Spire and Worms, November 19, 1601, Rudolph II., February 23, 1602, and Canon Leuchtius of Frankfort, March 13, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 138; t. 45, n. 395-96; t. 46, n. 62; t. 56, p. 157b, Papal Secret Archives. An attempt by Pistorius, the administrator of the diocese of Minden, to win back Duke Christian of Lüneberg to the Church, failed at the last moment (cf. STIEVE, IV., 378, v. 586; *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Westfalens*, LV., 194 *seqq.*, and the *brief to the Duke of Brunswick, January

those who learned in the Catholic schools the true doctrines of the Church,¹ which had hitherto only been brought before them in a distorted form. The eloquent Klesl and above all Johann Pistorius, brought back many, especially of the Austrian aristocracy, to Catholicism, by their writings and sermons.²

Duke William V. also made every effort to support the work of Catholic restoration and reform in the Empire, although he was not always in a position, on account of his unfavourable financial circumstances, to comply with all the requests that were made to him. Thus, in spite of the exhortations of Clement VIII., he refused to allow himself to be induced³ to interfere in the matter of the bishopric of Strasbourg.

23, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, n. 16, Papal Secret Archives). In spite of this failure, Pistorius still continued to entertain exaggerated hopes of conversions in large numbers (see MEYER, 169). For plans for making conversions, even in the case of princes, see also the *Relatione* in RANKE, III., 97*. For the delusive hopes of the conversion of some of the princes of the Empire, especially the Duke of Wurtemberg, see STIEVE, V., 122, 307, 575. Only the conversion of the hereditary Prince of Neuburg, Wolfgang Wilhelm, which was already hoped for in 1600 (see *ibid.* 590) actually took place later on. A number of German converts are mentioned in the memorial of an apostate from the Church in 1604, which however contains much that is supposititious and exaggerates enormously (published in *Neues Lausitz. Magazin*, XLI., 163 *seqq.*); the author was probably the adventurer Brocardo Baronio (see JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 282).

¹ Examples from Brandenburg in STEINHUBER, I., 482.

² See MEYER, 169, 341, 401.

³ On account of the expense of a permanent sojourn in Rome, which he could not bear, he had at first refused the offer of the Pope to nominate a Bavarian prince as Cardinal. The young Prince Philip who was nevertheless admitted to the Sacred College on December 15, 1596, and who received the purple on February 2, 1597, in the church of St. Michael at Munich, died on May 18, 1598, in his episcopal city of Ratisbon, where he had worked zealously for Catholic reform.

On several occasions William incurred the blame of Clement VIII. on account of his excessive eagerness to obtain bishoprics and abbacies for his sons, though the duke, in these frequent requests of his, was not aiming solely at the advantage of his family, but also at the spreading of the Catholic restoration, so that the Pope repeatedly abrogated¹ the ecclesiastical ordinances which forbade the accumulation of benefices, on the strict observance of which he was as a rule so insistent. William V., for his part, also laboured on behalf of Catholic restoration in provinces where he had no inducement of personal advantage. At Eichstätt and Augsburg he tried to obtain the election of truly Catholic bishops, while he also promoted the Catholic cause at Freising, Bamberg, Würzburg and Jülich.²

William's intervention in Styria was of great importance for Catholicism. His cousin, the Archduke Charles, who found himself in a by no means easy position there against the Protestants, sent his twelve year old son Ferdinand to Ingolstadt in January, 1590, to be educated in purely Catholic surroundings, under the care of the Jesuits, first at their college and afterwards at the university.³ From the autumn of 1587 to the spring of 1591, Ferdinand's cousin, Duke Maximilian, was also at the University of Ingolstadt.

In the spring of 1593 the hereditary prince of Bavaria undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, where his younger brothers, Philip and Ferdinand, who were intended for an ecclesiastical career, had passed the winter.⁴ While he was still on his

¹ See STIEVE, IV., 270 *seq.*, 279, 308, 374 *seq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 655 *seq.* For Cardinal Philip of Wittelsbach see *Hist. polit. Bl.*, CXXIV., 143 *seq.*

² See STIEVE, IV., 35 *seq.*, 385.

³ See HURTER, II., 231 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. STIEVE, IV., 125 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I., 300 *seq.*; DUHR, *Jesuiten an Fürstenhöfen*, 144; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXIV., 167, XXVIII., 135* *seq.* The **Diarium P. Alaleonis* states on December 11, 1592: "Papa dedit audientiam publicam duobus filiis ducis Bavariae, Philippo electo Ratisbon., et Ferdinando praeposito Argentin.; Philippus habuit elegantem orationem, Ferdinandus breviorē." Cod. Barb. 2815, Vatican Library.

way Maximilian was presented with the hat and sword, blessed by the Pope on Christmas night. On his arrival in Rome he was received with great honours. The Pope assigned him a lodging in his own palace, and although he was suffering severely from gout, often received the young prince in audience. Thus Maximilian was able to discuss in detail the affairs of Germany, as well as those of his father. His piety, his intelligence and his gravity made a most favourable impression upon Clement VIII. He obtained a gracious brief in the matter of the provostship of Berchtesgaden, though the Pope thought it well to refuse the request for further tithes, as being against his principles. On April 25th, 1593, Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini gave a banquet at the Castle of St. Angelo in honour of the Bavarian prince. With prudent foresight Maximilian also took pains to win the favour of the Pope's Cardinal nephew, Cinzio Aldobrandini. The Pope, who knew well the importance of the house of Bavaria to the Church in Germany, shrewdly turned his thoughts to the future, and exhorted Maximilian, in a private conversation, to marry no one but a Catholic. He would also gladly have seen the other two princes, of whom he was so fond, remain longer in Rome, but William V., in his anxious care for the formation of the character of his sons, and for the purity of their morals, scrupled at leaving them too long in the cosmopolitan city on the Tiber. Therefore Maximilian, who probably became acquainted with Torquato Tasso at the house of Cinzio Aldobrandini, prepared to return with his brothers to Bavaria on May 11th, 1593. At his farewell audience the Pope gave him some precious relics, and in a brief which he addressed to Maximilian on December 11th, 1593, recalled in warm terms of praise the piety which he had shown in Rome, and his affection for the Holy See, exhorting him to remember the hopes which the Church placed in him.¹

¹For the journey of Maximilian to Rome see ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 381 *seq.*, STIEVE, IV., 131 *seq.*, and *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, I., 479; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XXVIII., 133* *seq.* Cf. also **Diarium P. Alaleonis*, April 10, 1593: "Venit dux

The set-back to reform and Catholic restoration at Salzburg and Bamberg were only isolated cases; on the whole the close of the century showed important progress on the part of the Catholics in Germany. For a long time the reason for this was attributed to the fact that the disagreements between the Lutherans and Calvinists were steadily on the increase. This weakening of the Protestants had undoubtedly helped the Catholics a great deal, especially in 1598, during the Diet of Ratisbon, at which the demand for a seat and vote on the part of the Protestant administrators of the dioceses was rejected.¹ Nevertheless the true cause of the renewed vigour and spread of the reform and Catholic restoration was more deep-seated than that, and was the result now being gradually attained of the labours of Gregory XIII., who had been so zealous on behalf of Germany.

A new era had opened when the highest offices, both in Church and State, began to be filled by that new generation which, principally in the schools of the Jesuits, had received a strictly Catholic education and solid instruction, and with it clear principles and a strength of character which enabled them to comply with the tasks of the changed times, and to maintain the inevitable struggle against their adversaries. Clear-sighted observers already realized the reasons for the change. The nuncio at the Imperial court, Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, in a report which he sent to the successor of Clement VIII., on the state of affairs in Germany,

Maximilianus, primogenitus ducis Bavariae, receptus a Papa et hospitatus in Palatio." There follow details of ceremonial. April 25: "Petrus Aldobrandinus, nepos Papae, fecit convivium Maximiliano et fratribus in Arce" (Cod. Barb. 2815, p. 294b, 302b; Vatican Library). The relics were the "corpi di S. Saturnino et S. Eufemia dalle grotte di S. Sebastiano" (*Avviso of May 12, 1593, Urb. 1061, Vatican Library). The brief to Maximilian of December 11, 1593, is in the Court Archives, Munich, publ. in German by SÖLTL in the *Äüg. Kirchensitzung*, 1868, No. 37.

¹ Cf. STIEVE, V., 372 seq., 430 seq.; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 140 seq., 509 seq.

attributed the successes which had so far been obtained principally to the activity of the ecclesiastical institutions which had been established at the expense of the Apostolic Camera by Gregory XIII., and maintained by Clement VIII., as well as to the numerous schools of the Jesuits, which were also attended by pupils of another faith.¹

Careful research has shown that in the renewal of the Church in Germany, an important part was played by the students of the German College, which had been established at such great sacrifice by the Holy See, and maintained by Clement VIII.²

The traditional wisdom of the Holy See quickly realized that radical and permanent success in the matter of Catholic reform in Germany could only be attained if the ignorant and immoral canons, from whose ranks the bishops were chosen, could be replaced by new men, who were both pious and ecclesiastical in their outlook. It was therefore decided, in making admissions to the German College, to give the preference to the nobles. Even though not all those who had been trained there had fulfilled the hopes that had been placed in them, the majority had nevertheless contributed with the greatest success to the Catholic regeneration of Germany, and there was hardly a diocese where the beneficial influence of the alumni of the Germanicum had not made itself felt. Thanks to them, at Spires, Paderborn, Breslau, Olmütz and Ratisbon, a new spirit had made its way into the cathedral chapters, which even the enemies of the Church could not forbear to praise. Trêves, Erfurt, Olmütz, Constance, Würzburg, Passau, Gurk and Brixen had obtained excellent suffragans from the German College, and Passau

¹ See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 340 *seq.*

² Cf. STEINHUBER, I., 197 *seq.*, 199 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*, 401 *seq.*, JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 210 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 309 *seq.*; JUNGnitz, *Die Breslauer Germaniker*, Breslau, 1906. The information given by Steinhuber is based principally upon the plentiful material, made accessible by him, in the Archives of the Germanicum in Rome (now in Vatican Library) and of which I made use as early as 1879.

and Raitsbon good and capable administrators of the diocese.¹ The position of the Catholics at Breslau had improved when a student of the Germanicum, Andreas Jerin, had obtained that episcopal see, which, unfortunately, he only held until 1595. His third successor, Johann Sitsch (1600-1608), proved himself the vigilant and energetic representative of the ancient Church. In his diocese he effectively resisted both Protestantism and the decay in discipline among the Catholic clergy.² At Olmütz, as well as at Augsburg and Mayence, the victory of Catholic restoration was due to the fact that alumni of the Germanicum were in charge of those dioceses. Another student of that college, Georg Stobäus, Bishop of Lavant, had been able to contribute in a decisive way to the restoration of the Catholic Church in Central Austria. The Archduke Ferdinand, who was carrying on the work of Catholic restoration there, had been educated by the Jesuits at Ingolstadt, and had learned from them, like Maximilian of Bavaria, his entirely Catholic sentiments.

The will of the Archduke Charles, who died in July, 1590, who introduced the principle of primogeniture into Central Austria, declared that any of his sons who apostatized from the Catholic faith was excluded from the succession, and entrusted, not only to the Emperor and the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, but also to his wife Maria, a woman of strong character, and her brother, Duke William of Bavaria, the guardianship of his younger sons. In so doing Charles was guided by his desire to ensure an entirely Catholic education for his son Ferdinand, and to prevent the Emperor from making further concessions to the Protestants during his minority, on the score of the Turkish peril.³ Although William was seriously hampered, in fulfilling his guardianship, by the opposition of the Protestant states of Styria, and the jealous suspicions of the Hapsburg monarch, he nevertheless succeeded

¹ See STEINHUBER, I., 203.

² Cf. SCHMIDLIN, *Die Restaurationstätigkeit der Breslauer Fürstbischöfe* (privately printed, Rome), 1907, 12 *seq.*, 16 *seq.*

³ See HURTER, II., 522 *seq.*, STIEVE, IV., 96.

in attaining his principal purpose : the education of Ferdinand in accordance with strict Catholic principles. Supported by the Archduchess Maria and the Pope, he managed to keep Ferdinand at Ingolstadt until 1595. The young prince, who continued to remain in close touch with his mother, who was both pious and filled with an affectionate care for him, zealously devoted himself to his studies under his excellent masters, while at the same time he deepened and developed the religious principles which his parents had planted in him.¹

It was an extraordinary coincidence, and of great importance for the future course of events, that towards the end of the century, and almost at the same moment, both these princes, who were so distinguished for their piety, their strength of character and the purity of their morals, should have succeeded to the government of their countries. At the beginning of 1595 Maximilian was associated with his father William in the government, and after the abdication of the latter assumed the complete sovereignty of Bavaria. Already on December 11th, 1597, Clement VIII. had exhorted him to carry on the government in the spirit of his father, especially in the matter of maintaining the Catholic religion.² The Archduke Ferdinand had returned to Graz in March, 1595 ; at the end of the following year, when he had completed his eighteenth year, he assumed the government of the territories of Central Austria.

From the beginning of his pontificate Clement VIII. had watched with anxiety the development of religious questions in Central Austria, and in view of the advance of Protestantism had not contented himself with exhorting to vigilance those who were charged with the guardianship of the young Ferdinand after the death of the Archduke Charles.³ Acting

¹ See HURTER, III., 201 *seq.* ; STIEVE, IV., 112 ; RIEZLER, IV., 665 ; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, Supp. 14.

² Original of the *brief in the Court Archives, Munich. Translated in *Allg. (Darmstädter) Kirchenzeitung*, 1868, n. 37.

³ In a *brief of May 2, 1592, he exhorted the Archduchess Maria to resist the schemes of the heretics (*Arm.* 44, t. 37, n. 282,

on the sound principle that measures of defence could only produce external results, the Pope at the same time laboured to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, and thus remove the source of apostasies. He had seen with his own eyes, when he was returning from his legation in Poland in 1588,¹ how necessary reform was among the clergy of Central Austria.

Therefore the instructions given in April, 1592, to Count Girolamo Porzia, when he was appointed nuncio at Graz, attached the first importance to the reform of the clergy, to whose corruption friends and foes alike attributed the growth and spread of the religious innovations. Only after the carrying out of the more urgent ecclesiastical reforms, could the work of Catholic restoration be begun, a matter in which the nuncio must prudently remain in the background. Following the example of Bavaria, the principal offices should be filled by Catholics, and then use could be made of the right to reform granted by the religious peace of Augsburg to the princes of the Empire. The Protestant princes had successfully made use of these weapons in their own territories, while among the Catholics this had been done, not only by Bavaria, but also by Trêves and Würzburg. The same course should be adopted in Central Austria, but with caution, prudence and moderation. In the matter of ecclesiastical reform too, it would be well to act with a like consideration, while in view of the scarcity of priests it would even be well to tolerate concubinists, until such time as fit persons were available to take their place. The nuncio must encourage the establishment of seminaries, and especially of Jesuit schools, for the training of a moral clergy. He must

Papal Secret Archives). On June 13, 1592, letters were sent to the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Gurk, exhorting them to defend the Catholic religion (see SCHWEIZER, III., 555). On August 27, 1594, the Archduchess Maria and the Bishops of Gurk and Lavant were exhorted to resist the religious innovations in Styria (Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 252-254, *loc. cit.*). Cf. also STIEVE, IV., 120.

¹ Cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, pp. 169 *seqq.*

also examine the question of forming new dioceses in Carinthia and Gorizia. But his immediate task was to see that a general canonical visitation was made, in which, though with due caution, the civil powers should also take a part. The carrying out of this, however, was the duty of the bishops. Among the latter the Pope knew that Martin Brenner of Seckau, Christopher Spaur of Gurk, Georg Stobäus of Lavant, Johann Tautscher of Laibach and Johann von Wagenring of Trieste were pious, learned and zealous men. Of the above-named, the Bishop of Gurk, who was distinguished for his zeal for reform and his accurate knowledge of the state of affairs was the one who would be able to give the most help.¹

At the end of 1592 Clement VIII. appointed Christopher Spaur as visitor and Papal commissary for Styria and Carinthia, in so far as these territories belonged to the diocese of Salzburg, and furnished him with wide faculties.² The Archduke Ernest, who was appointed by the Emperor to act as provincial regent of Central Austria, was invited by Clement VIII., at the end of 1592, to support Spaur in his work as visitor.³ But the latter was not able to complete⁴ the visitation which he had begun, on account of the opposition which he met with from the unreasonable jealousy of the

¹ See "Instruzione per procurare di ristabilire la religione catholica nelle provincie di Stiria, Carinzia e Carniola" which was published, from the copy in Borghese, Varia, I., 758, p. 208, *seq.* Vatican Library, by SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, Supp. I. *seq.* For the reports of Porzia, only partially preserved, see STARZER in the periodical *Carinthia*, LXXXIII. (Klagenfurt, 1893), 136 n.

² See STARZER, *loc. cit.*, 142 *seq.* The *letter mentioned there, from Christopher von Spaur to Card. C. Aldobrandini is not of September 16, but of September 26, 1592 (Borghese, III., 68b, p. 114, Papal Secret Archives). The wide faculties of Spaur escaped the notice of Mergentheim in his work *Die Quinquenalfakultaten*.

³ *Brief of December 7, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 143, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. MORELLI, *Istoria*, I., 258 *seq.*

⁴ See STARZER, *loc. cit.*, 146 *seq.*

Archbishop of Salzburg, Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau. The latter then caused the visitation to be continued by his archpriests, which was done with very small results.¹

In 1593 the Pope charged Francesco Barbaro, the coadjutor and soon afterwards the successor of the aged Patriarch of Aquileia, Grimani, to carry out the canonical visitation in the provinces to the south of the Drave, a visitation that had not been made there for over a hundred years. Barbaro set himself to the task entrusted to him with great zeal. How difficult it was is clear from his report to the Pope, which revealed a truly horrible state of affairs. Almost everywhere Barbaro found both the secular and regular clergy steeped in immorality and ignorance, while apostacy from the Church had made alarming progress. In southern Styria half the population of the cities had been lost to the Church, while in Carinthia and Carnia the greater part had been lost; in Carinthia, moreover, the majority of the peasantry had apostatized, whereas in the other two provinces these had remained Catholic almost by a miracle. The aristocracy, with a few exceptions, had adopted the new doctrines; only in Styria was there still a considerable Catholic minority.²

A great obstacle to the carrying out of the reforms ordered by Barbaro lay in the fact that it was necessary to defer the holding of a provincial synod on account of the advance of the Turks. This synod, in which the Pope interested himself greatly, was to be held at San Daniele in 1596. On account of the mistrust of the Patriarch of the Aquileia that

¹ See ARCHIV DES HIST. VER. F. KÄRNTEN, Annata II. and III.

² See *Relazione della visita apost. in Carniola, Stiria e Carinzia fatta da Franc. Barbaro, patriarca elletto d'Aquileia, l'a. 1593 e presentata a P. Clemente VIII. ed. V. IOPPI, Udine, 1862* (rare pamphlet). Cf. besides this the information given by Barbaro in his *reports for 1598 in SCHMIDLIN, 6 *seq.*, 11 *seq.* The report published by Joppi is dated June 29, 1594. Barbaro only treats in general of the visitation in Gorizia, which produced good results. He went first to Laibach, visited Upper and Lower Carniola, then Styria and lastly Carinthia. He took ten months over the visitation.

was prevalent in Graz, men saw in this a fresh attempt to place the administration of the diocese in the hands of the Venetian province. The disputes which sprang up on this subject with the Archduke Ferdinand, who had in the meantime assumed the reins of government, were only settled after three years, by a decision that the synod for the Italian speaking parts of the diocese should be held at Udine, and that for the Austrian districts in Gorizia.¹

Simultaneously with the efforts to improve religious conditions in Central Austria, in which the Papal nuncio Porzia shared from 1595 onwards,² the Catholics also tried to eject Protestantism. The soul of this attempt was the widowed Archduchess Maria, with her brother the Duke of Bavaria. As early as 1594 Maria declared that the state of the country could not be improved until the whole nest of preachers at Graz was exterminated.³ Her representations to the young Archduke Ferdinand became more and more urgent as the abuses tolerated by the Protestant states became greater, and the insults of the preachers more gross; among the latter Fischer at Graz with his adherents called the Pope a ferocious dog, and the worship of the Saints a cursed idolatry.⁴

¹ Cf. HURTER, II., 175 *seq.*, 181. The briefs of Clement VIII. as to this dated January 15, 1594, January 28, 1595, July 13 and August 17, 1596, in *Steiermark Gesch. Bl.*, I. (1880), 77 *seq.* A *brief of praise to the Patriarch of Aquileia for having made the visitation, and an exhortation to hold a provincial synod, dated December 2, 1595, in Arm. 44, t. 40, p. 337, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 42, n. 71, and t. 43, n. 342, the *briefs of praise for having held the provincial synod, February 28, 1598, and August 14, 1599. The *briefs of Clement VIII. to Ferdinand of June 15, 1601, and May 9, 1603, *loc. cit.* t. 45, n. 227; t. 47, n. 119, relate to subsequent questions as to the jurisdiction of Aquileia.

² See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 652 *seq.*

³ Cf. LOSERTH, I., xxiv. *seq.* For the theoretical considerations which are there spoken of and the "Deliberatio" thereon is printed in LOSERTH, n. 208, see also HURTER, III., 255 *seq.*; SCHUSTER, 349 *seq.*

⁴ See HURTER, III., 173 *seq.*, 522 *seq.*

Fischer was them temporarily forbidden to preach. On the other hand the government intervened several times on behalf of the Catholics, but for the most part its procedure was so wanting in consistency that the Catholic position became visibly worse.¹ If when Ferdinand assumed the reins of government a complete change took place, this was in part due to the sentiments and character of the youthful sovereign, and in part to the conduct of his Protestant subjects.

All concessions to the Protestants were in themselves impossible to a prince who, during his sojourn at Ingolstadt, had declared to his uncle : " I would rather leave my country, and go away with nothing but my shirt, than consent to concessions which could injure religion."² In accordance with this sentiment Ferdinand at once gave the Papal nuncio the fullest assurances ; in December, 1596, on the occasion of the paying of homage by the states, he refused point blank to give any confirmation of the religious guarantees which had been given by his father to the Protestants.³

Ferdinand was spurred on to act decisively in the religious controversy, as we are told by a witness beyond suspicion, the celebrated Protestant astronomer, Johann Kepler,⁴ then living at Graz, by the arrogance and abuses of the Protestants, who, relying on their majority, refused all rights to the Catholics—at Klagenfurt and Villach they had taken away from them all their churches—and openly challenged their sovereign. Thus the preacher Föchtmann, in one

¹ See HUBER, IV., 337 ; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 316 *seq.* The vicar-capitular of Bamberg, Joh. Georg von Stadion, worked with energy for Catholic restoration in Carintia. He therefore was sent a brief by Clement VIII., on November 26, 1594 ; see LOSERTH, I., 117 *seq.*

² See HURTER, III., 242. On December 28, 1596, Clement VIII. *congratulated the Archduke on having assumed the government (Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 453, Papal Secret Archives) and on February 7 on the homage paid by Styria (*ibid.* t. 41, n. 59).

³ See HURTER, III., 378 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. SCHUSTER, 344 *seq.*

sermon alone, called the Pope Antichrist sixteen times, and described, in unmistakable allusion to the reigning prince, all the adherents of the Pope as children of perdition, lost for all eternity, cursed and damned.¹

After mature reflection the Archduke Ferdinand came to the determination to employ in his territories the rights of reform granted to the princes of the Empire by the religious peace of Augsburg. When he was advised, in view of the Turkish peril, to defer putting his resolve into execution until a more favourable moment, he replied: "Am I to exercise forbearance until my reputation has entirely gone, and the Catholic religion expelled from my dominions?"² It seemed to him to be a duty binding on his conscience to prevent this. In order to implore the help of God in the difficult task of restoring unity of faith, on April 28th, 1598, the Archduke Ferdinand set out on a pilgrimage to Loreto and Rome. On his way he visited the shrine of St. Anthony at Padua, and on his way back those of St. Catherine at Siena and St. Dominic at Bologna. Clement VIII. was at that time at Ferrara, where Ferdinand paid him homage. In bidding him farewell the Pope said to Ferdinand that he promised to become the first prince in the world: to which he replied: "Holy Father, I have no such ambition for myself; my one desire is to be able to serve always your Holiness and the Holy See." In consideration of this devotion of Ferdinand for Rome, and his fixed intention of energetically opposing the Protestants in Central Austria, the Pope assigned the coadjutorship of the diocese of Passau to the Archduke Leopold, to the great annoyance of Bavaria.³

Soon after his return from Italy, Ferdinand set to work to put into practice in his own territories the principle that had for a long time past rigorously enforced in the Protestant

¹ Cf. *ibid.* LOSERTH too (Akten, I., xxiii.) is obliged to admit that the insulting sermons of the preachers embittered the government at Graz.

² See HURTER, IV., 35.

³ Cf. HURTER, III., 411 *seq.*, 579 *seq.*, STIEVE, X., 307 *seq.*, *Mitteil, des Hist. Ver. f. Steiermark*, XLVII., 3 *seqq.*

provinces : " cuius regio, eius religio." The first step towards this had already been taken by him when, before the homage of the States, he had refused to make any promise contrary to this principle. In spite of that the homage was nevertheless paid. As the Archduke Charles had only made his concessions as a personal affair, Ferdinand was not bound by any consideration for others ; he therefore had the full right, given to him by the religious peace of Augsburg, to decide upon the religion of his subjects. The method of procedure had already been decided upon in detail.¹ The Bishop of Lavant, Georg Stobäus, an energetic Prussian from Braunschweig, and a former student at the German College, who had in 1597 been appointed by Ferdinand, with the Pope's consent, as Governor of Central Austria,² played an important part in carrying out this plan. In a memorial which he presented in August, 1598, at the request of the Archduke, Stobäus had pronounced strongly against deferring action, as urged by faint-hearted " politicians," in view of the power of the Protestant aristocracy, and the dangers threatening on the part of the Turks. The matter must be begun, he said, without human respect, but must be carried out with prudence. Neither force of arms nor religious discourses would be of any use, but only the intervention of the authority of the sovereign. With the help of this three steps must be taken : above all the administration of the provinces and cities must be entrusted to none but Catholics ; secondly, no one must be admitted among the members of the Diet who was not a Catholic ; and lastly an order must be issued for everyone to profess himself on the side of the Catholic Church in writing, or seek for another country. If at the same time provision

¹ Cf. especially the " Discursus " of December, 1594, by Georg Mayr, and the " Deliberatio de modo quo religio catholica a Ferdinando archiduc sec. restitui possit " of the beginning of March, 1595, in LOSERTH, *Akten*, I., 129 seq., 140 seq. Loserth considers Stobäus to be the author of this work, which was used by HURTER, III., 256 seq.

² See STOBÆI epist., 2 seq., STEPISCHNEK in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 84, 90.

were made for the financial betterment of the country, subjects would readily submit ; it must be understood that it would not be possible to proceed at the same time against the aristocracy, the citizens, the peasants and the preachers, but a beginning must be made with the latter, the "alarmists," and above all with those at Graz. If the latter, who were all-powerful, were removed, the citizens and peasants would return of their own accord.¹

The carrying into effect of these counsels was done with equal firmness and certainty of success. When the repeated complaints of the parish-priest of Graz, Lorenz Sonnabenter, formerly chaplain to Ferdinand at Ingolstadt, of the usurpation of his parochial rights by the Protestant preachers, had remained without effect, the Archduke interfered himself. On September 13th, 1598, "as Catholic Archduke of Austria, as head and supreme lord of the parish of Graz, and as supreme head of all the bishoprics and ecclesiastical abbacies of his hereditary territories, and in virtue of the religious peace of Augsburg established and observed throughout the Empire," he ordered the preachers to leave, within fourteen days, the capital Graz and the other cities, and the villages and hamlets of the hereditary principality. In reply to the remonstrances made against this order, on September 23rd a decree was issued that the pastors and Protestant teachers must leave the hereditary territories within eight days. When this enactment too remained without effect, there followed on September 28th a third ordinance to the effect that the preachers must depart on that very day, "before the setting of the sun" from Graz, within eight days from Judenburg, and from Laibach in October. Further decrees followed :

¹ See HANSIZ, *Germania sacra*, II., 713 ; HURTER, IV., 44 *seq.* Cf. LOSERTII, *Akten*, I., 1 *seq.* The introduction of the Inquisition suggested by Porzia, was discouraged by Stobäus, because that institution would not be on the spot, and because a sect must be unmasked wherever it secretly insinuated itself ; in the Italian districts of Central Austria the Inquisition might prove useful, but in other places it would be harmful ; see STOBÆI *epist.*, 25.

of special importance was the enactment that the lords of fiefs with an ecclesiastical benefice must within two months present Catholic priests to the bishops; when that period had elapsed the rights of the sovereign would supervene.¹ The protests which the aristocracy of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola made against this procedure of the Archduke did not make him waver. He rejected them firmly and in detail in his principal and celebrated edict of April 30th, which was issued on June 21st, 1599. In this Ferdinand justified his action by pointing to the reiterated mischievous and scandalous discourses of the preachers and Lutheran teachers, which had "to his shame and great dishonour" permitted for years in the capital, Graz, and in other cities and townships of the hereditary states. This main edict refuted at a single blow the appeal made by the Protestants to the religious peace of Augsburg, making it clear that this pact had been made only among the Electors, princes and provinces which were directly incorporated in the Empire, and therefore did not refer to the relations between the prince and his subjects. With equal certainty, any appeal to the concessions made by the Archduke Charles was refuted by pointing out the latter had absolutely refused to bind his heirs. The Archduke also clearly pointed out how far the Protestant nobles had overstepped the limits set by his father, in having forced the inhabitants of the cities and townships to assist at their religious practices, and their baptisms and marriages, by introducing preachers into the cities and their immediate neighbourhood, and in setting no bounds to the insults of these men against the Catholics; further they had allowed various acts of violence against his Catholic subjects, especially in forcing them to assist at Protestant sermons, to do servile work on Sundays and festivals, to eat meat on days of abstinence, and in preventing the appointment of Catholic parish priests. His Highness the Prince, so the edict concluded, intended to adhere to this decision "until his death."²

¹ See HURTER, IV., 48 *seq.*; SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 371 *seq.*; LOSERTH, Akten, I., 309 *seq.*, 324, 344 *seq.*

² See HURTER, IV., 496 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 344 *seq.*; LOSERTH, II., 559 *seq.*

While the Protestants were still discussing their reply to this definite declaration,¹ Ferdinand acted with a resolution and severity against which all opposition seemed vain. The Protestant collegiate church at Graz was closed on October 14th, 1599. On the same day was begun the work of the so-called Commissions of religious reform, at the head of which the celebrated Bishop of Seckau, Martin Brenner, was placed in December. The Commissions were ordered to drive out the preachers from the cities and townships, to destroy the Protestant oratories or take possession of them on behalf of the Catholics, to burn all Lutheran books, to instal Catholic priests, and to bring back the citizens and peasants to Catholicism, first of all by means of instruction, and if that was not sufficient, by threats of expulsion. The nobles were for the moment allowed to retain their Protestant confession, but as the patent of November 12th ordered the exile of all the preachers who still remained in the country, they as well were obliged to send theirs away. Throughout Styria, as well as in Carinthia and Carniola, there was a repetition of the scenes which had occurred so often since the outbreak of the religious schism in those Catholic territories whose princes had become Protestants; those who refused to accept the religion of the sovereign within a definite period had to sell their property and go into exile, after having paid the emigration tax ordered and fixed by the laws.²

As the Commissions were armed with a military escort to

¹ The reply only arrived on February 24, 1600; in this the States appealed to the pacification and to the fact that the confession of Augsburg was not heretical! See the text in LOSERTH, *Akten*, II., 721 *seq.*

² See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 266 *seq.*, and the special literature cited there, to which may now be added: *Briefe und Akten* (2 vols), published by LOSERTH, Vienna, 1906 and 1907 (*Fontes rer. Austr.*, Vol. 58 and 60). For a criticism of this publication cf. SCHMIDLIN in *Hist-polit. Bl.*, CXLIII., 387 *seq.* For the sending of a commissary of the Roman Inquisition for the destruction of heretical books in Styria, Carnia and Carinthia see BAUMGARTEN, *Neue Kunde*, 237.

protect them, they met with no serious resistance. Nowhere was there any bloodshed as in England or Holland during similar action against the Catholics, though acts of violence occurred in many places, which may partly be explained by the fact that the Protestants had first destroyed the priests' houses and Catholic churches. Thus like was rendered for like, "to the sorrow of good Catholics" as a contemporary document states, "who out of Christian charity did not wish to be vindictive."¹

In Styria the reform commissions quickly and easily attained to their immediate object, and the number of those who openly remained loyal to the Protestant religion and resolved to emigrate, was extraordinarily small, in so far as the very incomplete information at our disposal enables us to form an estimate.² There were greater difficulties in Carniola, and the greatest of all in Carinthia. In the latter the Bishop of Seckau was at the head of the commission, and in the former, the Bishop of Laibach, Thomas Chroën, an ardent convert; measures of violence had always to be preceded by peaceful instruction, and only when the latter were ineffectual could measures of coercion be employed.³ Generally speaking the proceedings in Austria were far milder than in the territories of the Empire, and in many places the carrying out of the severe decrees was not in accordance with the rigour of the ordinances. Thus Protestantism still remained a power for a long time to come. In the dominions of Ferdinand its adherents in all classes of the population openly declared themselves as such, and not as crypto-Protestants.⁴

¹ See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 268.

² Cf. HUBER, IV., 348.

³ See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 443 *seq.*, 480 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 38 *seq.*; LOSERTH in *Archiv. f. Gesch. von Karnten*, XIX. (1900). Remarkable, and as far as I am aware so far unknown, is the *brief to the Bishop of Bamberg of August 23, 1597, urging the restoration of the Catholic religion in Carinthia. Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 203, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *ibid.* t. 44, n. 187 the *brief of July 8, 1600, to the Bishop of Bamberg concerning heresy in Carinthia.

⁴ See LOSERTH, Akten, II., v. *seq.*

It is easily to be understood that the news of the great changes effected in Central Austria caused the Pope¹ and the German Catholics great joy, and the Protestants an equally great sorrow. In their complaints the innovators completely lost sight of the fact that it had been the Protestant German princes who, taking advantage of the dangers threatening the Empire from the French and the Turks, had extorted from Charles V. the Imperial recognition of the maxim : *cuius regio, eius religio*. In like manner they forgot that it had only been by the rigid application of this maxim that their religion had been able to take deep root in Germany. When the Catholics called their attention to these facts, the Protestants, who moreover, in Styria and elsewhere had proceeded with sentences of death against the Anabaptists, were unable to deny them. They therefore fell back upon the convenient subterfuge of blaming the Jesuits for all the measures that had been taken in Central Austria. These statements were for a long time believed blindly.

To-day, however, it is admitted, even by the most open

¹ Clement VIII. was informed of the energetic procedure of Ferdinand in October, 1598, during his stay at Ferrara, from the report of the nuncio Porzia (*cf.* the latter's letter to the Imperial ambassador dated Graz, October 5, 1598, in the appendix to the *Relazione*, ed. JOPPI, mentioned *supra* p. 349, n. 2). M. Brenner also reported on it to the Pope. On November 27, 1599, Clement addressed a brief of praise to the Archduke Ferdinand ; on June 17, 1600, urged him to persevere, and on December 9 he praised his action in Carinthia ; see *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 230 *seq.*, where the briefs are published. How misleading are the scientific acrobatics of Loserth may be gathered from the fact that he was unaware of the publication of the briefs in so accessible a form, and in his *Akten*, II., 961 only gives a synopsis of the brief of December 9, 1600, and that very incomplete. For the satisfaction of Clement VIII. see also HURTER, IV., 407. On June 3 and December 9, 1600, Brenner was sent briefs of praise (see SCHUSTER, 664 *seq.* ; *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 231), and another was sent to Stobäus on November 4, 1600 (STOBÆI *epist.*, 79 *seq.*). The *brief to Chroën, May 11, 1602, is mentioned in SCHMIDLIN, 39 n. 1.

adversaries of the Jesuits, that the latter had no part at all in the violent enforcement of the Catholic restoration in Central Austria.¹ The Jesuits only intervened in a decisive manner after the reform commissions had substantially completed their work, which had often been hastily and very far from effectually done. As this had in many cases only produced uncertain and incomplete results, it now became a question of carrying on the interior conversion of those who had perforce conformed under the pressure of circumstances. This work, as well as that of the reform of the secular and regular clergy, was a task of many years, and one calling for great labours, and devolving above all on the bishops of the country.

To the great encouragement of Clement VIII., Central Austria possessed men, such as Georg Stobäus of Lavant, Christopher Spaur of Gurk, and his successor Johann Jakob von Lamberg, and lastly Martin Brenner of Seckau, who devoted themselves with apostolic zeal to their pastoral duties.² The Papal nuncio Porzia assisted them in this task with all his power.³

In spite of this the efforts of many years were required to remove the abuses which had made their way into every department of ecclesiastical life, and once again made Central Austria a truly Catholic country. The principal difficulty was the scarcity of priests who were moral and faithful in the performance of their duties. The bishops, like the sovereign, realized what assistance the Jesuits could give

¹ See LOSERTH, Akten, II., xxxiii. and G. WOLF in *Mitteil. aus der hist. Lit.*, XXXVIII., 448. Cf. also DUHR, II., 2, 347, 349.

² Cf. especially SCHMIDLIN, 37 seq., 99 seq., 120 seq., which gives a full list of special literature. A publication containing the acta of the Catholic regeneration of Central Austria, for which there is plentiful material, would be a valuable work. It is to be hoped that this may be given us by Prof. Tomek, together with the publication which he intends to make of the reports of the nunciature at Graz.

³ See SCHUSTER, M. Brenner, 607 seq., 653 seq., 660, 665. Cf. LOSERTH, Akten, II., 256 seq., and *Archiv. f. Gesch. von Kärnten*, XVI. (1886), 88 seq.

them, both in the training of a better clergy, and in the actual pastoral work ; accordingly they assisted the Order wherever they could, and in this they met with a ready support on the part of the Pope.¹ In the capital, the Jesuits laboured zealously at the university, the high-school and the college for poor students which had been founded by Ferdinand, and which bore his name. To this were added far-reaching spiritual labours ; the annals record many conversions effected by the Jesuits, and tell of thousands of persons who once again approached the sacraments in their churches after an interval of many years.²

The work which the houses of the Society of Jesus at Graz did for Styria, was done in the cases of Carniola and Carinthia by the colleges established in 1597 and 1604 at Laibach and Klagenfurt. In both places their beginnings were very difficult, but tenacious perseverance and profound confidence in God led in the end to victory.³ At first the situation at Klagenfurt seemed almost hopeless, since at the beginning of the century there were only about a dozen Catholic citizens there. Later on the historian of Catholic reform at Klagenfurt was able to declare that in forty years the Jesuits had effected so great a change in the population, that, just as it had previously been distinguished for its attachment to Protestantism, so later on it was noted for its zeal for Catholic doctrines.⁴

¹ Cf. SCHUSTER, 581, 586 *seq.*, and LOSERTH, II., 771 ; DUHR, II., I, 343, 345. For the establishment of a Jesuit college at Laibach Clement VIII. addressed a *brief to the Archduke Ferdinand on June 23, 1595, Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 190, Papal Secret Archives.

² See the information drawn from the *Litterae annuae* in SCHUSTER, 543 *seq.*

³ Cf. LEBINGER, Reformation u Gegenreformation in Klagenfurt (Prog. des Gymn. zu Klagenfurt, 1868), 27 *seq.*, 45 *seq.* ; DIMITZ, Aus den Annalen der Jesuiten in Laibach, in *Jahrb. f. Gesch. des Protest. in Oesterreich*, VI., 90 *seq.* ; DUHR, II., I, 340 *seq.*, 345 *seq.*

⁴ See *Carinthia*, 1900, 4 *seq.*

CHAPTER VIII.

CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN THE RHINE PROVINCES, BOHEMIA AND THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS.

IN the same year 1598 in which the Archduke Ferdinand set his hand to the restoration of unity of faith in Central Austria, the Catholics met with yet another important success.

For fifteen years past a number of Imperial ordinances had been issued to the Protestant Council of the city of Aix, in virtue of which Catholicism "was to be restored to its former position and the intruded Protestant councillors expelled." As all these ordinances had been disregarded, Rudolph II. found himself obliged (June 30th, 1598) to put a ban upon the rebellious magistracy, so as to force them to obey. After Spanish troops, with others from Jülich, had brought back the exiled Catholics, the episcopal authority of Liège, to which diocese Aix belonged, restored in the city, in which every kind of sect had established itself, the absolute authority of the Catholic religion.¹ Certain Jesuits were summoned to direct the work of instruction. They began in the autumn of 1601 with eight pupils; a year later the number had risen to 200. Later on the establishment flourished even more, and in 1603 the house of the fathers received the title of a college.²

¹ See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 16, 711 *seq.*; RITTER, II., 155. For a criticism of the superficial work of Macco *cf.* J. FEY, *Zur Gesch. Aachens im 16. Jahrh., mit Benutzung ungedruckter Archivalien*, Aachen, 1905.

² *Cf.* besides DUHR, I., 416 *seq.* the dissertation by FRITZ on the Jesuit college at Aix in *Zeitschr. des Aachener Gesch.-Ver.*, 1906, 9 *seq.* For the bull of Clement VIII., December 7, 1604, concerning the spiritual direction of the Confraternity of the B. Sacrament see GASPERS, *Die Sakramentsbruderschaft von St. Foillan in Aachen*, 1921, 10, 17.

The fact that the Spanish-Dutch war extended into the territory of the Empire had an important bearing on the development of religious affairs in the Lower Rhineland and in Westphalia. Wherever the Dutch Calvinists obtained the upper hand the Catholics were made to suffer bitterly, and the same was the case with the Protestants, where the Spaniards were victorious. General Mendoza, who was a strict Catholic, showed himself especially anxious to remove the Protestant preachers from the Rhenish territories and to restore Catholic worship. At the beginning of the year 1599 he drove out the Calvinist preachers from the city of Wesel, which had become one of the principal strongholds of the new doctrines, and once again introduced Catholic worship. The nuncio at Cologne went to Wesel and preached in the church of St. Willibrord; the Jesuits too obtained a footing in the city. But the course of the war, as early as May, forced the Catholic priests to abandon the ground which they had just recovered.¹

When the war came to an end at the beginning of the new century, the Jesuit college at Emmerich received an unexpected development. In the attempts at restoration which had been made during the last ten years of the old century in the territory of Jülich, that house had already played a large part.² Münster too, where the religious conditions left a great deal to be desired, proved an important field for the activities of the Jesuits. Their missionary establishment at Hildesheim, from which a house at Altona had been founded at the end of the century, was able to be made into a college in 1601.³

At Paderborn, after their tottering house had been transformed into a solidly established college with the assistance of

¹ See KELLER, II., 61 *seq.*

² Cf. *ibid.* 42; DUHR, II., 1, 61 *seq.* The attention with which Clement VIII. followed affairs in Jülich-Cleves is clear from his briefs Rudolph II. of January 9, 1599, and to Duke Maximilian of Bavaria of September 9, 1600, in KELLER, II., 213 *seq.*, 230.

³ See DUHR, II., 1, 32 *seq.*, 50 *seq.*, 134 *seq.* For Münster cf. KELLER, II., 277 *seqq.*, and SCHAFFMEISTER, Herzog Ferdinand v. Bayern, Haselünne i. H., 1912, 18 *seq.*

the Prince-Bishop, Dietrich von Fürstenburg, the Jesuits were able to record splendid successes. The attendance at their sermons was crowded, and several families of the city, for the most part Protestants, were won over to the Catholic Church. In some of the classes the Jesuit school was unable to accommodate all the pupils, and even the sons of the Protestants attended them. Even the magistracy recognized the value of the Jesuits, and availed themselves of their assistance when the masses were disturbed by the freaks of a visionary.¹ But this favourable disposition was changed when, in the year 1596, the Prince-Bishop, Dietrich von Fürstenburg, began vigorously to oppose the Protestants in his principality. This was a bold undertaking, since among the nobles, only one had remained true to Catholicism ; Protestantism was widespread in the cities and country districts, and above all in the capital.²

It was not only ecclesiastical motives which led the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn to this course of action, but political considerations were also involved in what he did. It was a question of restoring and re-establishing his full sovereign authority when it was threatened, especially in Paderborn, by the patricians, who held the government in their hands.³

According to the decisions of the religious peace of Augsburg, the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn, as a sovereign prince of the Empire, had beyond all doubt the right to impose upon his diocese the Catholic religion as the religion of the place, and to prohibit any other confession. Relying upon this right, of which all the neighbouring Protestants had long availed themselves to their own advantage, Dietrich von Fürstenburg, after waiting for almost ten years, in 1596 forbade, at first in the country parishes, all public Protestant worship, and drove out the preachers. This step aroused so great excitement among the Protestants that the nobility, together with the

¹ See RICHTER, *Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten*, I., 36 *seq.*

² Cf. PIELER, *Leben u. Wirken Kaspar von Fürstenburgs*, Paderborn, 1873, 201.

³ This is clearly brought out by RICHTER (*Gesch. der Stadt Paderborn*, II., P. 1903, 220).

representatives of the various cities, absolutely refused to pay the imposts for the Turkish war.¹

There was still greater excitement when Dietrich set himself to bring about a change in the religious position in the capital, yet there too he was absolutely within his rights, for Paderborn was not directly subject to the Empire.² Therefore, on January 24th, 1599, he ordered the closure of the church in the market-place, where the parish priest Tunneken who had apostatized from the Church and married, had hitherto preached with impunity. The indignation of the Protestants

¹ See RICHTER, *Gesch. der Paderborner Jesuiten*, I., 56 *seq.*

² Even if they took their stand upon the so-called letter of assurance of Ferdinand II., the subjects of Paderborn of the Protestant religion had no right to public religious freedom, because apart from the fact that this assurance had been given without the knowledge of the Catholic States, and without their consent, and was not included in the laws of the Empire, and was therefore without force in law, it could not be applied to Paderborn, because at the time of the conclusion of the religious peace the citizens of Paderborn had not even the liberty of worship of the evangelical confession, since until 1566 Bishop Rembert von Keissenbrock had been successful in keeping the Protestant religion out of his diocese. The assertion constantly made in the monograph by LÖHER: *Gesch. des Kampfes um Paderborn vom Jahre 1597-1604* (Berlin, 1874), of the liberty of religion of the people of Paderborn, which was infringed by Fürstenberg, is quite untenable. The opinion of a contemporary, the advocate Johann Fichard, of Frankfort, who was a practical lawyer, confirms the view that the people of Paderborn had no right to demand, as subjects of the Prince-Bishop, the public exercise of the Protestant religion against his will; see his opinion, which escaped the notice of Löher, in JACOBSON, *Gesch. der Quellen des evang. Kirchenrechts f. Rheinland u. Westfalen*, 515. That in other ways the "fantastic account" of Löher "gives rise even in other things to constant and serious doubts," and that "he is absolutely lacking in the critical sense" and that he is guilty of "grave linguistic misinterpretation of the sources" has been shown with convincing proofs by the Old Catholic STIEVE (V., 708, n. 1) who is certainly not open to suspicion in this.

of Paderborn was first vented on the Jesuits, who found themselves in great danger. At the same time the syndic and the council had recourse to Maurice of Hesse, whose troops, on their way to fight the Spaniards under Mendoza, occupied Paderborn in May, 1599, and brought back Tunneken in triumph. Soon afterwards these began a struggle lasting several years for the city of Paderborn, which was carried on by both parties with the greatest bitterness. At last things reached the point when Fürstenburg, if he did not wish to lose the last remains of his sovereign rights in his capital, had to employ force. This resulted in a complete victory over the rebels in Paderborn. At the end of April, 1604, the city was reduced to subjection by Count Johann von Rietberg, and this was followed up by severe penalties. The burgomaster, Borius Wichart, who had employed his remarkable gifts to the injury of his native city, was cruelly put to death, and after the restoration of the ancient rights of the bishop, the complete supremacy of the Catholic religion was established. Two years before, Fürstenburg, in order to remove any divergence from the Catholic rite, had ordered the introduction of a new liturgical calendar, which was to pave the way for a return to the Catholic Church. The capture of Paderborn completed this work.

In Rome the greatest hopes were built upon the success of the Prince-Bishop of Paderborn. On May 22nd, 1604, the Pope addressed to him a letter of congratulation, and strove to encourage his zeal yet further.¹ Having crushed all external resistance Fürstenburg then set himself to the task of winning back the people interiorly as well. In this the Jesuits, with whom the prince, who was an arbitrary but susceptible man, had previously had misunderstandings, as with his chapter, rendered him the greatest services. But the zeal of the fathers met with but little success against the tenacity, so characteristic of the Westphalians, with which the

¹ See KELLER, II., 455 *seq.*, 579 *seq.*, 581. On May 29, 1604, the Pope asked Rudolph II. to help Fürstenberg; see MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 169 *seq.*

majority of the citizens of Paderborn clung to Protestantism. Like the people of Paderborn, those of the other cities, with the nobility, adopted so hostile an attitude towards Fürstenburg that the latter was forced for the time being to abandon his rigorous measures.¹

It was due to the direct intervention of Clement VIII. that in the electorate of Cologne as well the way was opened to restoration and Catholic reform. It is true that the city of Cologne had maintained a strictly Catholic attitude,² and the Jesuit college there was an important stronghold of the ancient faith, but the archbishop, Prince Ernest of Bavaria, who was the richest in benefices of all the ecclesiastical princes in Germany, gave great scandal by his conduct, which was far from priestly, and who neglected the duties of his pastoral office in the most open way. To this was added his disastrous financial administration, and his civil litigation with the princes of the electorate and with the cathedral chapter. Sixtus V. had already expressed his disapproval to the Elector,³ but all the remonstrances and exhortations, of which Clement VIII. in his turn was not sparing, remained without effect. At last the patience of the Holy See was exhausted, and at the end of 1593 the Pope appointed a nuncio extraordinary for Cologne, in the person of Coriolano Garzadoro, Bishop of Ossero.⁴ The latter was instructed to ask the

¹ See RICHTER in the commemorative work for the tercentenary jubilee celebrations of the "Theodorianum" college at Paderborn, 1912, 39 *seq.*

² In a brief of April 11, 1592, Clement VIII. exhorted the council of Cologne to be on their guard against admitting Calvinists to the city. As a result of the brief of June 13, 1592, the council acted upon this exhortation; see SCHWEIZER, III., 497, n. 2, 534, n. 1. In a *brief of January 23, 1593, the Pope praised the council for having refused to elect heretics to their number, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 186, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 101.

⁴ See UNKEL in *Hist. Jahrb.*, VIII., 245 *seq.*, 583; *cf.* XV., 103 *seq.* The *brief of exhortation to Ernest of November 1, 1592 (Papal Secret Archives) in App. No. 5.

chapter of the cathedral for a coadjutor to Ernest, so as to put an end to this intolerable state of affairs. After long negotiations both Ernest and Duke William of Bavaria agreed to this proposal, which had already been made by Sixtus V. in 1589. The choice fell on April 29th, 1595, upon the young prince Ferdinand of Bavaria. This prince, who loved life, and had hitherto been but little inclined for work, and had at first had doubts as to his ecclesiastical vocation, soon adopted a more serious idea of life, and devoted himself to a strict performance of his duties.¹ He assumed the government of Cologne, while Ernest, who was to retain the electoral dignity for life, retained that of Westphalia.²

Clement VIII. at once exhorted Ferdinand to perform his difficult task conscientiously, and above all personally to carry out the canonical visitation of the whole of the archdiocese, taking counsel with learned and pious men.³ The position of the coadjutor of Cologne, however, was from the first so difficult, that he was unable to discharge this duty. He had to restrict himself, for the time being, to isolated measures, and by his example to bring his influence to bear upon promoting the spirit of the Catholic Church. In this respect he left nothing to be desired.

For the moment he only developed a more far-reaching activity on behalf of Catholic restoration in the countship of Recklinghausen, whither he went in the autumn of 1597.⁴ In the following year he presided at the diocesan synod, the decrees of which were a great consolation to Clement VIII.⁵ In 1599 he also became the coadjutor of his uncle at the abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy, and in 1601 in the diocese of Liège. In order to promote the ecclesiastical reform which was urgently needed in the archdiocese of Cologne,

¹ Cf. STIEVE, *Wittelsbacher Briefe*, II., 43 *seq.*, VI., 61.

² On November 15, 1597, Clement VIII. wrote to Ernest concerning the establishment of a Tridentine seminary at Münster; see KELLER, II., 344 *seq.*

³ See UNKEL, *loc. cit.*, 269 *seq.*

⁴ See STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, III., 51 *seq.*

⁵ See *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII., 878.

Ferdinand established a college of ecclesiastical councillors, the presidency of which was conferred by him on July 6th, 1601, upon the successor of Frangipani, Garzadoro, who had already been appointed ordinary nuncio in April, 1596. From the latter's reports, and from the protocols which are still extant, it may clearly be seen in what a successful way the Pope's representative had discharged this office for several years.¹

Urged by Clement VIII. the Elector Ernest caused a visitation to be made in Westphalia in 1599.² It was also the Pope who induced Ernest to suggest to the cathedral chapter at Münster the formation of a similar magistracy to that at Cologne, above all for the removal of abuses in the care of souls. The negotiations were prolonged, and it was only on February 10th, 1601, that the investiture of the new ecclesiastical council could take place; it met, however, with many obstacles in its reforming activity. These obstacles became even more formidable when the government began to attack the Anabaptists and Calvinism.³

If the state of ecclesiastical discipline in the diocese of Cologne caused the Pope much anxiety,⁴ he was able on the other hand to look with all the greater satisfaction to Trêves, where the Tridentine reform decrees had been put into force by the archbishops, Jakob von Eltz and Johann von

¹ See UNKEL, Die Kölner "Congregatio ecclesiastica" für die Reform der Erzdiozese, in the work by Ehse on the occasion of the jubilee of the Campo Santo, 265 *seq.* For the parishes of Cologne, according to a report of the nunciature for 1603 see *Kölner Pastoralblatt*, 1885, 9 *seq.*

² See STIEVE, V., 580. For the sad condition of the diocese of Münster see the report sent by Ernest to Rome in 1599, in *Zeitschr. für westf. Gesch.*, XLV., 167 *seq.*

³ Cf. KELLER, II., 283 *seqq.*, 349 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*; TIBUS, Weihbischöfe von Münster, M. 1862, 141.

⁴ Cf. the *briefs to the chapter of Cologne, September 1, 1601, and October 1, 1604 (Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 302, and t. 56, p. 316, Papal Secret Archives) and the *brief of August 7, 1604, to the Archbishop of Cologne (*ibid.* p. 287).

Schönenberg, the clergy having the care of souls reformed, and the populace thoroughly instructed in Catholicism.¹ As early as 1588 Minucci declared that in consequence of this, there was no province in the whole of Germany which was so little tainted by heresy as the diocese of Trêves.² The two colleges directed by the Jesuits, at Trêves and Coblenz, gave great assistance to the archbishops there.³ When in 1599 there occurred the death of Johann von Schönenberg, Clement VIII. took all possible care to give him a worthy successor.⁴ The choice fell upon Lothaire von Metternich, to whom Clement VIII. at once addressed paternal admonitions.⁵ If the work of Metternich proved successful from every point of view, he owed this above all to Fr. Wilhelm Metternich, who had been educated at the German College in Rome, and, by the help of the Exercises of St. Ignatius had changed the Elector into a new man.⁶

What had happened at Trêves in the case of the supreme pastor of the diocese, was repeated in a thousand ways in the priests and laymen of all parts of Germany. The co-operation of the Jesuits in the province of the Prince Abbot of Fulda was especially important. In the midst of the disturbances that were prevailing there, they had courageously carried on their work. A complete change in favour of the sadly tried Catholics of Fulda, on whose behalf Clement VIII. had already intervened with the Emperor and the other princes in 1595,⁷ took place finally when, at the end of 1602, by a decree of the Imperial Chancery, the abbot, Balthasar von Dernbach, was able to return after an exile of twenty-six years. He

¹ Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, pp. 354-357.

² See STEINHUBER, I., 225.

³ Cf. DUHR, I., 97 *seq.*; II., 1, 24 *seq.*

⁴ See the *brief to the chapter of the cathedral at Trêves, May 22, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 240, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See the *brief addressed to him, August 7, 1599, *ibid.* n. 339.

⁶ See HONTHEIM, Hist. Trevir., III., 229.

⁷ See the *briefs to the Archduke Maximilian, Rudolph II., the Bishop of Würzburg and the Abbot of Fulda, September 12, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 13, Papal Secret Archives.

ordered a general visitation and missions to the people, drove out all the preachers, ordered under pain of exile the return of his subjects to the Catholic faith, built two hospitals, and assisted the pontifical seminary and Jesuit college at Fulda. Clement VIII. spoke in high terms of praise of him at a consistory. When the abbot died in 1606, he had completed his task; all the inhabitants of his province had returned to the Church, and the Jesuits had taken charge of the instruction and pastoral work.¹

The Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, who was a pious man, but weak and vacillating,² had already been exhorted by Sixtus V. to remove the many Protestants from his court, to hold provincial and diocesan synods, and to provide for the better religious instruction of the young.³ In 1592 and 1594 Clement VIII. addressed exhortations to the archbishop to reform the condition of his diocese.⁴ The nuncio at Cologne, Frangipani, conferred with him in person at Aschaffenburg in December 1595.⁵ Wolfgang von Dalberg realized, it is true, the necessity for acting with resolution, but he had not the requisite energy. On January 31st, 1598, the Pope invited him once more to undertake the visitation of the diocese of Mayence.⁶

A change for the better only took place when, in May, 1601, Johann Adam von Bicken succeeded to the see of St. Boniface. The monitorium sent to the newly elected bishop by Clement VIII. on February 16th, 1602,⁷

¹ Cf. KOMP in *Hist.-polit. Bl.*, LVI., 106 seq., 293 seq., 297; the same, *Die zweite Schule Fuldas u. das päpstl. Seminar, Fulda, 1877*, 28 seq.; EGLOFFSTEIN, 38 seq., 78 seq.; DUHR, II., 1, 158 seq.

² Cf. H. E. HEIM, Wolfgang, Erzbischof u. Kurfürst von Mainz, 1582-1601, Mayence, 1189.

³ See EHSES, II., 411.

⁴ See *briefs of November 21, 1592, and September 17, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 15b, and t. 39, n. 296, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See the report of Frangipani in VEIT, *Kirche u. Kirchenreform*, 26 seq.

⁶ See SCHMIDLIN, 471, n. 1.

⁷ *Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 60, Papal Secret Archives.

fell upon fertile soil: Adam von Bicken proved himself an energetic promoter of Catholic restoration and reform, and the religious life of Mayence, where the Jesuit college was the centre of the reform movement, developed in a way that warranted the highest hopes. The Elector himself, between 1602 and 1603, introduced into the countships of Königstein, Lohr and Rieneck the rights of reform belonging to him under the religious peace of Augsburg, and provided the principal places with zealous Catholic parish priests.¹ After the premature death of Johann von Bicken (January 10th, 1604) Protestantism once again lifted up its head, especially in Lohr. Everything now depended on the choice of a good bishop. On February 17th, 1604, this fell upon Johann Schweikart von Cronberg, and the praises which the cathedral chapter, in its report to Rome, lavished on the new archbishop, were fully deserved. Schweikart, who was an alumnus of the Germanicum, was a model pastor, full of zeal and devotion to the Holy See, and the warm friend of the Jesuits. His only fault was that he tended too much towards complaisance and compromise. For this reason the Protestants indulged in renewed hopes, which in certain places, especially in Lohr, developed into a violent agitation against the Catholics. Although Schweikart at first hesitated, in the end he was obliged to have recourse to rigorous measures to bring about the return to Catholicism of the countship of Reineck.² It required, however, much patience and hard work to bring back to the Catholic Church the city of Oberursel, which had been Protestant ever since 1525.³ The provocative attitude of the Protestants there necessitated intervention, since they had erected there, in a city subject to the supreme authority of a Catholic archbishop, a press which published the most violent defamatory libels on the ancient Church.⁴ On September 20th, 1604, Clement VIII.

¹ See SCHMITT, *Kath. Restauration*, II seq., 14 seq. Cf. VEIT, 33.

² See SCHMITT, *loc. cit.* 45 seq., 54 seq.

³ See *ibid.* 71 seq.

⁴ See KELCHNER in *Annalen des Vereins für nassauische Altertumskunde u. Gesch.*, VII. (Wiesbaden, 1864), 265 seq.

was able to express to the Archbishop of Mayence his pleasure at the fact that he had put an end to this "scandal."¹

By the intervention of the nuncio Porzia, at Eichstätt they were successful in giving the feeble archbishop, Gaspar von Seckendorf, an excellent coadjutor in the person of Johann Conrad von Gemmingen, who after the death of the archbishop in 1595 assumed the government and successfully defended himself against the hostility of the neighbouring Protestant princes, and developed an ardent zeal for restoration and reform.²

The diocese of Augsburg, where the Jesuits of Dillingen had been working for many years, was given in 1598, in Heinrich von Knöringen, an alumnus of the Germanicum, a bishop who equalled his predecessor, Otto Truchsess, in his ecclesiastical zeal. A pious and humble man, of unstained character, he drew from the Exercises of St. Ignatius during a retreat of eight days the light and strength to fulfil the duties of his office.³

There was also a change for the better in the territories of the Empire. Even though the Pope and his nuncios often had reason to complain of the hostile influences at the Imperial court, and of the irresolution of the head of the Empire,⁴

¹ See *brief to Schweikart, September 20, 1604, Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 313b, Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. SCHMIDLIN, 268 *seq.* and the articles on Seckendorf in *Katholik*, 1914, II., 361 *seq.*, 443 *seq.* On July 15, 1592, Clement VIII. *asked the Duke of Bavaria to remind Seckendorf of his duty, and on November 21, 1592, he *exhorted the bishop and the chapter to make peace with each other. Arm. 44, t. 37, n. 438; t. 38, p. 129, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 38, p. 411, a *brief to Seckendorf of September 18, 1593, concerning the coadjutor and the episcopal office.

³ Cf. besides STEINHUBER, I., 286, the detailed description by J. SPINDLER in *Jahrb. des Hist. Ver. Dillingen*, XXIV. (1911), and the monograph by SPINDLER, Freiburg, 1915.

⁴ On August 15, 1596, Clement VIII. addressed an *exhortation to Wolfgang Rumpf "praes. consil. Caesaris" to be careful to exclude the heretics from the Imperial court (Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 339, Papal Secret Archives). Cf. in App. No. 22 the *brief to Rudolph II., May 20, 1595, Papal Secret Archives.

nevertheless from 1596 onwards Rudolph II. took more energetic action against the Protestants in his hereditary territories.¹ After the suppression of the rising of the peasants in Upper Austria, which was principally due to economic reasons, the practices of the Catholic religion were restored in the country districts, and later on in the cities, though at first only externally.² The Pope, who on May 17th, 1597, had urged the Emperor to remove the Protestants from public offices, addressed to him on February 13th, 1599, a brief of praise for his attitude towards the unbelievers at Linz.³

Of the greatest importance was the change which took place in the summer of 1599 at the Imperial court at Prague. The efforts of Speciani, the nuncio in that city, to remove the vice-chancellor Zelinsky, who was hostile to the Catholics, and for the rehabilitation of the Catholic Georg Lobkovic had failed, and after the death of Georg Martinic, Zelinsky had the Bohemian chancery in his own hands.⁴ In view of this dangerous situation, Clement VIII. resolved, in the summer of 1597, to replace Speciani by Ferrante Farnese, Bishop of Parma.⁵ It did not fall to the latter, however, but only to his successor, Filippo Spinelli, to succeed in giving another turn to the situation in Prague. Spinelli, who came from a noble Neapolitan family, united in himself the skill of a diplomatist, with the mastery of detail of a bureaucrat. He

¹ Cf. WIEDEMANN, I., 503 seq.

² See CZERNY, *Der zweite Bauernaufstand in Oberösterreich 1595-1597*, Linz, 1890; cf. STIEVE, V., 311 seq.; HUBER, IV., 297.

³ See *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, XV., 196 seq. Cardinal Caetini was surprised in 1596, during his journey as legate to Poland, at the spread of Protestantism, especially in Linz; cf. the *Diary of Mucantius, Vatican Library, mentioned in Vol XXIV. of this work, p. 112, n. 4. STEINHUBER, I., 456, n. 3; ZÖCHBAUER, *Ein röm. Reisebericht aus dem Jahre 1596*, in *Archiv. f. Gesch. der Diözese Linz*, V., 75 seq.

⁴ See STILOUKAL, *Papežská Politika*, 245 seq.

⁵ See *brief to Rudolph II., June 20, 1597, Arm. 44, t. 41, n. 159. The instructions for F. Farnese in Nunz. div., 239, p. 280 seq., Papal Secret Archives.

was on close terms of friendship with the all-powerful Pietro Aldobrandini, but was able as well to keep on good terms with Cinzio Aldobrandini, to whom the Imperial nunciature was subject.¹ Spinelli was quickly able to adapt himself to the life of Prague, which he reached on October 29th, 1598. He had already, on his way through Bohemia, worked zealously and successfully for Catholic restoration at Salzburg, Passau, Linz and Vienna. He succeeded in getting Franz von Dietrichstein, a man of strong ecclesiastical sentiments, appointed to the episcopal see of Olmütz.² But it was in Prague itself that Spinelli met with the greatest success. Within a few months he had succeeded in removing Zelinsky, and in having all the more important offices filled by Catholics. Zdenko Popel von Lobkovic was made chancellor. A further result of the remonstrances of Spinelli was the partial removal of non-Catholic Bohemians from the chancery of Bohemia, and the opening of the struggle against the Calvinists in Prague and against the Protestant pastors in the royal estates.³ If the external impulse to these steps came from the Pope's representative, the reason for the progress of the Catholic cause lay deeper than that; as was the case in Styria and Bavaria, so in Bohemia as well the new generation trained according to strict Catholic ideas had assumed the reins of government, and now embarked upon the struggle for Catholic restoration with courage and energy.⁴

¹ See STLOUKAL, 88 *seq.*, 246.

² See *ibid.*, 103 *seq.*, 247.

³ See J. F. NOVAK, Über die Bedeutung der Nuntiaturberichte für die böhm. Landtagsverhandlungen, extract from the *Mitteil. aus dem Landesarchiv des Königreichs Böhmen*, I., 2 (1906); STLOUKAL, 153 *seq.*, 247 (*cf.* 221 *seq.* the report of Spinelli to the Pope concerning his first successes, December 28, 1598). In a *brief of September 18, 1599, Clement VIII. praised the Emperor highly for having bestowed offices at the court upon Catholics. Arm. 44, t. 43, n. 367, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ This is well brought out by NOVAK (*loc. cit.*) who rightly rejects the reasons adduced by GINDELY (Rudolf II., Vol I., 67 *seq.*) and by HUBER (IV., 354, 447).

Nor must we pass over the value of the work which the Archbishop of Prague, Berka von Duba, had, with the support of Clement VIII.,¹ done since 1592, in setting bounds to Protestantism, in bringing back the Utraquists to the Church, and in restoring discipline among the secular and regular clergy. Soon after his appointment Rudolph II. had handed over to him the investiture of a hundred parishes belonging to him as King of Bohemia, of which Duba made conscientious use, conferring all the benefices which fell vacant on Catholics instead of on the Utraquists, who had hitherto been supreme there. Some Catholic landowners followed his example. Yielding to the insistent pressure of Spinelli, Rudolph II., on September 2nd, 1602, renewed and in many cases enforced the severe ordinance of King Wladislaw of the year 1508 against the Bohemian Brethren.² Since 1599 the archbishop had been given, in the right to censorize books, a powerful weapon for restoration. Some of the results attained were once more lost owing to the lack of priests, which was made even worse by the plague of the years 1599-1600. To this was added the opposition of the non-Catholic aristocracy. It would appear that all this discouraged Duba and the zeal which he had once shown by making the visitation in person in 1594,³ needed a further stimulus. This he received from Rome. As discipline had become much relaxed in the archdiocese of Prague, in June, 1602, Clement VIII. ordered a searching visitation. Above all things he wished to see in the archdiocese of Prague the acceptance of the reform decrees of Trent, the establishment of a seminary for priests, and the convocation of a provincial synod. To the last named Duba could not be brought, but Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, Bishop of Vercelli, who had gone to Prague as nuncio in April, 1604,

¹ *Brief of July 10, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 57, p. 10, Papal Secret Archives.

² See SKALA, *Historie česká*, I., 29; NOVAK, *loc. cit.*; STLOUKAL, 249 *seq.*

³ See FRIND, *Die Bischöfe von Prag*, 193 *seq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 153 *seq.*; GINDELY, *Gesch. der Böhm. Brüder*, II., 330 *seqq.* MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 14 *seq.*, 16, 19, 45, 84.

used all his influence for the holding of the synod and for the establishment of a seminary.¹ His efforts were still being continued when Clement VIII. died.

The most efficacious help in the work of Catholic restoration in Bohemia was given by the Jesuits, who in their churches in Prague preached not only in German, but also in Czech, and were especially active in the work of instruction. Their pupils, united in Marian sodalities, later on proved themselves, almost without exception, staunch upholders of the Catholic faith in public life.²

In Moravia too there was great progress to be recorded in Catholic restoration. The more important offices were conferred upon Catholics alone, and Protestantism was attacked in the royal cities.³ A great impression was made by the return to the ancient Church of the wealthy chief justice of the district, Karl von Liechtenstein, which took place in 1599. The Pope himself sent his congratulations to the young nobleman,⁴ who at once set to work on behalf of Catholic restoration in Moravia.⁵ Karl's brothers, Maximilian

¹ See MEYER, 195, 234, 276, 280, 289, 295, 306, 310. Cf. NOVAK, *loc. cit.*, 4 *seq.*

² See J. S. SVOBODA, *Katolická reformace a mariánska Družina v. Královslói Českém, Brünn, 1889.* Cf. also KROSS, *Gesch. der böhm. Provinz der Ges. Iesu, I. (1559-1619), Vienna, 1910.*

³ Cf. CHLUMECKY, K. v. Zierotin, I., 187 *seq.*; HUBER, IV., 356 *seq.*

⁴ See *briefs of September 7 and December 11, 1599. Original in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. *Ibid.* a *letter of thanks to Karl von Liechtenstein to Clement VIII., November 1, 1599, in which he states: "In eodem [sc. gremio matris ecclesiae], omnes licet inferorum portae adversus me fremant, non modo vivam ego, aiutante Deo, constanter ac moriar, verum etiam ut alii, qui mihi vel sanguine vel amore coniuncti sunt, quique iurisdictione ac potestate quantulacunque mea tenentur, vivant, omnibus quibus unquam licuerit modis, quoad inter homines egero, studiose curabo." For Karl von Liechtenstein cf. FALKE, *Gesch. des fürstl. Hauses Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1877, 127-242, spec. 130; STLOUKAL, 225.

⁵ See the *brief of April 8, 1600, in DUDIK, II., 177.

and Gundakar, also returned to the Catholic Church.¹ The scion of another family belonging to the old nobility, Franz von Dietrichstein, who had once been a favourite disciple of Philip Neri in Rome, received the purple in 1599, and was made bishop of the diocese of Olmütz.² Dietrichstein became the soul of all Catholic undertakings in Moravia. It was due to his energy that the leader of the party of the Protestant States, Karl von Zierotin, who had attacked the provincial rights of Moravia, had to retire into private life in 1602. The influence exercised by Dietrichstein was shown by the fact that he induced even some of the Protestant nobles to contribute to the building of a house for the Jesuits at Brünn.³

In the Tyrol the Catholic reform inaugurated by the Archduke Ferdinand, and by the Prince-Bishops of Trent and Brixen made great progress during the pontificate of Clement VIII. When in 1600 Cardinal Madruzzo, who had laboured so zealously for the improvement of his clergy, died, he was succeeded by his nephew Carlo, who was equally zealous for the renewal of the secular and regular clergy, though in carrying out his reforms he paid more attention to

¹ See the *brief to Maximilian von Liechtenstein, January 22, 1600, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna. Cf. FALKE, II., 245, 270 seq. The dissertation there mentioned, by Gundakar, in justification of his conversion, is not to be found in the Liechtenstein Archives, but there is there, among the papers left by Gundakar, a dissertation, *Motiva, for the Catholic religion, "cuiusdam praedicantis conversi ad fidem catholicam."

² STILOUKAL, II.4 seq., II.6 seq. A list of the *documents in the family archives of Prince Dietrichstein at Nikolsburg, referring to Cardinal Franz von Dietrichstein, in *Archivalien z. neuen Gesch. Oesterreichs*, I. (Vienna, 1907), III seq.

³ Cf. WOLNY, Kirchl. Topographie von Mähren, I., 88; GINDELY, I., 174 seq. HUBER, IV., 358; SCHMIDLIN, 177, n. 3, where are published the briefs addressed to Dietrichstein by Clement VIII. See also BRETHOLZ, Die Pfarrkirche St. Jakob in Brünn, 1901. A defect of Dietrichstein, namely his desire to obtain as many possessions as he could, was known in Rome through the reports of the nuncios.

the Italian part of his diocese than to the German. It was a fortunate circumstance for Brixen, when Cardinal Andrew of Austria, who was too worldly, was succeeded in 1601 by Christopher Spaur, hitherto Bishop of Gurk, and a man who possessed all the qualities of a Catholic reformer; truly priestly sentiments, sincere piety and unwearied zeal. No less important was the fact that he had had at his side such staunch helpers as his coadjutor, Simon Feuerstein, his vicar-general, Otto Agricola and the canon, Johann Platzgumer. To these men, who had been educated by the Jesuits, he was able safely to entrust the general visitation which he caused to be made of the cities and country districts during the summer of 1602. The abuses which came to light on this occasion proved how necessary reform was. In 1603 Spaur crowned his work by holding a diocesan synod, to the decrees of which were due the fact that, in addition to the episcopal inspection which later on was made every second year, the reform decrees of Trent took deep root in the Tyrol, and that there was a consoling improvement among the clergy.¹

In all these successes of the Church in Germany, Clement VIII. had a greater or less part; wherever he could he supported the zealous activities of his three nuncios.² Frequently, too, he intervened personally. If we peruse the registers of briefs of the Aldobrandini Pope, we are filled

¹ Cf. HIRN, Erzherzog Maximilian I., 261 seq.; SCHMIDLIN, 76 seq. For Spaur see SINNACHER, VIII., 5 seq., and the special work by FREISEISEN in *Brixener Priester-Konferenz-Blatt*, 1900. On July 30, 1604, Clement VIII. addressed to him a *brief of praise for the synod. Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 282b, Papal Secret Archives.

² The Papal legates as well, such as Cardinal Caetani on his journey to Poland in 1596, who were only passing through the Empire, took the opportunity to work for Catholic restoration; cf. the cypher *report of Cardinal Caetani to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, dated Vienna, May 29, 1596, for his negotiations with the Archduke Matthias, and his *report of the same date concerning his meeting with the old Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, Papal Secret Archives.

with wonder at the great number of letters addressed to Germany in connexion with purely ecclesiastical affairs. Distinguished converts were honoured with briefs of congratulation,¹ while not only the large cities, but also the smallest, and even the pious confraternities received Papal briefs of praise and encouragement, whenever they showed themselves loyal and sincere in the ancient faith.²

The struggle against Protestantism was as near to the Pope's heart as the reform of the Catholic clergy. In the first year of his pontificate Clement VIII. addressed urgent appeals to the Archbishops of Cologne, Mayence and Trêves to make visitations of their dioceses.³ By his orders Cardinal Madruzzo renewed these exhortations at the Diet of 1594, and immediately after the closure of that assembly the nuncio Ottavio Frangipani received orders to bring pressure to bear upon the Elector of Mayence to make a searching visitation of his diocese. The salvation of Germany, Clement VIII. wrote at that time to the Archbishop of Mayence, when exhorting him to make this visitation, depends principally upon the reform of the clergy.⁴ As his pontificate went on the Pope was never weary of insisting again and again upon the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline in all the dioceses.

¹ For Liechtenstein see *supra*, p. 376. On May 26, 1601, a special *brief was sent to Baron Altan, who had been converted (Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 188, Papal Secret Archives). See also in App. No. 31, the beautiful *brief to Duke Christian of Brunswick-Lüneburg, of September 4, 1599, Papal Secret Archives.

² See the *brief to the magistracy of Rottweil, dated June 23, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 363, Papal Secret Archives, and *ibid.* t. 56, p. 281, the *brief to the Confraternity of the B. Sacrament at Augsburg, dated July 30, 1604.

³ See the *briefs of November 21, 1592, Arm. 44, t. 34, pp. 15-23b, and n. 10, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *supra*, p. 311, n. 2.

⁴ *" Viri pii et prudentes existimant, et nos verum esse non dubitamus, Germaniae salutem potissimum pendere ex cleri emendatione." Brief of September 17, 1594, Arm. 44, t. 39, n. 296, Papal Secret Archives.

To this end he repeatedly called for the assistance of the secular princes.¹ The nuncios received orders to devote the greatest attention to the manner in which the bishops governed and to the filling of vacant sees.

The instructions sent on January 20th, 1604, to Stefano Ferreri, the successor of Filippo Spinelli as nuncio at the Imperial court, places this duty in the first place among all those that concerned the Empire. Ferreri, these state, must, whenever opportunity occurs, encourage the well intentioned bishops to defend the Catholic religion, and unite them more and more closely to the Holy See. If a diocese should become vacant the nuncio must urge the chapter to elect a fit successor of good Catholic sentiments, and bring pressure to bear on the Emperor to confer the regalia only upon those whom the Pope had confirmed.²

Very considerable, too, is the number of letters in which Clement VIII. promoted and upheld the important work of the Jesuits in Germany.³ He also devoted much attention

¹ Thus Clement VIII. wrote on April 27, 1593, concerning the reform of the Cistercians of the Rhine provinces to the Dukes of Jülich-Cleves and Bavaria (Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 42, Papal Secret Archives); on January 11 and April 3, 1599, to the Emperor concerning the reform of the convents in Swabia (*ibid.* t. 43, nn. 45 and 208) and on April 13, 1602, concerning the concubinists, not only to the Archbishops of Cologne and Salzburg, the administrator of Passau and the Bishops of Augsburg and Ratisbon, but also to the Duke of Bavaria (*ibid.* t. 46, nn. 108-112 and 118).

² See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 105.

³ Cf. besides Bull., IX., 618 *seq.*, X., 151 *seq.*, and DUHR, I., 305, 376 *seq.*, 382, 395; II., 1, 260, 343, 345, 361, 384, 629, the documents enumerated in the *Synopsis*, *passim*, and the following *briefs, hitherto unknown: Arm. 44, t. 36, p. 285, Georgio Popelio (he must support the Jesuits with the Emperor), 1592, March 14; t. 37, p. 285, to the Archdukes Ernest and Matthias (praise for their protection of the Jesuits), May 2, 1592; t. 38, p. 74: "Ep. Paderborn" (praise for the gift of a house to the Jesuits), October 5, 1592; *ibid.* p. 96: "Archiep. Colon." (on behalf of the Jesuit College at Cologne), April 17, 1593; *ibid.* p. 375: "Henr. Ruischembergio" (on behalf of the college at

to the ancient Orders. In the summer of 1593 the excellent abbot Pietro Paolo de Benallis, of the Congregation of Monte Cassino, was sent as apostolic visitor of all the German Benedictine monasteries beyond the Alps.¹ He began his work in Bavaria, but the great project, so happily inaugurated by the Pope, of forming all the monasteries into a single Congregation, and incorporating them in the Cassinese Congregation, met with so many obstacles that it could not be carried into effect.² Just as he had sought to restore discipline in the religious houses of Bohemia, so did Clement VIII. devote his attention, as may be seen from the many briefs, to the reform of the Cistercians of Austria, the Rhenish provinces, Swabia and Bavaria.³ The reform of

Aix), July 31, 1593; t. 39, p. 102: to the Archduke Ferdinand (concerning the admission of the Jesuits to Constance, February 12, 1594; *ibid.* p. 278: "Card. Austriae" (concerning the establishment of Jesuit colleges) September 9, 1594; t. 40, p. 43: "Archiep. Pragen," February 18, 1595; *ibid.* p. 187: to the Archduke Ferdinand (college in Laibach), June 23, 1595 (*cf.* p. 190); t. 44, n. 366: "Archiep. Colon," October 28, 1600, Papal Secret Archives.

¹ *Cf.* the *briefs addressed to the Archduke Ferdinand and many other German princes, June 29, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 265, Papal Secret Archives.

² See *Studien aus dem Bened. Orden*, III., 2, 386 *seq.* *Cf.* DUHR, I., 500. The abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Weingarten, was honoured in 1595 by a *brief of praise of the discipline of his monastery. Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 37, Papal Secret Archives.

³ *Cf.* the *briefs to the Archbishops of Cologne, Trêves and Mayence, and the nuncio at Cologne, April 27, 1593, Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 41 *seq.*, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* p. 135: "Abbati Aulæ Regiæ, O Cist." February 18, 1594 (faculties to reform all the monasteries of his Order in Bohemia, Austria, etc. in accordance with the commands of his General); t. 42, 113b: "Abbati monasteri Salensis, O. Cist." June 6, 1598; t. 43, n. 268: to the Emperor, April 3, 1599. The *brief to Duke William V., January 7, 1604 (t. 56, p. 141b) is concerned with the visitation of the Bavarian Cistercians.

the Carmelites,¹ Franciscans and Poor Clares was also promoted by special enactments.²

It was a great satisfaction to the Pope that during his pontificate the Order of Capuchins, which he so greatly esteemed, set foot in Germany, and at once rendered great services there to the work of Catholic reform. The first impulse to the summoning of the Capuchins to Innsbruck was given by the pious Anna Caterina of Mantua, the second wife of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who had known the Capuchins in her own country. Her wish at first met with strong opposition in the General Chapter, held in Rome in June, 1593, because it was thought that the inclement climate of the northern Tyrol was incompatible with the rigour of the rule of the Order. It required the intervention of Clement VIII. to induce the Chapter to consent to the wish of the Archduchess. In September, 1593, the provincial of the Venetian province, Father Giovanni, with five Capuchins and a lay-brother, crossed the Brenner, and made their way to the capital of the Tyrol. The Archduchess provisionally assigned to them her small villa of Ruhelust, situated in the middle of the garden of the castle, and herself laid the first stone of the new convent of Saggen. On December 18th, 1594, the convent and church were ready to be blessed.³

The first house of the Capuchins on German soil beyond the Alps was composed entirely of Italians, but in spite of this they spread rapidly. The very rigour with which they carried on their ascetic life, fashioned under a far more clement sky, in the more severe northern climate, made a deep impression. Their simple and unassuming ways won the

¹ Cf. the *brief to Rudolph II., April 10, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 99, Papal Secret Archives.

² See the *brief of April 18, 1603, to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, the Archduke Maximilian, concerning the Franciscans at Innsbruck, Arm. 44, t. 47, n. 92, Papal Secret Archives. *Ibid.* t. 45, in 286, to Bishop Spaur of Brixen, concerning the Poor Clares, July 28, 1601.

³ See the work, based on the archives, by M. HETZENAUER. *Das Kapuzinerkloster in Innsbruck*, Innsbruck, 1893.

hearts both of the nobles and the poor, and as early as 1596 the first German novices put on the habit of St. Francis at Innsbruck.¹ In the same year Archbishop Wolf Dietrich von Raitenau summoned the Capuchins to Salzburg.² At the beginning of the XVIIth century to the existing convents in the south of the Tyrol (Rovereto, Trent and Arco) there was added another at Borgo.³ Thanks to Bishop Christopher Spaur the Capuchins went to Brixen in 1602: they had already begun to build a convent at Botzen in 1599.⁴ The house of the Order at Innsbruck enjoyed in a special way the favour of the pious Archduke Maximilian, the successor of Ferdinand. He furnished their convent with a library, and later on himself built there a hermitage, in order that he might spend some time in the convent and devote himself to spiritual exercises.⁵

At the close of the century the Capuchins had also set foot in Bohemia.⁶ Ever since 1575, Brus, then Archbishop of

¹ Cf. EBERL, *Gesch. der bayr. Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz* (1593-1902), Freiburg, 1902, 6 *seq.*, 14.

² See A. STEIDL, *Gesch. der Kapuziner in Erzbistum Salzburg*, Salzburg, 1893.

³ See HIRN, *Erzherzog Maximilian I.*, 289.

⁴ See HOHENEGGER, *Gesch. der Tiroler Kapuziner-Ordensprovinz*, I., Innsbruck, 1914, 16 *seq.*; EBERL, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seq.*

⁵ See HIRN, *loc. cit.* 289 *seq.* For the hermitage of the Archduke, which is still in existence, see HETZENAUER, *loc. cit.* 38 *seq.*

⁶ Cf. for what follows FR. TISCHER, *Uvendení řádu Kapuzinů do Čech okolo r. 1600*, in *Sitzungsber. der böhm. Ges. der Wissensch.*, 1907, Nr. 9, Prague, 1908. For Benedetto da Urbino, who went with P. Lorenzo to Germany, and was afterwards beatified, see the biography by EUSEBIO DA MONTE SANTO, Rome, 1867. Cf. also ROCCO DA CSENALE, I., 323 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*, 329 *seq.*, and the important work of ED. DA ALÉNÇON: *S. Laurentii Brundusini O. M. Cap. de rebus Austriae et Bohemiae commentarium autographum*, Rome, 1910, 5 *seq.* For Lorenzo of Brindisi cf. also LOR. D'AOSTA, *Vita di L. da Br.*, Rome, 1881; *Sulla vita di s. Lorenzo da Brindisi dell'ordine dei Cappuccini. Omaggio dell'Ordine nel solenne triduo della sua canonizzazione*, Milan, 1882; F. DE AJOFRIN, *L. da Br.*, Madrid, 1904.

Prague, had desired to have the Capuchins in his diocese, to assist the labours of the Jesuits, who had gone thither a short time before to improve the sad religious conditions. What had not then proved possible was accomplished by Berka von Duba, together with some influential nobles, and with the help of Clement VIII. In the autumn of 1599 twelve Capuchins met together in Venice; under the leadership of Lorenzo da Brindisi, who had distinguished himself as a preacher in many cities, and before the Pope himself, they passed through the Tyrol and came to Vienna. During their journey they were often exposed to affronts and insults, on account of their bare feet and the strangeness and novelty of their dress. They had to make a stay at Vienna, because an epidemic was raging in Bohemia, and some of them had become ill, not being accustomed to the climate. Six, at the request of the Archduke Matthias, remained in the Austrian capital to found a convent there, and only four of them, among them Lorenzo da Brindisi, set out for Bohemia, and reached Prague on November 13th, 1599. Their position in that city, which was so disturbed by the sectaries, was at first very difficult. Lorenzo was ill-treated in the streets, and only the intervention of the nuncio saved him from a worse fate. Even more serious for them was the fact that after a short time the good will which had first been shown for them by the Emperor was changed into the greatest dislike. The exile which was decreed against them was fortunately averted by the chancellor Lobkovic, and Rudolph, who was a lover of the arts, was placated by the gift of a picture of the Epiphany, which one of the Capuchins had painted. It was a favourable circumstance for them when Rudolph's Calvinist chamberlain, Machowski, was arrested for theft, and for having forged the signature of the Emperor. In November, 1603, it was possible to bless the church and convent of the Capuchins on the Hradschin, in the presence of the Archduke Matthias and a great crowd of people. The Capuchins established a confraternity of the Passion of Christ, which was later on confirmed by Paul V., and enriched with indulgences.¹ "Thanks be to God" the nuncio Serra reported

¹ See Bull. Capuc., IV., 177 seq., 180.

at that time, "the number of the Catholics is increasing ; besides the Jesuits and Klesl, the bishop-elect of Vienna, it is especially the Capuchins who reap a rich harvest."¹ Similar reports came from Vienna² and Graz. Lorenzo da Brindisi had also founded a convent in the capital of Styria, on his return journey in 1600.³

Like the houses at Prague, Vienna and Graz, to which one at Brünn was added in 1604, so also the convent which was founded in 1600 at Munich by the Archduke Maximilian became the centre of many offshoots of the Order.⁴ In 1600 the Capuchins succeeded in getting a firm footing at Freiburg in Breisgau,⁵ and in 1601 they went to Feldkirch and Augsburg,⁶ in 1603 to Constance⁷ and Ensisheim in Alsace.⁸ In 1605 the Tyrol-Bavarian province was separated from that of Venice, and declared to be quite independent.⁹

In all these places the Order displayed a quiet and steady activity for the restoration of the moral and religious life. If the Jesuits were successful in winning to Catholicism, by their instructions, their sermons and their writings, for the most part the upper classes and the educated, the Capuchins, by their poverty and holy asceticism, and their activities

¹ See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 51, 56, 70, 158.

² See *ibid.* 469.

³ See Bull. Capuc., *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. EBERL, *loc. cit.*, 25 *seq.*, 39 *seq.*

⁵ According to the *Acta of the Communal Archives Freiburg i. Br. the negotiations for the summoning of the Capuchins had begun as early as the end of 1591, but it was only in the spring of 1600 that the matter was settled ; see the original reply of P. Fabritius a Lugano, "provincialis patr. Capucin. prov. Helvetiae" dated "Friburgi Brisg. 1600, I. Kalend. Martii." In the archives of the city of Freiburg there are also to be found the acta concerning the building of the convent.

⁶ See EBERL, 39 *seq.*

⁷ See BOVERIUS, II., 975.

⁸ See PAULUS in *Strassb. Diözesanblatt*, 1889, Archival, Beilage, Nr. 2, p. 32.

⁹ See EBERL, 16.

which were specially adapted to the poorer classes, exercised a wide and similar influence upon the masses of the people. These religious were in great request, as the council of Freiburg wrote to Cardinal Andrew of Austria, because "in carrying out the sacred functions, in their sermons and visits to the sick, were not only zealous, diligent and helpful, but also gave both clergy and laity a living example and model of poverty and humility, and of contempt for all honours and pleasures."¹ "Truly moving, and reminiscent of the most beautiful days of the past," wrote Dr. Ludwig van Gennep in 1595 to a friend, "is the life and work of the Capuchins, whom I have known in Switzerland and the Tyrol. They are poor and humble, and filled with true charity towards their neighbour, as Jesus Christ, their model, was poor, humble and all charity. During their missions their confessionals are besieged, stolen property is given back, and conjugal peace restored."² Thus these convents, so humble in appearance, of the poorest of all the Orders, which, however, Clement VIII. encouraged with all his power,³ became a source of great blessing.

The renewed efforts of the Pope during the second half of his pontificate to settle the succession to Rudolph II., were destined to be of use to the future of the Catholic Church in the Empire. In the autumn of 1598,⁴ he interested himself in the marriage of the Emperor, and again in January of the following year, but without success.⁵ There was no use in thinking any more of plans of this kind, since the state of mind of the unhappy sovereign was steadily becoming worse. The opposition to the choice of a successor, which Rudolph had shown even in the days of his good health, now increased, and took the form of blind outbursts of anger. On September 26th, 1600, the insistence of his ministers, Rumpf and

¹ *Letter of December 24, 1591, Communal Archives, Freiburg i. Br.

² See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V., 220, 224.

³ Cf. Bull. Capuc., *passim*.

⁴ Cf. *letters of September 27, November 2 and 17, 1598, Arm. 44, t. 42, Papal Secret Archives.

⁵ See *letter of January 9, 1599, *ibid.* t. 43, n. 9.

Trautson, upon the question of the succession, drove him into such a state of fury that he dismissed them out of hand. There then commenced a period of valet-rule at the court of Prague.¹

The dismissal of the two hitherto all-powerful ministers, which revealed to the whole world the illness of Rudolph, caused the greatest excitement in Rome, as everywhere else. Clement VIII., who received full reports from his nuncio at Prague of the grave neurasthenic state of the Emperor,² realized that a settlement of the question of the succession by the election of a King of the Romans was more than ever urgent in view of these changed circumstances. He would above all have been pleased by the choice of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, whom he personally knew and esteemed, and whose Catholic zeal was beyond all doubt. Next he thought of the Archduke Albert, who was also Catholic in his ideas. But he would also have accepted the choice of the Archduke Matthias, whose religious zeal and mental capacity were somewhat doubtful, for the sake of settling this important problem.³ But fear lest his intervention should cause discord in the house of Hapsburg, which would complicate the matter even more, led the Pope to refrain from favouring any special candidate. He was under no illusion as to the difficulty which would be met with in inducing Rudolph to come to a decision, as the progress of his morbid sensitiveness had developed in him the fear of being dethroned. In November Clement VIII. had not yet come to a clear decision.⁴ In December he was of the opinion that, no matter how much the Emperor might resist, they must nevertheless endeavour to obtain from him the election of a King of the Romans, and

¹ For the psycho-pathological state of Rudolph II. cf. GINDELY, I., 44 *seq.*, TURBA in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 354 *seq.*; MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, lxiii. *seq.*

² See TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 355 n. 5.

³ See STIEVE in *Abh. der Münchener Akad.*, Hist. Kl., XV., 91.

⁴ * "Suo enim et opportuno tempore quid fieri cupiamus, planius ad te scribemus," says the brief to the Elector of Trêves, November 11, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 382, Papal Secret Archives.

that the best course would be to propose all the three brothers of Rudolph, together with the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria as candidates, leaving the choice to be made by the Electors themselves.¹

One of these, the Elector of Cologne, had gone to Prague in May, 1601, at the invitation of Rudolph, but all his attempts to take the question of the succession a stage further were in vain. It was only after he had left the court that he received from the Emperor orders to interrogate on his way home the Electors of Mayence and Trêves as to the resumption of the negotiations of 1594. The result of this consultation, which the Elector Ernest then proceeded to hold, was a letter of November 23rd, 1601, addressed to the Emperor by the three ecclesiastical Electors, expressing their regret that the opportunity had not been seized in 1594 of settling the succession, but now refusing, on account of the suspicions which they would bring upon themselves from the Protestant States, to interfere in the matter. The initiative must come from the Emperor, who must decide whether he intended to deal with the matter in a Diet specially convoked for that purpose, or at the next Diet.²

Perhaps the autograph letter which Clement VIII. addressed to the Emperor, almost at the same time, on November 22nd, 1601, was connected with this step. In this he adjured him, for the good of Christendom, for the preservation of the Catholic faith in Germany, in the interest of his own house, and the safety of his hereditary states, to proceed to the choice of a prince of his own family as King of the Romans. Clement prudently added that, whoever the Emperor intended to choose, the Pope would interpose on his behalf with all his authority.³ The particulars were to be dealt with by the royal and Imperial councillor, Doctor Bartholomew Pezzen,

¹ See the autograph *instructions of Clement VIII., December 1600, to the Spanish nuncio, from the register of instructions for Spain; Borghese, IV., 162, in TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 348 n. 2.

² See STIEVE, *loc. cit.* 82 seq. Cf. also the *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswiss.*, VI. (1891), 59.

³ The text of the letter in STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 145 seq.

who was on his way back to Prague, and the nuncio Filippo Spinelli. But however delicately the Pope had expressed himself in making this suggestion, the Emperor received it very badly. Like the exhortations which came from Philip III., the Pope's letter only increased his suspicions, and confirmed him in his determination not to allow, at any cost, the authority which he was no longer thought capable of exercising, to be taken out of his hands. The Pope's representative, like the ambassador of Spain, although they insistently demanded it, could obtain no further audience at the court, and whoever approached the subject was certain to fall into complete disgrace.¹

On December 29th, 1601, Clement VIII. had recourse to the Elector of Cologne, encouraging him to push forward the business.² On March 29th he wrote to the Elector of Trêves, expressing the hope that the Emperor would at last pay attention to the advice so often given him, and asking the Elector to support the efforts of the Holy See.³ On June 15th, 1602, the Elector of Cologne received special praise for his insistence with Rudolph II.,⁴ and when in August Ernest sent the Pope better news of the state of affairs, Clement VIII. was very pleased and exhorted him to continue his efforts, which were so important to the Holy See.⁵ By the end of 1602, however, there was no longer any doubt that these joyful hopes were groundless. If the Emperor does not change his mind, Clement VIII. then wrote to the Elector of Cologne, the situation will become dangerous ; unfortunately

¹ See GINDELY, Rodolfo II., Vol. I., 55.

² *Brief in Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 435, Papal Secret Archives.

³ Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 86, Papal Secret Archives.

⁴ *"*Crescunt in dies merita tua . . . crescit et spes nostra . . . gloriosius facere nihil potes*" (Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 176, Papal Secret Archives). The *letter of Ernest to the Pope, April 29, 1602, in Barb. 1992, Vatican Library.

⁵ *"*Tu ut soles, nullam opportunitatem praetermittas, ut ea in re bene de Ecclesia Dei et re christiana merearis.*" Brief of December 14, 1602, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 285, Papal Secret Archives.

Rudolph II. mistrusted the paternal sentiments of the head of the Church ; therefore, as the Pope feared to make the situation worse by interfering, he begged Ernest to find out the ideas of the other Electors as to the course to be adopted ; he himself would be ready to do anything ; but, however desperate the situation seemed to be, they must not yet abandon hope.¹

The Archduke Maximilian, during his stay at Prague in June and October, 1603, spoke to the Emperor with all the frankness that characterized him about the question of the succession, and tried to get him to make up his mind, either to marry at once, or at any rate to allow the election of a King of the Romans. But he was no more successful than the others.² At the beginning of August, 1603, the auditor of the nunciature, Sebastiano Lamberto Fornari, in whose hands the nuncio Spinelli had left the affairs of the nunciature when he returned to Italy, reported to Rome that they were making wagers in Prague as to whether the Emperor would marry or no, and that the question of the election of a King of the Romans was almost lost sight of.³ The new nuncio, Giovanni Stefano Ferreri, thereafter adopted an attitude of waiting with regard to this delicate question. At the end of July, 1604, he was invited by San Clemente, the Spanish ambassador in Prague, to a conference, at which there were also present the representative of Ernest of Bavaria, the Elector of Cologne, and the Emperor's confessor, Johann Pistorius. All of them were agreed that it would be a catastrophe if the succession were not settled while the Emperor was still alive. San

¹ Brief of December 7, 1602 (Papal Secret Archives), text in App. No. 40 " Si conosce assai chiaro che per hora non intende venire all'elezione del re de' Romani," wrote the envoy of Lucca in his report of November 12, 1602, which gives an interesting account of the pathological state of Rudolph II. V. A. PELLEGRINI, *Relazioni inedite di ambasciatori Lucchesi alla corte di Vienna*, Lucca, 1902, 20 seq.

² See HIRN in *Archiv. f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 257.

³ See MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, 38.

Clemente maintained the opinion that the ecclesiastical Electors should take the initiative ; one of the three should go to Saxony, and then in the name of the latter lay the case before Rudolph. The representative of Cologne agreed, but said that the Elector of Mayence was the suitable spokesman, though he expressed the fear that this would offend the Emperor very much, and that Rudolph would be no more disposed to discuss the question of the succession with the envoy of Saxony than with the others, and that therefore it would be better to wait until His Majesty acted of his own accord. San Clemente retorted that the Emperor was only playing with them. The envoy of Cologne remarked that the Electors ought to have some pretext for their action, as for example an order from the more important princes of Germany. Pistorius advised that the brothers of the Emperor should intervene at the same time, but that the princes should be urged to do so by the Pope ; among the Electors the Elector of Cologne was the one best fitted to take the lead, but he must not act on his own account, but only in virtue of a common decision. San Clemente associated himself with this point of view. It was only then that Ferreri, who had so far listened in silence, gave his opinion. He declared that no other subject was causing the Pope so much anxiety as the question of the succession, since upon it depended the decision whether Germany was to remain united to the Catholic Church or to be lost. His Holiness had already frequently made remonstrances, both directly and indirectly, but always without result, and that though he knew no fear of any man, he would nevertheless be little disposed to issue briefs to the more important bishops and the princes of the Empire, and thus run the risk of forfeiting the confidence of the Emperor, of whom he had need in this matter, no less than in the question of the Low Countries and other matters as well. In spite of this the nuncio would not fail to report this discussion to the Pope. All of them then declared that it would be enough if the Pope would write to six bishops, to the brothers of the Emperor, and to the Duke of Bavaria ; these could then exhort the Electors, without in any way revealing the

initiative of the Pope, but making a pretext of the danger threatening the religion of the Empire.¹

In reply to this communication Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini wrote that as the matter was so full of difficulties, he would like to discuss it in detail; Clement VIII. decided to adopt the proposal. On October 9th, 1604, briefs were sent from Frascati to the Archbishop of Salzburg, the bishops of Augsburg, Würzburg, Eichstätt, Spire and Strasbourg, urging them to co-operate in inducing the Emperor at last to make a declaration as to the election of a King of the Romans. On January 22nd, 1605, the Pope wrote to the Elector of Cologne that the election of a King of the Romans was causing him great anxiety; everything must be done to persuade the Emperor to this step. Disturbances were threatening on the part of the Protestants, and therefore the Pope asked the Elector to go as soon as possible to Prague, and not to rest until the Emperor had consented to everything.²

On February 5th, 1605, a further brief was sent to the Elector of Cologne, in which the Pope again said that he considered nothing so urgent as the election of a King of the Romans; although the Elector had already carried the matter further than could have been hoped, it was now a case of not allowing the Emperor to escape them before the purpose was attained.³ Soon after this Clement VIII. died.

Just as had been the case with the question of the succession, so also, during the last days of his life, the Pope was filled with grave anxiety at the news which he received from the nuncio at Prague concerning the dangerous claims to religious liberty being made by the Hungarian rebels. It seemed very probable, from various signs, that the Emperor would give way; Rudolph's malady was steadily getting worse. In spite of all his efforts the nuncio Ferreri was unable to obtain an audience, while on the other hand he learned from a

¹ See the report of Ferreri to Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, August 2, 1604, in MEYER, 188 *seq.*

² See MEYER, 234, 287.

³ See *ibid.*, 303.

reliable source at the beginning of 1605 that the Emperor had abandoned the Catholic faith, and had expressed himself in favour of Protestantism.¹

The effect of this was that such alarm seized upon the authorities in Rome that even the obvious successes of the Catholic cause were not appreciated at their true value. This was clearly shown by the sceptical attitude with which the end of the struggle for the diocese of Strasbourg was received by Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini.² It cannot be denied that some of the conditions of the arrangement come to in November, 1604, were hard for the Catholics, but their principal object had nevertheless been attained, namely the definite defeat of the attempt of the Protestants to obtain possession of so important a diocese.³

Another encouraging success was the election of Jakob Fugger, a man of extraordinary capacity, as Prince-Bishop of Constance. "Nothing will be nearer to my heart," Jakob Fugger stated in the petition which he sent to the Pope on January 30th, 1604, asking for his confirmation, "than the renewal of the diocese, which is, as it were, suffocated by the wrath of the heretics, and by debts."⁴ Fugger kept his word. He was assisted by his coadjutor, Jakob Mirgel, an alumnus of the Germanicum, who became the saviour of the diocese from both the religious and the civil points of view.⁵ This

¹ Cf. *ibid.* 241, 247, 250, 265 *seq.*, 299 *seq.*, 300 *seq.*, 314.

² See letter of Cardinal C. Aldobrandini, February 12. 1605, *ibid.*, 309.

³ By the treaty of Hagenau, November 22, 1604, the Protestant administrator, having been appeased with a sum of money, renounced the bishopric; the Protestant canons, it is true, retained the fraternity-house and the canons' houses for fifteen years, but had to give up the other rights of the chapter to the Catholic canons. Thus was won the first great victory on the Upper Rhine; see SCHMIDLIN, 408, n. 1.

⁴ See *ibid.* 377 n. 4.

⁵ Cf. the excellent monograph by HOLL: Fürstbischof J. Fugger von Konstanz u. die kath. Reform der Diözese die Erzbischöfe des 17 Jahrh., Freiburg, 1898.

was a matter of an importance that could not be over-estimated, since not only a great part of Swabia, all the Breisgau and almost the whole of Wurtemberg, but also the greater part of German Switzerland belonged to the diocese of Constance.

As was the case with Switzerland, so the Spanish Netherlands, though separated from the German Empire, were in close relations with it. It was of decisive importance for the state of religion when Philip II., after the short viceroyalty of the Archduke Ernest (1593 to February 20, 1595)¹ appointed the Archduke Albert, who was also a loyal Catholic, to succeed him as lieutenant of the Spanish Low Countries.

As was the case with so many sons of princes in those days, so in that of Albert it had been external considerations rather than any interior inclination which had led him at the age of seventeen to assume the ecclesiastical dress. As early as May, 1577, he received the purple.² In 1579 the Cardinal Archduke received the subdiaconate, without proceeding to the higher orders. Circumstances then drove him to quite another career, with his appointment as lieutenant of Portugal,

¹ For the Catholic sentiments of the Archduke Ernest *cf.* DUHR, I., 703 *seq.* for his munificence to pious and charitable works see COREMANS, L'Archiduc Ernest, Brussels, 1847. In a *brief of September 10, 1593, Clement VIII. wrote to the Archduke Ernest: "We have just learned that the King has entrusted the Governorship to you. We hope to see an end of the long and serious disturbance of the country, in view of your ability and your relations with the King; we commend to you the faithful especially the poor and down-trodden; we also desire you to purge the army from the crimes, which have provoked the anger of God: "rapinis, caedibus, stupris" with which they afflict even their friends. You must have confidence in God, and remember His goodness, so as to abhor all that is opposed to it. You must also restrain the abuses of the soldiery from the property of the neighbouring churches and the priests. God forbids all plunder on the part of the soldiery." Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 399, Papal Secret Archives.

² See TURBA in *Archiv f. österr. Gesch.*, LXXXVI., 326 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 223.

which took place in February, 1583. After he had worked there for ten years, he returned in the autumn of 1593 to the Spanish court, in order to relieve the sickly king from the burden of government. The king would gladly have given him the archdiocese of Toledo, which had an annual revenue of a quarter of a million, but this was opposed by Cardinal Quiroga, who held it. When at last in August, 1594, Quiroga accepted Albert as his coadjutor, his succession seemed assured. After the death of Quiroga, which took place soon afterwards, Albert was able, with the Pope's consent to take possession of the archdiocese on April 3rd, 1595, but his consecration did not take place as Philip II. decided to entrust to him the lieutenancy of the Low Countries, and also because the King of Spain from that time cherished the idea of giving his favourite daughter Isabella in marriage to Albert, and of giving her the Low Countries as her dowry.¹

The ideas with which the Archduke Albert intended to discharge his new office was shown by his going to visit, even before his entry into Brussels (February 11th, 1596) the celebrated sanctuary of Our Lady of Hal. As the Low Countries were at war with Henry IV. and Maurice of Orange, Clement VIII. allowed the Archduke, although he was a cleric, to take his place armed at the head of the Spanish troops.² Albert was more successful in diplomatic undertakings than in military ones, and on May 2nd, 1598, peace was concluded with France at Vervins, with the co-operation of the Pope.³ This was made easier by the fact that Philip II., in order to save the Low Countries intact for the house of Austria and the Catholic Church, had at last resolved to cede them to an Archduke of the German line. On May 6th, 1598, the deed was drawn up by which he gave his daughter Isabella as wife to Albert, and assigned the Low Countries to her by way of dowry as an hereditary principality. This document, however, and still more a secret treaty, contained important

¹ See TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 329 *seq.*

² See *ibid.*, 331.

³ Cf. *supra*, p. 212.

restrictions ensuring their union with Spain. Albert and Isabella were to bind themselves by oath to the maintenance of the Catholic religion and the suppression of Protestantism.¹ Clement VIII. gave the necessary dispensation for Albert to abandon the ecclesiastical state, and the Archduke went once more to the sanctuary at Hal, in order to lay his cardinalitial robes upon the altar of Our Lady, on July 13th, 1598.²

Philip II., who died on September 13th, 1598, did not live to see the marriage of his daughter. Even before the news of his death arrived, Albert had temporarily entrusted the government of the Low Countries to Cardinal Andrew of Austria, and had set out to celebrate his marriage with Isabella. The Pope himself was to bless the union. This took place on November 15th, 1598, at Ferrara, where Albert was represented by the Duke of Sessa.³ The marriage took place at Valencia in April, 1599.⁴ On September 5th, Albert and Isabella, who were enthusiastically acclaimed by the majority of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, made their entry into Brussels.⁵

Clement VIII., just as he had associated himself with the journey of the rulers of the Low Countries by his blessing,⁶ continued to take an active part in their future destiny.⁷

¹ See TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 367 *seq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 300 *seq.*

² See DE MONTPLEINCHAMP, *Hist. de l'archiduc Albert*, éd. Robaulx de Soumay, 158; M. DE VILLERMONT, *L'infante, Isabelle*, I., 142 *seq.*; *Corresp. de Frangipani*, I., 149, 152 *seq.*, 154.

³ Cf. Vol. XXIV. of this work, p. 402 *seq.*

⁴ See GACHARD, *Lettres de PHILIPPE II. à ses filles*, 49 *seq.*

⁵ See PIRENNE, IV., 309 *seq.* Cf. TURBA, *loc. cit.*, 374.

⁶ Cf. the *briefs to Albert and Isabella, July 11, 1599, in which he expresses his sorrow that they had not come to Rome. Arm. 44, t. 43, nn. 326-327. Papal Secret Archives.

⁷ Cf. the *briefs of consolation which Clement VIII. addressed to Albert and Isabella for the unfortunate result of the war, first on July 26, 1600 (Arm. 44, t. 44, nn. 207, 208, Papal Secret Archives), and again on December 7, 1602 (*ibid.* t. 46, nn. 331, 332).

The importance which the Holy See attached to the Low Countries was shown by the formation of a new nunciature at Brussels in 1595. Since September, 1594, a special nuncio had been sent to the Archduke Ernest,¹ and after his departure the nuncio at Cologne, Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, resumed once more, as before, the care of affairs in the Low Countries. But the state of affairs in Germany called for so much of his attention that he was unable to devote the necessary care to the Low Countries. Clement VIII. therefore took the opportunity of the acceptance of the government by the Archduke Albert, to give orders to Frangipani on April 20th, 1596, to take up his residence for the future with the new governor at Brussels.² Thus the nunciature of Flanders came into being. This was an important step in the road to Catholic reform which was being followed by the Papal policy.³ The nunciature had its natural complement in the establishment of an embassy of the government of Archduke in Rome. Hitherto there had only been a diplomatic agent there in the person of Laurus Dubliul, but on May 15th, 1600, Jean Richardot was appointed Belgian resident at the court of Rome.⁴ When this distinguished man became Bishop of

¹ Cf. the excellent article by R. MAERE : *Les origines de la Nonciature de Flandre*, in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII. (1906), 815, 828 *seq.*

² See *ibid.* 823. V. BRANT has published in the periodical *Museon*, X. (1891), 99 *seq.* the brief to Albert about Frangipani ; see also *Corresp. de Frangipani*, I., 385 *seq.*

³ See MAERE *loc. cit.* 824. Cf. DENS-MAERE, *L'organisation de la Nonciat. de Flandre*, in *Annuaire de l'Univ. de Louvain*, 1898, 10 *seq.* ; CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Instructions aux Nonces des Pays-Bas*, Louvain, 1904 ; the introduction and supplement to this dissertation in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, V. (1904), 17 *seq.* Cf. also the summary given by GOEMANS of the contents of the first ten volumes of the Nunziat. di Fiandra in the Papal Secret Archives, in the *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het aloude Hertogdom Brabant*, 1906.

⁴ See GOEMANS, *Het Belgische Gezantschap te Rome onder de regeering der aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella*, in the

Arras in 1603, his place was taken by Don Pedro de Toledo, who held the office of ambassador from April, 1603, to May, 1605.¹

Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, who took up his new position at Brussels in the middle of September, 1596, was given no new instructions, since during his administration of the nunciature of Cologne, he had acquired a detailed knowledge of its requirements. The first letters which he received from the Cardinal Secretary of State urged him to further the conclusion of peace with France, the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and its liberties, and above all the reform of the clergy.² The programme for this had already been laid down by the decrees of the Council of Trent. Now that a royal couple who were animated by strict Catholic views had assumed the reins of government, it seemed that the time had come to carry into effect the work of Catholic restoration and reform which had already been inaugurated in the Spanish

Bijdragen (preceding note) VI. (1907), 3 *seqq.*, 8, 10, 78, VII. (1908), 255 *seqq.*, 260 *seq.*, VIII. (1909), 89 *seqq.* Cf. DUFLLOT, J. Richardot, Arras, 1898; J. BRANTS, J. Richardot: Note sur les origines de la légation des Pays-Bas à Rome et la nonciat. du St. Siège à Bruxelles, Louvain, 1891; the same, J. Richardot, évêque d'Arras, archévêque de Cambrai (died 1614). Notes et documents, Louvain, 1902; L. VAN DER ESSEN, Les archiducs Albert et Isabelle et les origines de la légation belge auprès du Vatican, in the *Rev. latine*, V. (1922), 41 *seqq.*

¹ See *Bijdragen* (*supra* p. 397., n. 3), VII. (1908), 350 *seqq.*

² See CAUCHIE-MAERE, Recueil des Instructions, xxvii, xxxviii. 3 *seq.* The correspondence of Frangipani (*cf.* GACHARD in the *Bulletin de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, IV., 1, 298; PRIOT, Un registre aux corresp. de Frangipani, *ibid.* V., 3, 7 *seq.*; CAUCHIE Rapport sur la corresp. d'O. M. Frangipani, cons. à la Bibl. nat. de Naples, Brussels, 1908) is to be published by the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome. So far we have the 1st. vol. (Corresp. de Frangipani, I.) in excellent collaboration with L. van der Essen (Rome, 1924). See also PRIOT, Un recueil des lettres adr. à F. Nipho, secrét. de la Nonciat. de Flandre, 1602 *seq.* in the *Comptes rendus de la Commiss. Roy. d'hist.*, V., 19 (1897).

Low Countries. In this matter valuable assistance was given, not only by the government, but also by most of the bishops and by the Jesuits.

The task was a difficult one, as the storms of the religious schism had produced horrible abuses. The war with France, too, had lasted until May, 1598, and later on the war with the apostate northern provinces. It is possible to form some idea of the prevailing devastation if we remember that, out of the hundred and thirty churches in the diocese of Bruges, only thirty were in a good state of repair in 1600, while nothing but the crumbling walls remained of the others, which had been sacked and abandoned.¹ Fortunately the moral damage was less than the material, and the majority of the people had remained loyal to Catholicism.²

Thanks to the united efforts of the Pope and the government at Brussels, the Catholic Church in the Low Countries was to rise from its ruins in a surprisingly short time, and become more powerful than it had ever been in the past.³ Clement VIII., after he had succeeded in bringing about peace between France and Spain, set himself to put an end to the war with the provinces which had separated themselves from Spain. In this matter he counted above all upon the help of the Emperor Rudolph II. On June 20th, 1603, he wrote to him saying that restoration of peace in the Low Countries was in the interests of the Catholic religion, as much as in those of the house of Austria; the Pope would do his best, but the Emperor must also bring all his authority to bear for the same purpose, and that only then could Spain co-operate in the Turkish war. Unfortunately all these efforts were in vain.⁴

Another obstacle to reform was the attitude of the Spanish

¹ See *Analectes p. servir à l'hist. ecclés.*, III., 272.

² Cf. report of Frangipani, October 12, 1596, in his *Corresp.*, I., 228 *seq.*

³ See PIRENNE, IV., 486.

⁴ Cf. MEYER, *Nuntiaturberichte* 28, 33, 41, 47, 53, 87, 116, 168, 190, 254.

officials, who had been trained in cesaropapistical ideas, and especially of the violent Count Fuentes. The latter, who was a relative of Alba, opposed the Archbishop of Cambrai, Louis de Berlaymont, in the exercise of his ecclesiastical and civil authority, in such a way that that prince of the Church had to appeal to the intervention of the Holy See.¹ Although the Pope repeatedly had recourse to Cardinal Andrew of Austria and the Archduke Albert,² he was unable to obtain the restoration of their civil jurisdiction to the archbishop and his chapter.³ In other ways, however, the government did all in its power to oppose Protestantism and to support the religious revival.

The bishops, too, displayed a praiseworthy zeal.⁴ There worked in accordance with the spirit of Catholic reform, Matthias Hovius at Malines (1596-1620),⁵ Levinus Torrentius (died 1596), and Johann Miraeus⁶ the brother of the historian,

¹ See CAUCHIE, *Mission aux arch.*, Vatic. (1892), 46 *seq.*; *Corresp. de Frangipani*, I., liv. *seq.*, 142 *seq.*, 386 *seq.*, 390 *seq.*, 394 *seq.*, 400 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*, 407 *seq.*, 410 *seq.*

² Besides the brief of June 29, 1596, cited by CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Receuil*, 5 n. 2, there also belong here the *letters of Clement VIII. to Cardinal Andrew of Austria of April 22 and September 9, 1597, and the *briefs to the Archduchess Isabella of February 15, 1602, and to the Archduke Albert of April 26, 1602, containing renewed exhortations, and in which allusion is made to certain courteous expressions of the Archduke. *Arm.* 44, t. 46, nn. 12 and 128, Papal Secret Archives.

³ See CAUCHIE-MAERE, *Receuil*, 6 n.

⁴ See A. PASTURE in *Annuaire de l'Univ. de Louvain*, 1908, 341 *seq.*; *Corresp. de Frangipani*, I., liii.

⁵ See *Gallia christ.*, V., 12.

⁶ See *ibid.*, V., 131. The "Relatio status eccl. Antwerp;" in the Archives of the Council, Rome, sent by L. Torrentius on April 29, 1591, to Rome, was printed in *Anal. per servir à l'hist. ecclés. de Belgique*, XV. (1878), 369 *seq.* For the reports "ad limina" of the bishops of the Spanish Low Countries in the time of Clement VIII. see *Bulletin de la Commiss. Roy d'hist.*, LXXXIII. (1920), 334 *seq.*

Aubert Miraeus¹ (1604-1611) at Antwerp, Charles Philippe Rodoan (1604-1616) at Bruges;² Jean Davé (1594-1595), Jacques Blasé (1596-1600), and François Busseret (1602-1615) at Namur;³ Jean Vendeville (1588-1592) and Michel d'Esne (1596-1614) at Tournai;⁴ Matthieu Moulard at Arras;⁵ Heinrich Cuyck, under very difficult conditions, at Roermond;⁶ and Gilbert Masius, the friend and follower of St. Francis of Sales (1594-1614) at Bois le Duc.⁷ If the bishops found themselves in difficulties, the Pope did not fail to animate their courage.⁸ At Liège Clement VIII. insisted upon measures of reform,⁹ and in 1600 was able to express to the Bishop of Namur his satisfaction at the way in which the decrees of the Council of Trent were being observed in his diocese, and at the fact that ecclesiastical affairs

¹ Aubert Miraeus was first secretary to his uncle Jean, and afterwards court preacher to the Archduke Albert; *cf.* RIDDER, Aubert le Mire (1573-1640), sa vie et ses écrits, Brussels, 1863.

² See Gallia christ., V., 250.

³ See *ibid.* III., 543 *seq.*

⁴ See *ibid.* 242 *seq.* and Corresp. de Frangipani, I., 122.

⁵ See Gallia christ., III., 350.

⁶ Cuyck is the author of the "*Speculum concubinariorum sacerdotum, monachorum ac clericorum*," Cologne, 1599, the *briefs to "*quatuor fratr. comit. Vadenberghae*," of the year 1601, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 65, Papal Secret Archives, makes mention of converts to whom he had given shelter.

⁷ See Gallia christ., V., 399 *seq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 525.

⁸ *Cf.* the *briefs to the Bishop of Roermond, H. Cuyck, December 24, 1604 (Arm. 44, t. 56, p. 385b, Papal Secret Archives) and the Archbishop of Malines, Matthias Hovius, of December 30, 1603 (*ibid.* t. 47, n. 78).

⁹ See CHAPEVILLE, III., 616. *Cf.* EHSER in *Festschrift del Campo Santo*, (1897), 268 n. 1. As early as 1592 Clement VIII, wrote to the Council of Liège, praising their zeal in suppressing the attempts of the innovators, and announcing the mission of the nuncio of Cologne. (*Brevia t. 36, n. 291, Papal Secret Archives). In 1592 a seminary was established at Liège; *cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 429, where we also find particulars of the religious policy of Ernest of Bavaria.

were well managed and that there were no longer any Protestants.¹

Equally valuable work was at the same time being done in the Spanish Low Countries by the Society of Jesus.² Their colleges increased in the most encouraging way. Thus, a college was established in 1591 at Valenciennes, in 1592 at Lille, in 1594 in Luxemburg, in 1598 at Mons, in 1600 at Arras and Saint-Winnoc-Bergues, and in 1604 at Brussels.³ The number of the members, which was 420 in 1595, had risen to 496 by the end of the century, to 568 in 1604, and to 600 in 1605.⁴ Colleges sprang up at Louvain, Tournai, Saint Omer (with a seminary for English priests), Douai, Liège, Maastricht, Ypres, Antwerp, Bruges, Courtrai, Ghent, Valenciennes, Lille, Mons, Saint-Winnoc-Bergues, Arras, Cambrai, Luxemburg and Brussels; to these must be added the mission in Holland and the spiritual work among the soldiers. The number of military chaplains of the Society rose to 24; in 1600 there were 12. These were attached to the college at Brussels. Some of these fathers died as victims to their duty,⁵ and Clement VIII. praised in a special brief the zeal shown by the Jesuits in this work.⁶ Besides the Jesuits, the Capuchins as well obtained a footing in the Low Countries during the last ten years of the XVIth century.⁷ Clement VIII. also furthered

¹ *Brief to J. Blasé, March 3, 1600, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 88, Papal Secret Archives.

² Cf. *Litt. ann. Soc. Jesu*, 1592, 95 seq.; 1593, 217 seq.; 1594-95, 291 seq.; 1596, 350 seq.; 1597, 264 seq.; 1600, 507 seq.; 1601, 707 seq.; 1602, 677 seq.; 1603, 581 seq.; 1604, 670 seq.; 1605, 834 seq.

³ Cf. IUVENCIUS, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, Pars V., tom. post., passim; PIRENNE, IV., 501. For Luxemburg see DUHR, I., 418 seq.; for Ghent see *Messag. des sciences hist.*, 1888, 216 seq.

⁴ See besides PIRENNE, IV., 501, who makes use of the archives at Brussels, also *Litt. ann.*, 1604, 670 seq.; 1605, 834.

⁵ See PONCELET, *Jésuites en Belgique*, 28 seq. Cf. C. SMET, *La Belgique cath.*, III., 188.

⁶ See the *brief to "Petrus Burzelinus S. I." March 27, 1599, Arm. 44, t. 43, Papal Secret Archives.

⁷ Cf. BOVERIUS, II., 474, 957 seq.; Chapeaville, III., 621.

the introduction of the strict reform of the Recollects among the Franciscans.¹ Both the Jesuits and the other Orders found a support in all their needs in the Archduke Albert and his wife Isabella. These two gave the people the most splendid example by their disinterested piety and their purity of life ; their castles and palaces were filled with so Catholic a spirit, that, as Bentivoglio said, men might have felt that they were in a convent rather than at court.²

¹ See Bull., X., 301 seq.

² Cf. I. ALBERDINGK THYM, *Isabella Clara Eugenia*, in his *Verspreide Verhalen*, I., Amsterdam, 1879, 119 seq. ; BRANTS, *Albert et Isabelle*, Louvain, 1910 ; M. DE VILLERMONT, *L'infante Isabelle*, 2 vols., Paris, 1912 ; F. CALLAËY, *Albert et Isabelle*, in the *Bullet. de l'Inst. Hist. Belge*, III. (1924), 13 seq. While this work was in the press, there appeared : A. PASTURE, *La restauration relig. aux Pays-Bas cath. sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596-1633)*, Louvain, 1925. See also A. PASTURE, *La réforme des chapitres séculiers pendant le règne des archiducs (1596-1633)*, in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Hist. Belge de Rome*, V. (Rome, 1925), 5 seq. ; *ibid.*, III. (Rome, 1924), 31 seq. ; F. CALLAËY, *Albert et Isabelle, Souverains de Belgique*.

CHAPTER IX.

CATHOLIC RESTORATION IN SWITZERLAND—THE WORK OF FRANCIS OF SALES.

IN the time of Sixtus V. the nuncio Ottavio Paravicini had rendered great services in promoting the work of Catholic restoration in the Confederated States of Switzerland.¹ After his recall Gregory XIV. had appointed the Bishop of Cassano, Owen Lewis, as his successor on June 20th, 1591.² But the disputes over the arrears of pay of the Swiss commanders employed in France had prevented Lewis from taking possession of his office,³ and the renewed negotiations begun by Clement VIII. led to no result. In consequence of this the Swiss nunciature remained vacant. When Lewis died in October, 1595, the former agreement was restored, and on November 13th, 1595, Clement VIII. informed the seven Cantons of the appointment of Count Giovanni Della Torre, Bishop of Veglia, as nuncio to Switzerland.⁴

In his instructions Della Torre was warned to prevent the interference of the civil authorities with ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and to reform the clergy, though he was ordered to proceed with great caution. The instructions praised the labours of the Jesuits and Capuchins in Switzerland, and entered in great detail into the condition of the Benedictine

¹ Cf. Vol. XXII. of this work, p. 137 *seqq.*

² See BIAUDET, *Nonciatures*, 169.

³ See MAYER, I., 328.

⁴ See *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 78 *seq.* The *obedientia* of the Swiss Catholics, which had been postponed on account of the dispute about the pay (cf. *Hist.-pol. Bl.*, clxvi., 109), took place on December 23, 1593; see *Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XX1., 621. Cf. the brief in *Archiv f. schweiz Reformationsgesch.*, II., 76.

abbeys in that country. At Einsiedeln good discipline prevailed ; at St. Gall the strict abbot must be supported ; at Muri steps must be taken for the appointment of a new abbot ; Wettingen and St. Urban must be reformed. As a general measure the Benedictines were urged to make their studies at Dillingen. At Chur Della Torre was ordered to complete the reforms begun there a short time before by the nuncio in Germany, Porzia.¹

Owing to the profound discontent that prevailed on account of the deferred pay, the nuncio was only able to make slow progress, but by his prudent behaviour he overcame all obstacles. After having at first stayed for a time at Stans, in 1596 he was once more able to take up his residence at Lucerne,² and in course of time gained the confidence and affection of the confederate authorities to such a degree that they later on repeatedly urged the Pope to elevate him to the cardinalate.³

The reforming activities of Della Torre were very far-reaching. By frequent visitations of the convents and parishes of the various Cantons and communal territories he obtained personal knowledge of the religious requirements, and carried out reforms where necessary. The reform of the diocese of Chur occupied his attention for a long time, but when he returned to Lucerne towards the end of 1599, he could say that he had substantially fulfilled that task.⁴

In Switzerland Clement VIII. supported by his advice, encouragement and praise, the work of restoration which the excellent Bishop of Basle, Christopher Blarer, had set before

¹ See *Instructions to the Bishop of Veglia, 1595, Barb. LVI., 53, p. 31 *seq.*, Vatican Library, and Inform. polit. X., State Library, Berlin. Cf. MAYER, I., 330 *seq.* ; the brief of March 4, 1595, concerning the mission of Porzia, in *Archiv f. Schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, II., 77.

² See MAYER, I., 334 *seq.*

³ See *Abschiede*, V., I, 708, 721 ; cf. 920, 937.

⁴ See MAYER, I., 339 *seq.*

himself in his diocese,¹ as his life's work.² Della Torre was indefatigable, and his work of visitation extended as far as Vintschgau and Alsace.³ His successor, Ladislaus d'Aquino, even thought that he had been too zealous in performing and supplying the duties that pertained to the bishops.⁴

The intervention of Della Torre among the Swiss Benedictines was followed by the happiest results. Since in the case of most of the abbeys monastic discipline and order had already been introduced, he as well as others of his contemporaries, among whom was Abbot Augustine of Einsiedeln, thought that the moment was opportune for the formation of a Congregation which would assure the work of reform for the future. In July, 1602, the Abbots of Einsiedeln, St. Gall, Muri and Fischingen united in forming the Swiss Congregation, while Clement VIII. and the nuncio zealously laboured to spread this congregation. In accordance with the orders which he had received from Rome, Della Torre also revived

¹ Cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 141. See also Büchi's edition of the work by KLEINERT, *Der Bieler Tauschhandel, 1594-1608* (Zurich, 1914), in *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1914. Büchi rightly points out, as against Kleinert, that Blarer did nothing else in his efforts for restoration, than the Protestant Cantons had long done in their own favour. Prof. Schmidlin is preparing a monograph upon the labours of Blarer on behalf of the Catholic restoration in Alsace.

² See the briefs published in *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformations-gesch.*, II., 74 seq., and in *Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 444 seq. Cf. *Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XIII., 274 seq. A similar *brief of praise as that to the Bishop of Lausanne (*Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 455) was sent on June 15, 1602, to the Bishops of Constance, Chur and Basle, Arm. 44, t. 46, nn. 178-180, Papal Secret Archives. Cf. *ibid.* t. 47, nn. 128 and 129, the *briefs to Freiburg and the Bishop of Lausanne, May 16, 1603. For Einsiedeln see RINGHOLZ, *Einsiedeln*, 42, 348. Clement VIII. to Chysat, see SEGESSER, *Pfyffer*, III., 2, 300.

³ See MAYER, I., 342 seq.; cf. II., 28, 147, 160.

⁴ *Ibid.* II., 325.

the Benedictine Congregation of Swabia.¹ The Cistercian monastery of Wettingen was reformed in 1594 by the young and energetic Peter II., who had been elected abbot. This distinguished man also insisted upon the convents of women which were subject to him observing religious discipline, and especially the enclosure. At the same time Prior Johann Eckstein reformed the Carthusian house at Ittingen in Thurgau.²

In his letters Della Torre often praised the labours of the Jesuits,³ who had flourishing colleges at Lucerne, Freiburg, Porrentruy, and, after 1603, also at Constance. On December 21st, 1597, Peter Canisius died at the college of Freiburg, worn out with age and sickness ; among the religious who had devoted all their energies to the preservation and restoration of the Catholic faith in Germany, there had been none who equalled him, and friends and foes alike have long since been at one in saying that the title of the second Apostle of Germany belongs to him, while by his residence of seventeen years in Switzerland he had also become the apostle of that country.⁴

A few months before Canisius, his faithful friend, Peter Schnewlin, the Provost of Freiburg, had died in the service of the plague-stricken ; among the many fellow-labourers of

¹ *Ibid.* I., 345, II., 162 *seqq.* The *brief, hardly mentioned here, in which Clement VIII. praised his plan of forming a congregation, August 9, 1602, is in Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 237, Papal Secret Archives.

² See MAYER, II., 174 *seq.*, 180. For the reform of the Abbey of St. Gall see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XII. (1918), 43 *seq.*

³ Cf. MAYER, II., 201. For the college of Lucerne cf. Vol. XX. of this work, p. 141. L. VAUTREY, *Hist. du Collège de Porrentruy*, P., 1866, wrote the history of the Jesuit college founded at Pruntrut in 1599. In 1601 Clement VIII. granted to the Jesuits the right to visit the convents of women at Lucerne ; see *Jahrb. f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XI., 173 *seq.*

⁴ See BRAUNSBERGER, Canisius, 267 *seq.*, 297 *seq.* Cf. *Anal. Boll.*, XIII. (1894), 379 *seq.* ; METZLER, P. Canisius, M. Gladbach, 1925.

Canisius at Freiburg, Schnewlin was the most important. As the organizer of the whole system of scholastic instruction, as an indefatigable preacher, as vicar-general of the exiled Bishop of Lausanne, and as apostolic visitor, he had rendered the most signal services to his native land.¹

The ecclesiastical life which had thus been restored in Catholic Switzerland had its effect also upon those adherents of the Catholic Church who were living in the midst of those of another faith, and from all parts we are told how henceforward they showed a greater firmness and a more lively interest in their religion.² In Appenzell the religious differences led to the division of the Canton into the Catholic Innerrhoden and the Protestant Ausserrhoden.³ The number of those who returned to the Church in Switzerland, even though it was not as great as the nuncios had expected, was nevertheless considerable. This was especially the case in the Toggenburg, and at Klingnau in the Aargau, which was subject to the Abbot of St. Gall. In Rheinau Protestantism was almost exterminated.⁴

An important share of these successes was due to the Capuchins, who enjoyed a popularity in Switzerland which was only equalled by that which they had in Italy. To the seven already existing convents in their Swiss province, there were added during the pontificate of Clement VIII. those of Frauenfeld, Zug, Bergzabern (all three in 1595), Rheinfelden (in 1596), Freiburg im Breisgau (in 1601), Rapperswyl (in 1602), Constance and Ensheim (both in 1603).⁵ The nuncio

¹ See BRAUNSBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 279 *seq.*, 297. For Schnewlin and his treatise on Church and State see *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXV., 244.

² See MAYER, II., 275.

³ See DÄNDLIKER II³., 664 *seq.* That the Capuchin, Fra Ludwig of Saxony, did not aim at a division of the Canton see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, X., 260, n. 1. J. WILLI, *Die Reformation im Lande Appenzell*, Leipzig, 1924.

⁴ See MAYER, II., 279 *seq.* The brief of Clement VIII. to Basle in *Quellen z. schweiz. Gesch.*, XXI., 448 *seq.*, shows how he made the most of every opportunity of converting the apostates.

⁵ See *Chronica prov. Helvet. Capucinatorum*, Soleure, 1884, 34 *seq.*

Della Torre had already reported to Rome in 1596 that the Capuchins were the best and most successful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, for which reason he would support and encourage them in every possible way.¹ Besides Della Torre, the Catholic Cantons defended the Capuchins against the unjust accusations and attacks made upon them, especially by the inhabitants of Zurich.²

In the Valais too, the Capuchins did much work for the preservation of the faith. From the middle of the XVIth century onwards the religious innovations had made great progress among the ruling classes, under the strong protection of Berne, and among a section of the very decadent clergy, and had above all become wide-spread at Sion and Sierre.³ The position of the Catholics became worse owing to the weakness of the Bishop of Sion, Hildebrand I. von Riedmatten (1565-1604) who, in 1592, was urged by Clement VIII. to fulfil his pastoral duties.⁴ Although resistance to Protestantism was a matter of life and death to the bishopric, Hildebrand I., in his kindness, could not bring himself to a determined protection of the Catholics. The Catholic Cantons repeatedly urged him to show greater vigilance, but in vain. The enactments against the Protestants which were made in 1592 remained on paper, and the necessary reform of the clergy was not carried into effect.⁵

The Protestants of the Valais were greatly assisted by French policy, which saw in their territory, so important for the command of the Alpine passes, a means of separating Savoy from Spanish Milan. A further danger for the Catholic cause arose with the negotiations which were begun in 1597 for an alliance between the Canton of Valais with the federal free-state of the Three Leagues of the Grisons, the majority of which belonged to the reformed religion. Whereas the

¹ See MAYER, II., 226.

² See *Chronica prov. Helvet. Capucinatorum*, 30 seq.

³ Cf. the excellent dissertation by GRÜTER in *Geschichtsfreund (Mittel. des Hist.-Ver. der fünf Orte)*, LII., Stans, 1897, 30 seq.

⁴ See *Quellen z. schweizer. Gesch.*, XXI., 444 seq.

⁵ See GRÜTER, *loc. cit.* 32 seq.

good-natured Bishop of Sion, deceived by the Protestants who surrounded him, saw no harm in this, the Catholic Cantons realized the danger, and did not fail to set him on his guard.¹ In May, 1600, they reminded him in insistent terms of their ancient friendship with the Valais, and of the alliance which they had entered into in 1529 with the bishop and canton of Valais for the defence of the ancient faith.² But all the remonstrances of the "oldest and most worthy confederates" of Valais were ignored by him, and on August 5th, 1600, they held out their hands to the Rhaetians for a permanent alliance. A further turn for the worse was brought about in the autumn of 1602 by the alliance formed between Berne and the Rhaetian confederation.³ The Catholic Cantons now feared lest they should be surrounded and crushed; the nuncio Della Torre shared their anxiety, and said, as early as April, 1602, that these schemes had no other object than the suppression of the two bishoprics of Sion and Chur, and the utter destruction of the Catholic religion.⁴

Rightly realizing that the decline of the Catholic cause in the Valais could only be repaired by a radical reform of the clergy, the Catholic Cantons, as early as May, 1600, had addressed urgent remonstrances to the Bishop of Sion on account of his weakness in face of the excesses of the demoralized clergy and of the Protestant propaganda. They urgently advised the summoning of the Capuchins and Jesuits in order to introduce a better state of affairs.⁵ From these remonstrances, as well as from other sources of information it is clear what progress had been made in the Valais by the decline of religion. The population had only remained loyally Catholic in the four upper districts (Zehnden); in the rest the old religion only survived in name, and public apostacy could only be a matter of time. In the Lower Valais many priests had married and no longer exercised their

¹ See *ibid.* 43 *seq.*

² See *Abschiede*, V., I, 534.

³ See GRÜTER, 56 *seq.*, 64.

⁴ See *Abschiede*, V., I, 532.

⁵ See *ibid.* V., I, 537 *seq.*

functions. In this their extreme necessity Clement VIII. sent them help. In the summer of 1602, by his orders two Capuchins from Savoy, Sebastiano da Moriana and Agostino d'Asti, presented themselves "once again to inculcate among the people interest in and love for the ancient faith."¹

Fra Agostino d'Asti, known as Pelletta, has narrated in a detailed report² how he and his companions succeeded, in a marvellously short time, in penetrating into the valley of the Lower Rhone, in the commune (Landvogtei) of Monthey, and in restoring Catholic life, especially by a zealous campaign of preaching. The two Capuchins also made their way to St. Maurice, which had become almost entirely Calvinist, where they met with an affectionate welcome from Abbot Adrian von Riedmatten, the nephew of the Bishop of Sion, and from the head of the commune, Anton Quartery. By a fortunate coincidence, there arrived at the same time in St. Maurice the envoys of the seven Cantons, charged to receive at Sion the renewal of the oath of alliance of the Valesians. In their company the missionaries were able to penetrate into Sion. After the envoys had completed their primary task, they made a fresh attempt to induce the Catholics of the Valais to carry out ecclesiastical reforms; they again recommended the establishment of a Capuchin convent, to which the Holy See had already consented; but their advice was ignored.³

The Capuchins returned to St. Maurice with the envoys and continued their apostolic labours there; the success that they met with decided them to extend their work yet further. But since in the five upper districts (Zehnden), and to some

¹ Cf. GRÜTER, 65 *seq.*, 69. See also ROCCO DA CESINALE, I., 307 *seq.*

² Sincera relatione degli esserciti fatti da frati Cappuccini etc. da frate Agostino d'Asti, in *Archiv f. schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, III., 179 *seq.*, from the original in the Royal Library, Turin. Besides this report, composed in 1615, cf. *Chronica prov. Helvet. Capuc.* and the **Relatio fusior de missione Valesiana 1603-1631*, Cod. C. Z. 2 in the Archives of the Capuchins of the Valais at Lucerne.

³ See GRÜTER, 70 *seq.*

extent in Sierre and Sion as well, only German was spoken, they had to turn to Switzerland for assistance. The zeal of Fra Pelletta was so great that, in spite of the bad season, he at once crossed the Furka to Lucerne, where he laid his request before the nuncio Della Torre. Through the intervention of the latter, the chapter of the Capuchins of Baden resolved to send two German missionaries to the Upper Valais; two other fathers also came from Savoy. These at once began their missionary labours, the latter in French and the former in German; every day they preached two sermons and gave two catechetical instructions. The number of those who attended was surprising; many who were ignorant were instructed in the faith, the lukewarm were converted, and many apostates were reconciled.¹

The successes of the Capuchins did not find their adversaries inactive. A preacher was summoned from Geneva to Sion, and advice came from Berne to drive out the Capuchins, "those impious gentry." They were successful in Sion, where the Capuchin Cherubino was threatened with death, so that the weak bishop and canons were so alarmed that, together with the civil authorities, they ordered the Capuchins to depart from the city "for the sake of peace." The banished friars again withdrew to St. Maurice, where they had a support in the abbot.²

But if their adversaries thought that they had attained their end, they were very much mistaken; the Catholic part of the Valais plucked up courage; the upper Zehnden adopted a threatening attitude, while the Catholic Cantons, going over the heads of the aristocratic officials of the Valais, who were for the most part Protestant in their sympathies, "appealed to the religious enthusiasm of the people" by means of a grand embassy.³ The envoys, immediately upon their arrival in Münster, the capital of the Upper Valais, on

¹ See the report of Agostino d'Asti in *Archiv f. Schweiz. Reformationsgesch.*, III., 198 seq.; GRÜTER, 73; BOVERIUS, II., 661 seq., 713 seq.

² See GRÜTER, 73.

³ See REINHARDT, *Korrespondenz Casati*, xxxi.

August 10th, 1603, after the Sunday mass, explained to the people the object of their coming, namely, the restoration of unity of faith. They met with an enthusiastic reception. Those present, about six hundred in number, swore to sacrifice their lives and their property for the maintenance of their faith. In confirmation of their oath they had to pass one by one beneath a lance pointed against them ; this they all did, because if any of them had refused, as one of the reports states, they would have been torn to pieces by the people. During the journey of the envoys through the seven Zehnden, similar scenes were repeated everywhere.¹

The way in which this determined intervention of the seven Cantons, supported as it was by Clement VIII.,² strengthened the Catholic conscience of the people, was proved by the decrees passed in December, 1603, by the district of Goms for the maintenance of the Catholic faith.³ In consequence of these, at the end of March, 1604, at an extraordinary Diet, convoked by the Abbot of St. Maurice, who had been appointed for the time being vicar-general in Sion, decisions of far-reaching importance were come to. Anyone who did not intend to profess " the faith of his ancestors," it was decreed, must leave the country within two months ; no Protestant must hold public office ; attendance at Protestant schools was forbidden, and all heretical books were to be confiscated.⁴

In spite of this the carrying into effect of Catholic restoration met with great difficulties. It was only to attain to victory when, on December 16th, 1604, the Abbot of St. Maurice, Adrian von Riedmatten, was elected Bishop of Sion in succession to the feeble Hildebrand ; with the help of the Jesuits he reformed the clergy and won over the youth to the ancient faith.

There was a man who in many ways was closely connected

¹ See GRÜTER, 82 *seq.*

² Cf. the brief of October 25, 1603, in *Quellen z. schweizer Gesch.*, XXI., 457 *seq.*

³ See GRÜTER, 103 *seq.*

⁴ See *Abschiede*, V., 1, 686 *seq.* ; GRÜTER, 107 *seq.*

with Romansch Switzerland, and was one of the most distinguished representatives of Catholic restoration; this was Francis of Sales.¹

Francis of Sales is the antitype of Charles Borromeo, and, so to speak, his inevitable complement; together, they display before our eyes the most beautiful aspect of the Catholic renewal.² In Borromeo there stands out before all things the legislator who, on the groundwork of the Council of Trent, reorganized ecclesiastical discipline, and fixed it down to its smallest details. Francis, as a bishop, is the shepherd of souls; by his episcopal consecration, according to his own conception, he no longer belonged to himself, but solely to his flock. Thus he gave himself entire to all, to the Catholic as well as to the Protestant, to the noble as well as to the husbandman, to the man of education as well as to the ignorant, to the adult as well as to the child. In his countless sermons, in his catechetical instructions to the children, in the confessional, by his letters and by his literary works, he devoted himself entirely to the welfare of others; he cared nothing if this involved him in exhausting fatigue and privations, to insults and to the danger of death. Men well qualified to speak have said of him that in no one was the likeness of Christ so well displayed as in this man.

¹ Oeuvres de S. FRANÇOIS DE SALES évêque de Genève et docteur de l'Eglise, édition complete, Geneva, 1892 *seqq.*, so far 23 volumes (vols. II *seqq.* contain the letters). Biographies by HAMON, added to by Gonthier and Letourneau (Paris, 1909, fuller German edition by J. C. Lager, 1903), Franc. Pérennès (Paris, 1864), Amedée de Margerie (Paris, 1899); also L. MACAIRE, Déposition de la Mère Angélique Arnauld sur les vertus de S. Franc. de Sales, in the *Rev. d'hist. et de litt. relig.*, XI. (1906), 174; FORTUNAT SIROWSKI, Introduction à l'hist. du sentiment relig. en France: S. Franç. de Sales, Paris, 1898; the same, La pensée chrétienne, Textes et Études. S. Franç. de Sales, Paris, 1908. Franz von Sales, Weg zu Gott (with biographical introduction) by O. KARRER, Munich, 1922; P. BONNEVAL, St. François de Sales, Avignon, 1925.

² For the high opinion of the Cardinal of Milan held by Francis of Sales cf. DEGERT in *Bulletin de litt. ecclés.*, Toulouse, 1912, 153.

Francis of Sales was by nature a contemplative, and in a far higher degree than Borromeo ; the true delight of his heart **was** to immerse himself in the doctrines of the faith, and by study and contemplation ever to raise higher his mind and heart. But he set aside this inclination whenever it was a case of serving others ; it seemed as though his deep knowledge of the supernatural truths was especially directed to explaining and defending them before others, to bringing them within the comprehension of the doubting, to rendering their beauty dear to believers, but above all to encouraging their application to a Christian life, and thus to leading souls to the love of God. This was closely allied to the fact that the ordinances of Borromeo were intended primarily for the clergy, whom he wished to reform and raise up, while Francis turned by preference to those Christians who are in the ordinary paths of the world. The Cardinal of Milan, with his juridical methods, may at times give the impression of a severity which almost terrifies,¹ and later on the Jansenists made appeal to his example in defence of their rigidity. In the case of Francis, on the other hand, his outstanding characteristic is his gentleness and unalterable kindness. It is true that by nature he was vivacious, ardent and inclined to anger, and in his later years, when his gentleness still had to pass through a severe ordeal, he confessed that his anger had boiled up within him like water placed upon the fire.² But even in his youth he had already devoted many years to the taming of this natural tendency,³ and from the time when he entered upon his episcopal duties there never fell from his lips a single irritable word against his dependents.⁴ Everyone

¹ Francis himself said of him : Borromeo, according to his natural disposition, which he was able to transform and subdue, was a character of iron severity : " C' estoit l' esprit le plus exact, roide et austère qu' il est possible d' imaginer . . . l' homme le plus rigoureux de cet aage." To Chantal, October 14, 1604, *Lettres*, II., 365 *seq.*

² HAMON, II., 507.

³ *Ibid.* I., 51.

⁴ *Ibid.* II., 507.

who conversed with him at once felt that they were not face to face with a gentleness which sprang from weakness, but with a quality that came from his strength, and this conviction filled men with veneration for him, and ensured his influence over others.¹

Francis, who was born in 1567 or 1566 in the Castle of Sales at Thorens in Savoy,² came of a family of ancient lineage. Throughout his life, he was never able to conceal the traits of his gentle birth, nor of the elegant humanistic education which he had received, first in his own country, and afterwards in the French capital, at the college of the Jesuits. The spirit of the Catholic religious revival had inspired him, so to speak, from his infancy. Geneva was very near his birthplace, so that from the first the boy's interest had been aroused by the religious disputes of the time, and very soon no Protestant who visited his father's castle was safe from his childish attempts to convert him.³ Francis himself persuaded his father to send him to the Jesuit college at Paris,⁴ and as a zealous member of the Marian Congregation in the French capital, and as a future student of jurisprudence at Padua under the spiritual direction of Possevino, he became fully acquainted with the ideas of Loyola.⁵ By his father's wish he devoted himself to jurisprudence, who destined his eldest son for a career of high public office. But his own inclinations turned towards theology, and to this he devoted three hours

¹ *Ibid.* 507 *seq.* ; H. B. MACKEY in the *Dublin Review*, CXXII. (1898), 103.

² For the year of his birth see HAMON, I., 9 ; MACKEY, *Oeuvres*, I., xxxiii. For Thorens, Annecy, Chablais, Paris, etc., in the time of St. Francis of Sales *cf.* MACKEY in the *Dublin Review*, 3rd. ser., XXII. (1899), 1-34 ; BURNOD, *Souvenirs de s. Franç. de Sales à Annecy*, new edition by J. F. Gonthier, Annecy (1897). For the earliest sources for his life see FR. PÉRENNÈS, *Hist. de s. Franç. de Sales*, I., Paris, 1864, xi *seq.*

³ HAMON, I., 17.

⁴ *Ibid.* I., 35.

⁵ "Aux jésuites appartient l'honneur principal de sa formation," says Mackey (*Oeuvres*, I., xxxix).

a day while in Paris, and four at Padua.¹ After his return home the young doctor of law held for less than a year the post of advocate to the senate of Savoy.² So as to make his father more favourably inclined to his adoption of an ecclesiastical career, Francis obtained the Papal appointment as Provost of the cathedral chapter at Geneva, the highest dignity after that of the bishop, and on June 13th, 1593, Francis was ordained priest.³ An episode that occurred during his years of study was of decisive importance for his theological future. The burning question of the day, the mystery of predestination to eternal beatitude, attacked him with all its terrible significance, and for six weeks he was unable to free himself from the thought that one day he would be numbered among the damned.⁴ Throughout his life he remained always opposed to certain rigid views on this subject. That in spite of all his piety he never fell a victim to those prejudices which shield themselves behind an appearance of religion, was shown during a dangerous illness which attacked the young student, for whereas there was in general a passionate dislike of anatomy, which was then beginning to obtain a footing, Francis, on the contrary, ordered that in the event of his death his body should be given to the doctors for their researches.⁵

After his return to his native land the new Provost soon found an opportunity of putting his influence at the service of Catholic reform, and the return of the Chablais to the ancient faith was substantially his work.⁶ When in 1536

¹ HAMON, 48, 70.

² MUGNIER, S. Franç de Sales docteur en droit, sénateur, sa correspondance inédite avec les frères Claude et Philippe de Quœk ; Chambéry, 1886.

³ HAMON, 100-114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 52 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 86.

⁶ *Ibid.* 150-349 ; Report of the Archbishop of Tarantaise, Giov. Franc. Berlieri, November 12, 1603, in BOVERIUS, II., 619 *seqq.* ; ANDRÉ PÉRATÉ, La mission de Franç. de Sales dans le Chablais. Documents, in *Mélanges d'archeol. et d'hist.*, VI., 1886, 333-415 (*cf.* Oeuvres, XI., xx).

Savoy was conquered by Francis I. of France, Berne, without the sacrifice of a single man, obtained possession of the Vaud (Waadtlandes), the province of Gex, and of the Chablais as far as the Drance.¹ Into the districts thus seized Calvinism was violently introduced, and during two generations had had time to take root. At the Peace of Câteau-Cambresis in 1559, Duke Emanuel Philibert, the true victor of the decisive battle near Saint-Quentin, recovered from France his own territories, while Berne, as a result of the treaty of Lausanne in 1564, gave up part of her stolen territory, with the condition, however, that no change was to be made in its religion. It was only after further incursions by the Bernese during the Franco-Savoyard war in 1589 that this condition lost its force; the treaty of Nyon on October 11th, 1589, only allowed Calvinism to be practised in three places in the Chablais. A fresh attack by the Bernese followed, and after the armistice of 1593, Savoy only retained in the Chablais the provinces of Thonon and the Ternier; Gex and Gaillard remained for the time being in the hands of Berne.²

The Bishop of Geneva, Claude Granier, who had taken up his usual residence at Annecy, immediately after the treaty of Nyon sent about fifty priests to the Chablais. Many of the inhabitants, more out of fear than from conviction, then returned to the ancient faith, but once again abandoned it after the further invasion by the Bernese.³ After the armistice Granier again called upon his priests to make a further attempt. Francis did not require to be asked twice, and on September 16th, 1594, he set out, accompanied by his cousin Canon Louis of Sales, upon the difficult enterprise.⁴

This was during the violent period of the Huguenot wars,

¹ DIERAUER, III., 236 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 316 *seq.*; HAMON, I., 152 *seqq.*; FR. DE SALES, *Lettres*, I., 225 n.

³ HAMON, I., 154; Francis to the nuncio, February 19, 1596, *Lettres*, I., 185.

⁴ HAMON, I., 156 *seq.*, 161, 168; GONTHIER, *La mission de s. Franç. de Sales en Chablais, Annecy, 1891* (also in *Oeuvres hist.*, I., 1901, by GONTHIER).

and to penetrate into the Chablais, which was almost entirely Protestant, meant that the Catholic missionary had openly to risk his life. Francis' father, who sought with tears and prayers to keep his son back, foresaw this,¹ and soon learned secretly from Roland, Francis' companion and servant, that he was justified in his forebodings. He raised fresh objections, but this time Francis appealed to his honour as a gentleman. "If Roland had been your son" he wrote to his father,² "instead of your servant, he would not have been guilty of the cowardice of making such a fuss about so small a matter." The attempts were renewed on several occasions,³ but in spite of everything the young Provost boldly made his way to Geneva, held a disputation according to the Pope's orders with Theodore Beza, and even secretly administered the sacraments;⁴ later on he confessed that the hope of being able to lay down his life for the faith had given him the courage to do this.⁵ Out of prudence, however, he did not pass the nights outside the Castle of Allinges.⁶

The want of result of his labours was far more irksome to the courageous missionary than any threats. He naturally made a beginning with the Catholics, but of these there were only 14 or 15 in Thonon, the principal place in the Chablais, and only about 100 in the whole province.⁷ A prohibition against assisting at Catholic sermons was at once issued to the Calvinists.⁸ After six months of laborious work Francis wrote⁹ that the Protestants with a few exceptions, were his

¹ HAMON, I., 157 *seq.*, 172.

² In the middle of March, 1595, *Lettres*, I., 117.

³ HAMON, I., 177 *seq.*, 187, 200, 204; Bishop Granier to the Pope in 1598, *ibid.*, 352.

⁴ HAMON, I., 239 *seqq.*, 245 *seqq.*, 258 *seq.* For Beza: Francis to Clement VIII., *Lettres*, I., 268; *cf.* brief of October 1, 1596, *ibid.* 453.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II., 369.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I., 168. *Cf.* Les châteaux et la chapelle des Allinges, in *Oeuvres hist.* I., by GONTHIER.

⁷ HAMON, I., 167, 168.

⁸ Francis to Granier, October 1594, *Lettres*, I., 94 (*cf.* 91).

⁹ To Possevino, at the beginning of April, 1595, *ibid.*, 120 *seq.*

hearers, but only under the windows of the church or at the church doors ; if he tried to talk to them outside the church, they replied that for the time being there was but an armistice, and that if the definite conclusion of the peace once again assigned the country to Berne, the converts would find themselves in a dangerous plight. In the villages they refused to sell food to the missionaries, or to give them shelter for the night.¹ At times Francis, after the example of his cousin Louis, even thought of abandoning the mission, which was apparently hopeless.²

At last, however, his perseverance brought him success. Since his spoken words could not reach the Protestants, he caused written explanations of Catholic doctrine to be copied and set up in the public squares, nor was he mistaken in his hope that curiosity would lead men to read these manifestos.³ An even more efficacious sermon, however, than any words, was to be found in his heroic self-denial, and the self-sacrifice with which this cultured and highly educated gentleman went on foot every day, in summer and in winter, through their country in order to deliver his discourses, sometimes three or four in the day, in the smallest villages.⁴ The Protestant preachers, too, lost much of their prestige with the people when they refused his invitation to defend their cause in a public disputation, or were unable to reply to him except by insults.⁵ The return of a distinguished lawyer to Catholicism made a great impression.⁶ The ice was broken during 1596, the opposition lasting longest at Thonon. Francis was taking a real risk when, in February, 1595, he took up his residence there at the house of a relative ;⁷ the erection of an

¹ HAMON, I., 176 seq., 178.

² *Ibid.*, 193, 199.

³ *Ibid.*, 179 seqq. These leaflets were afterwards collected and printed among the works of Francis (*Controverses*, in *Oeuvres*, I., seqq. ; cf. *ibid.*, cvii seqq.).

⁴ HAMON, I., 170, 177, 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 214, 233.

⁶ April, 1595, *ibid.*, 187 seqq., 192.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 185.

altar in the church of St. Hippolytus in order that he might be able to say mass there at Christmas, 1595, led, in spite of the duke's permission, almost to acts of violence.¹ On the other hand, in the following February, some of the citizens returned to Catholicism, while four or five of the communes in the district asked for a Catholic priest.² In December of the same year Francis was able to write of 80 converts who had been received into the Church in two or three weeks.³ Little by little there set in a mass movement towards Catholicism. In September, 1597, it was possible to celebrate the Forty Hours with great solemnity at Annemasse, for the adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and a great crowd came from all parts to assist at this devotion.⁴ In October, 1598, on the occasion of this devotion at Thonon, at which the duke and the nuncio at Turin were present, a hundred Protestants were received into the Church.⁵

A perhaps even more striking manifestation occurred at the inauguration of an institute which Francis had suggested in order to consolidate the restored Catholic life. Hitherto the young men, in order to learn a trade or to devote themselves to studies, had gone for the most part to Geneva or to Protestant institutions. To meet this difficulty a house was to be established at Thonon, the so-called *Sainte Maison*, which was to be at the same time a college under the direction of the Jesuits and a technical school, and to afford the converts who were for the moment left unprovided for, a temporary asylum.⁶ For the solemn inauguration in 1602, Clement VIII.

¹ *Ibid.*, 234 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 213.

³ To the nuncio, December 12, 1596, *Lettres*, I., 219 *seq.*

⁴ *HAMON*, I., 273 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 323, 327. [Le quaranta hore di Tonon] "colle dotte prediche del S^r Prevosto di Sales et Padre Cherubino hanno tanto operato che una infinità d'anime si sono per gratia di Iddio rimesse al grembo di s. Chiesa." Granier to the nuncio Riccardi, October 12, 1598, in *PÉRATÉ*, 380 *seq.*

⁶ *HAMON*, I., 428 *seqq.*; bull of Clement VIII. of September 13, 1599, *Bull. Rom.*, X., 488, *BOVERIUS*, II., 958 *seqq.*; the ducal edict of July 31, 1601, *BOVERIUS*, II., 965 *seqq.*

extended the Jubilee of the Holy Year of 1600 to Thonon, an act that was hailed with enthusiasm. More than 300,000 pilgrims flocked to the city, and more than 100 confessors and 16 preachers were summoned to serve their needs; more than 300 Protestants were received into the Church.¹ Before this, Gribaldi, then Archbishop of Vienne, had reported in Rome in 1599² that of the population of the country district 12,000 persons had returned to the Church, ten twelfths of the whole population, and that in Thonon, out of 2000 inhabitants there had been 500 Easter communions.

This extraordinary change had been substantially entirely the work of the Provost of the chapter of Geneva, though of course he had been assisted by other priests; thus, from November, 1597, onwards he had had the help of the zealous Capuchin, Cherubino of Saint-Jean-de-Maurienne,³ and from 1599 onwards of the Jesuits, who established a mission station at Thonon in that year.⁴ But all these came when the principal difficulties had already been surmounted, and when Francis had asked for fellow-labourers.⁵ Of greater importance than the work of these temporary missionaries was the pastoral care exercised by the permanent parish priests. But Francis had his difficulties in obtaining these as well, as the

¹ HAMON, I., 435 *seq.*; FOUQUERAY, II., 560.

² Addition to the letter of September 26, 1599, in PÉRATÉ, 397 *seqq.* The Capuchin Cherubino wrote on October 13, 1598, to the nuncio: "il vescovo Granier non fa altro et li suoi tutto il giorno che dar assoluzione della heresia." *Ibid.*, 385.

³ Lettres, I., 98 n. From January, 1597, onwards Cherubino worked at Annemasse (*ibid.*, 98 n., 236 n.), which according to Pérennès had remained Catholic. In the district of Ternier, Baron de Viry had remained a Catholic. Bishop Granier, in 1594, sent thither a Dominican and a Jesuit, who preached with great success (*ibid.*, 150 *seq.*). During the Forty Hours at Annemasse in 1597 there arrived a procession of 6000-7000 pilgrims, among them 700 converts (HAMON, I., 280).

⁴ FOUQUERAY, II., 558 *seq.*

⁵ Francis to the nuncio Riccardi, May 6, in September, 1596, February 21, March 2 and 25, 1597, Lettres, I., 196 *seq.*, 203, 236 *seq.*, 239, 260, *etc.*

Church property, after the cession of the territory to Berne, had been temporarily made over to the military Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus, which in its turn made difficulties about restoring it. As soon as the duke had asked Francis for a report on religious conditions in the Chablais,¹ he never ceased to press his cause by petitions to the duke² and the nuncio.³ For this purpose he made a special journey to Turin, where he stated before the ducal council that eight missionaries were required, as well as fifteen or sixteen parish priests for fifty-two parishes in the Chablais and nineteen in Ternier, and further suggested the establishment of a Jesuit college at Thonon, as well as an institute which should provide work for the converts who had lost their employment.⁴

So long as the final peace with Berne was not concluded, the duke had encouraged missionary work in the Chablais,⁵ but afterwards he had taken but little interest in it, while his officials showed a similar indifference. Francis had to provide for his own support by means of money which his mother sent to him.⁶ This state of affairs had a very favourable result for the missionaries, and the change in favour of the ancient Church was effected without recourse to any force.⁷

¹ HAMON, I., 210.

² On December 29, 1595, *Lettres*, I., 168 (*cf.* 251, 279, 319).

³ Letters of November 14 and 29, and December 21, 1596, and of March 2 and 12, 1597. *Lettres*, I., 205, 212 *seq.*, 228, 242, 246, *etc.*

⁴ HAMON, I., 227 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 155.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 165, 199.

⁷ "On ne forçoit personne, et ne faisoit on autre que se mettr' en la posture et au train auquel Votre Altesse avoit laissé les Catholiques despuys ne fut elle ici, duquel ayant esté levés par force, on ne sçauroit dire pourquoy ilz ne puyssent s'y remettre toutes les fois qu' ilz en auront comodité" (Francis to the duke, December 21, 1596, *Lettres*, I., 225 *seq.*). When in September, 1589, the duke took possession of the Chablais many of the inhabitants returned to the ancient Church, but apostatized again externally upon the invasion of the Bernese, "per forza

It was only when the movement was well advanced that the duke intervened. While he was at Thonon for the Forty Hours, a society from Berne made its appearance, which demanded liberty of religion for the Protestants of the Chablais. The duke's advisers were inclined to consent to this request, but Francis, who had been summoned to the council, strongly opposed it, and the duke declared, during the course of a banquet, that when Berne received the Catholic priests whom he intended to send thither, he in his turn would admit the Protestants.¹ A memorial from Francis, which, in addition to maintenance for the Catholic parish priests, asked for the removal from Thonon of the Protestant school-master, a prohibition of studying outside the country, and the filling of all official posts with Catholics, met with a favourable reception from Charles Emanuel.² He even went further than he had been asked to do in this document. On October 8th, 1598, he summoned before him the citizens of Thonon and the nobles of the Chablais: those who, in obedience to the commands of the sovereign, were willing to adopt the ancient religion, were to take their place on the right hand of the duke, and the rest were expelled from the country. There were but seven or eight who preferred exile for the sake of their convictions, or, as Charles Emanuel called it, of their obstinacy,³ but as a result of their own petition, and through the mediation of Francis, these were soon allowed to return.⁴ In the country districts the general return to Catholicism became more and more widespread,⁵ and owing to the influence

et violentia dell'armate nemiche." Francis to the nuncio Riccardi, December 12, 1596, *ibid.*, 220). Cf. *Proposizioni di S. Franç. di Sales per la conversione delle provincie heretiche senz' armi. Corsini Library, Rome, Cod. 146.

¹ HAMON, I., 350 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 322 *seq.*; edict of October 12, 1598, *ibid.*, 339.

³ *Ibid.*, 335 *seqq.*; Report of the Archbishops of Tarantaise, Berlieri, to Clement VIII., September 12, 1603, in BOVERIUS, II., 619 *seqq.*

⁴ HAMON, I., 375.

⁵ Cf. the numbers, *ibid.*, 338 *seq.*

of the duke many of the nobles as well declared their readiness to become Catholics.¹ In 1608, towards the end of the canonical visitation, Francis was able to write to Rome that he had no longer found any Protestants, except in those places which belonged to Berne and Geneva.² As early as 1605 he had found in the communes of Thonon and Ternier-Gaillard only a hundred non-Catholics.³

In the meantime hopes were raised of being able to obtain freedom for the celebration of Catholic worship in Geneva itself, the Rome of the Calvinists. As Geneva had not been expressly named in the Peace of Vervins (1598), between France and Spain, the republic found itself still in a state of war with Spain, which was allied with Savoy, while it had lost the support of France; fear of Savoy might therefore be used to force Geneva to make concessions to the ancient religion.⁴ It was therefore a disappointment for Granier, the Bishop of Geneva, when Henry IV. made it clear that in spite of everything Geneva must be included in the peace. Granier resolved to send the Provost of his chapter to Rome, in order to obtain a brief to the King of France, dissuading him from acting in this way, and at the same time to obtain the annulment of the bull by which Gregory XIII. had assigned the Church property in Savoy to the Knights of SS. Maurice and Lazarus.⁵ The bishop's nephew was to accompany him on his journey, and present a third request; the aged bishop wished to have his Provost as coadjutor in the bishopric.⁶ Francis, who had already been called the Apostle of the Chablais by the duke,⁷ was honoured by the

¹ *Ibid.*, 343.

² *Lettres*, IV., 43.

³ *Ibid.*, III., 87.

⁴ *Cf.* the documents in PÉRATÉ, 364, 376, 377, 399.

⁵ HAMON, I., 340. Granier wished to send Francis to Rome as early as 1597, so as to fulfil by him his duty of his visit "ad limina"; Granier to the nuncio Riccardi, November 20, 1597, in PÉRATÉ, 365 *seq.*

⁶ HAMON I. 352 358.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 354.

Pope himself presiding at his examination for the episcopate.¹ He also obtained in substance all that he wished for for the welfare of the diocese, though certain secondary points which had been asked for were reserved to the decision of the nuncio in Savoy.²

After this striking recognition of his labours on the part of Rome, Francis was next to see his successes placed in jeopardy. In a new war with Henry IV. the French troops invaded the country in 1600; Berne and Geneva allied themselves with France, and asked for the extension of the Edict of Nantes to the Chablais; a Calvinist governor confiscated ecclesiastical property, and a Protestant pastor introduced other preachers at the head of armed men.³ But the storm passed without inflicting much damage; the peace of Lyons (1601) rendered the efforts of Francis useful to the district of Gaillard, which henceforward belonged to Savoy; encouraged by the example of the Chablais, the inhabitants of Gaillard now resumed the Catholic faith, which, though it lay at the very gates of Geneva, had never been extinguished in men's hearts.⁴ After the peace the formation of the more necessary parishes could at last take place; 26 were established in the Chablais and 10 in Ternier, while the Order of SS. Maurice and Lazarus lost its right to the parochial revenues.⁵ The duke now sought to back up the religious movement in this country by sovereign enactments.⁶ With such support for his work of conversion, Francis met with no difficulties, and when it had been ascertained that a certain

¹ *Ibid.*, 358 *seqq.* Clement VIII. had sent a brief of praise to Sales as early as May, 29 1597 (PÉRATÉ, 339). Cf. *Archiv f. schweiz. Gesch.*, XIII., 274.

² HAMON, I., 365. *Ibid.*, 354 *seqq.* a summary of the requests.

³ *Ibid.*, 386.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 395, 401.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 397.

⁶ Edict of June 20, 1601: they must hear the sermons of the Capuchins, they must accept the Catholic faith, and send their children to Catholic schools (BOVERIUS, II., 968 *seq.*): that of July 31, 1601; in favour of the Sainte Maison (*ibid.*, 965 *seqq.*).

remnant in Thonon was still adhering to Calvinism, more from political than religious motives, he proposed to the duke that they should be banished, though in all probability this was never actually carried out.¹ When, after the peace, the Genevese imposed a Calvinist preacher on two of the villages, he himself accompanied the soldiers who had been ordered to meet violence with violence.²

By the Treaty of Lyons, Gex as well, a province of 12,000 inhabitants and 26 parishes, lying to the west of the southern point of the Lake of Geneva, definitely passed into the possession of France. Hitherto Geneva had had the administration of this little province in the name of France, and had driven out the Catholic parish priests and confiscated the Church property.³ Bishop Granier now asked for the re-establishment of Catholic worship, but Geneva sought, by means of an embassy to the King of France, to retain some of the parishes for Calvinism. Francis of Sales, by the orders of the bishop, now had to go to Paris, but he did not obtain from Henry IV. and the cautious Villeroi all that he desired, and the state of affairs in Gex remained a source of anxiety to him until his death. Nevertheless, Henry IV. ordered the governor of Burgundy to restore Catholic worship in all those places where there were sufficient adherents of the ancient faith, but this was only to be done gradually, so as not to irritate the Protestants.⁴

A temporary absence of the king had prolonged the already protracted negotiations; the coadjutor had set out from Annecy on January 3rd, 1602, and it was only on October 14th, that he was able to inform the duke of his return. But his long stay in Paris became of great importance to Francis, for the work of preaching, which he zealously exercised there, drew attention to him. Whereas only a few years before the labourers and peasants of the Chablais had thought it unseemly to assist at the discourses of this maligned Catholic

¹ HAMON, I., 400.

² *Ibid.*, 394 *seq.*; PÉRENNÉS, II., II.

³ HAMON, I., 402.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 254, 400, 402 *seq.*, 427, 483.

priest, he now saw among his hearers Henry IV. and Mary de' Medici, and all the aristocratic society, who hailed him as the greatest preacher of his day. The celebrity which he thus acquired opened out to him an entirely new field of work, in which perhaps he was to distinguish himself more greatly, and win for himself more fame than in any other. There were at that time among the society of Paris not a few who took Christianity very seriously, and who, in the midst of a worldly life, aimed at becoming perfect Christians, or at anyrate were such as could easily be won over to such sentiments. They flocked to this celebrated preacher, and he who had converted so many Protestants, but had had to be content if he was able to bring home to his hearers the most elementary truths of Catholicism, now became a great director of souls and a master of Christian perfection.¹

But, being as he was in close relations with ecclesiastical circles, Francis was not the only one who gave. There was at that time a great enthusiasm for the second foundress of the Carmelite Order, the great Spaniard, Teresa, whose institute had a short time before been introduced into France.² Just as Francis had found the basis of his asceticism in the school of Loyola, and just as he had sought to learn yet more when he went to Rome, especially from the first disciples of Philip Neri,³ so his stay in Paris brought him into contact with the fascinating influence of the great Spanish teacher of the interior life.⁴ On his way back from Rome to Milan he had procured a biography of Charles Borromeo,⁵ and thus

¹ H. B. MACKEY in the *Rev. du clergé franc.*, XXXVII. (1904), 390-402; CAUSSIN, *Conduite spirituelle selon l' esprit de s. Franç. de Sales*, Paris, 1636; F. S. EGERSDORFER, *Die Aszetik des hl. Franz von Sales in ihren theotischen Grundlagen*, Munich, 1909.

² BEN. ZIMMERMANN in the *Cath. Encyclopedia*, III., 368.

³ Francis to Giov. Matteo Ancina November 23, 1606, *Lettres*, III., 234 *seq.*; MACKEY in the *Dublin Review*, CXXI. (1897), 164 *seq.*; CAPECELATRO, *St. Philip Neri*, 432 *seqq.* [Engl. ed., 1926.]

⁴ His first acquaintance with Teresa was perhaps through Possevino. MACKEY in *Oeuvres*, III., xxxv.

⁵ HAMON, I., 367. Cf. *supra* p. 414.

he was in contact with, and ever sought such contact with all those great spirits whose ideas had given to Catholic restoration its original character. It was also of importance to him as the future founder of an Order, that he had come to know, in the Oblates of St. Frances of Rome,¹ who was canonized by Paul V. in 1608, a unique congregation of women who were bound by no solemn vows.²

While his coadjutor was still on French soil, Savoy lost its excellent Bishop Granier, who died on September 17th, 1602.³ Hitherto Francis had undertaken the duties of supreme pastor of the Chablais, but now he became its bishop both in name and in dignity⁴, and entered upon a new period of his life.⁵ As a bishop Francis became the man who was called for by the needs of modern times; he does not appear before us as the great nobleman, using the revenues in pomp and luxury outside the diocese, but otherwise caring little about it. Before all things he enforced the decrees of the Council of Trent, held diocesan synods,⁶ personally made a visitation of the 590 parishes of the diocese,⁷ cared for his clergy and, in accordance with the Pope's orders, sought to give new life to the decadent religious houses.⁸ He heard confessions in

¹ Cf. Vol. I. of this work, p. 235. *seqq.*

² Lettres, V. 29 *seq.*

³ HAMON, I., 438.

⁴ His episcopal consecration on December 8, 1602, at Thorens (*ibid.*, 451). For the Papal briefs of appointment, July 15, 1602. see PÉRENNÈS, II., 42.

⁵ J. F. GONTHIER, Fr. de Sales. Journal (in the form of a register) durant son épiscopat 1602-1622, Annecy, 1894 (also in Oeuvres, I., by GONTHIER).

⁶ HAMON, I., 492 *seq.*, 562.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 566 *seqq.* Statistics of the diocese in the Report in which Francis gave his account to Rome, *ibid.*, 585 *seq.*

⁸ E.g. the abbey of Abondance and Aulys, 1597 (HAMON, I., 253, 599), the Augustinians at Sixt, 1603 *seq.* (*ibid.*, 489 *seq.*, II., 217 *seqq.*, 263 *seqq.*), the Benedictines of Talloires, 1609 *seq.* (*ibid.*, I., 640 *seqq.*, II., 217, 270 *seqq.*), the Bernardines of St. Catherine, 1622 (*ibid.*, II., 281 *seqq.*). Francis on the state of the convents of Savoy *ibid.*, I., 587. For Abondance see *Zeitschr. f. schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, XVI. (1922), 71-75.

person, and preferably those of the poorest beggars and of the most repulsive sick ;¹ he sat down among the children to teach them the fundamental principles of Christianity,² he preached very frequently, sometimes several times a day,³ he found time for all who wished to speak to him, even the most wretched beggar-woman,⁴ because, in his opinion, the bishop ought to be like a public fountain, from which all were free to drink. Not content with all this, he also undertook work outside the diocese. Thus he preached the Advent and Lent at Dijon in 1604, at Chambéry in 1606 and 1612, and at Grenoble in 1616, 1617, and 1618.⁵ When by the duke's orders, he had to accompany his son Maurice to Paris, in order to arrange a matrimonial alliance with the royal house of France, he made use of the year that he had to spend there⁶ by preaching, and when he left, calculated that he had preached as many sermons as there were days in the year.⁷ He himself stated, a short time before his death, that he had so far preached more than four thousand sermons.⁸ He was indeed a master and reformer of pulpit eloquence.⁹

But it was to the secular clergy that the bishop devoted his principal care,¹⁰ since good parish priests are as necessary as good bishops.¹¹ Anyone who presented himself for ordination to the priesthood, without giving proof of the necessary dispositions, might appeal in vain to nobility of birth or high recommendations, even if these came from the most exalted

¹ HAMON, I., 463 ; *cf.* II., 453.

² *Ibid.*, I., 471 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 463 *seqq.*, 511.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 463 ; MACKEY, *loc. cit.*, 397 *seq.*

⁵ HAMON, I., 511 *seqq.*, 570 *seq.* ; II., 118, 192 *seqq.*, 211 *seqq.*

⁶ October 1618 to September 1619. HAMON, II., 222 *seqq.*

⁷ HAMON, II., 228.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 467.

⁹ MACKEY, *Étude sur s. Franç. de Sales prédicateur*, in *Oeuvres*, X., v-xcvii.

¹⁰ HAMON, I., 499 *seqq.* ; MACKEY in the *American Eccles. Review*, XIX. (1898), 449-464.

¹¹ HAMON, I., 499.

personages.¹ The parishes were only conferred after a concursus, and on the most worthy candidates;² when necessary, the bishop, who was otherwise so gentle, could show an inflexible severity, since the only way to secure a good and numerous clergy lay in the observance of strict discipline.³ He recommended to his priests in a special way the study of theology. He said that learning is the eighth sacrament for a priest, and that ignorance on their part involves worse consequences than even sin. The greatest evils of the Church had come from the ignorance of the priests, and it was only thanks to this, he thought, that Geneva had been able to inflict such terrible damage, when priests had been satisfied with reciting their breviaries without any care for learning, and everything would have been lost if God in His goodness had not raised up the Jesuits, who, in addition to inflexible courage, were filled with unwearied zeal, as well as profound learning.⁴ In his daily horarium, Francis, even when he was a bishop, set aside two hours a day for the study of theology.⁵ He also sought to encourage secular learning among Catholics by establishing an academy at Annecy, the members of which were only to be those Catholics who had distinguished themselves by some learned work, some invention or discovery. But Savoy was too small to maintain such an institute for long.⁶ In other respects, however, the labours of the zealous bishop were crowned with success, and though he was not successful in obtaining the revenues for the establishment of a seminary,⁷ he nevertheless found at his disposal an exemplary clergy, while the laity as well of the diocese of Geneva were deserving of every

¹ *Ibid.*, 497.

² *Ibid.*, 498.

³ *Ibid.*, 505.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 499 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 448. Naturally it was not always possible for him to carry this out (*ibid.*, II., 143), but he spoke of theological studies as his favourite ones (Lettres, II., 253).

⁶ HAMON, I., 592-596.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 496.

praise.¹ A secular professor of the college at Annecy said that when Francis took possession of the diocese it was made of bricks, but that he left it made of marble. Nowhere was there any diocese better organized ; to the others it was a light along their way, and an inducement to further progress. Francis was rightly called the apostle and father of bishops.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 506.

² MACKEY, *loc. cit.*, 462.

APPENDIX
OF
UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS
AND
EXTRACTS FROM ARCHIVES

APPENDIX.

PRELIMINARY NOTICE.

The following documents are intended to confirm and complete the text of my book ; it had formed no part of my plan to provide a true and full collection of documents. In every case the place where the document was found is given with the greatest possible exactitude. From considerations of space I have had to be sparing in the matter of explanatory notes. As far as the text is concerned I have, as a rule, preserved intact the wording of the documents or letters, which for the most part I have had before me in the original ; there is no need for me to justify the changes I have made in the matter of capital letters and punctuation. Where I have ventured on alteration, I have always noted the fact, though small mistakes and obvious copyist's errors have not been specially noted. The additions which I have made are enclosed in square brackets, while unintelligible or doubtful passages are marked by a note of interrogation or by the word "*sic.*" Those passages which I have purposely omitted, either when copying the documents or in preparing them for the press, and which were not essential or were unnecessary to my purpose, are marked by dots (. . . .).

I take this opportunity to thank Professor Dr. J. Schmidlin for his extracts, so rich in notes, from the *Avvisi* in the Vatican Library, made by him in the years 1901-02, as well as for the present volumes. I am also greatly obliged to Professor E. Steinmann, director of the Hertziana Library, Rome, who with unwearied courtesy has placed at my disposal the treasures of the Institute arranged by him, and which form an indispensable auxiliary source for historical research.

I. LISTS OF SCRUTINIES AT THE CONCLAVE OF 1592.¹

Primum scrutinium	11	Ianuarii Santori	28	Aldobrandini	11	
Secundum	12	"	"	23	"	18
Tertium	13	"	"	23	"	18
Quartum	14	"	"	24	"	9
Quintum	15	"	"	21	"	13
Sextum	16	"	"	22	"	13
Septimum	17	"	"	23	"	13
Octavum	18	"	[not given]			
Nonum	19	"	"	23	"	12
Decimum	20	"	"	22	"	15
Undecimum	21	"	"	23	"	17
Duodecimum	22	"	"	23	"	12
Decimum tertium scrutinium	23	"	"	18	"	17
" quartum	24	"	"	18	"	16
" quintum	25	"	"	19	"	19
" sextum	26	"	"	18	"	15
" septimum	27	"	"	21	"	15
" octavum	28	"	"	15	"	17
" nonum	29	"	"	17	"	16
						21
						16
						14
						14
						16
						15
						15

[From the original in *Cod. J. 39 p. 366 seq.* Vallicelliana Library, Rome.]

2. GIOVANNI NICCOLINI TO FLORENCE.²

1592, March 12, Rome.

(Cipher): . . . È tanto imprudente et pazzo Cintio che ha detto in camera di Montalto dolendosi di esser tenuto indietro dal Papa, che non guardando vi fusse venti persone, disse che S. S.^{tà} era il maggior tristo et ingrato che nascevi mai et il suo pontificato lo farà conoscere, et che se non fusse stato la casa sua S. S.^{tà} non sarebbe niente.

[Orig. State Archives, Florence, Med. 3303.]

3. AVVISO DI ROMA OF 16 SEPTEMBER, 1592.³

Sabato N. S. fece intendere alli dui nepoti suoi, che si dovessero confessare come fu fatto et la matina seguente S. B. li comunicò di sua mano et poi con un sermone paterno disse loro, che voleva aiutassero a portare le fatiche della Sede, assegnando al S. Cintio la secretaria di Polonia, Germania, Venetia et del resto d'Italia, et al S. Pietro di Francia, Spagna et Savoia, dichiarandoli S. B., che sebene haveva divisi li carichi voleva che fossero ambidui uniti di officio, andando da lei a trattare l'uno in defetto dell'altro secondo le occorrenze reciprocamente, et che se si deportaranno bene, come sperava, in questi carichi, non mancherebbe di aiutarli, volendo in oltre che da S. S. istessa et non da altri cognoschino questo et

¹ See *supra*, p. 17.

² See *supra*, p. 47, 48.

³ See *supra*, p. 45.

ogni altra cosa, che da lei possono sperare. Quindi si avrà appunto la promozione in Natale.

The Pope every day takes exercise on foot and on horse-back like a young man, and then gives audiences indefatigably.

(Aggiunta dell'inviato urbinato): Non vi è facchino a Roma, che fatichi più di lui, et io le dissi hiersera a buone lettere grosse, che questo modo di vivere è a propositissimo perdar sodisfattione alli stregoni, che tutte l'hore stanno su queste pratiche, ma S. S. sene ride et dice che dal morire o compare non ci darebbe un fico.

[Orig. *Urb.* 1060 II., Vatican Library.]

4. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE SHAH OF PERSIA.¹

1592, September 30, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

Illustri Abasae potentissimo Persarum regi salutem et Spiritus veritatis illuminationem. Tam excelso et illustri loco sita est laus Tua, tanta gloria multis maximisque rebus gestis parta, ut quamquam nulla inter nos est notitia, tamen celeberrima de Te fama adducti, Tibi omnia cupiamus, contra vero Turcarum tyranni hominis omnium teterrimi nec magis Nostri quam Tui et bonorum omnium hostis intolerandam superbiam depressam et protritam optemus. Ut enim virtus absentium etiam sibi voluntates conciliat, sic vitia abalienant. Quae autem non in illo sunt vitia? Summa crudelitas, summa avaritia, summa rapacitas, in-explebilis omnia per summam iniuriam occupandi cupiditas, nulla iurisiurandi religio, nulla fides. Quos ille non vexavit? Quibus nulla re lacessitus non agros, urbes, provincias ademit? Quantum vobis iniuriarum, quantum Arabibus, Graecis, Germanis, Pannonibus, Italis cladis intulit? Fraudes vero ac periuria quibus crevit, notissima sunt: his enim, non bellis legitime susceptis et iustis victoriis crevit. Inducias ac foedera etiam, si ita visum sit, cum finitimis facit, a quibus se laedi posse intelligit; ubi illos hac fraude obligavit, tum uni eorum, cui commodissimum esse intelligit, contra fidem, contra iusiurandum, nulla re laesus bellum movet; caeteri interea quiescunt, memores datae fidei et iurisiurandi, quod ille semper contemnendum putavit. Sic singulorum seorsum

¹ See *supra*, p. 267.

opibus ac spoliis auctus, reliquos validiore semper manu aggreditur, quoad universos conficiat. Eadem nunc arte vos eludere molitur, quae Tuam prudentiam haud latere arbitramur. Putavimus igitur in communi causa esse etiam communicanda consilia atque opes conferendas ad illam pestem opprimendam. Id vero existimamus posse fieri contraria atque ille cum caeteris agit ratione. Ille singulos adoritur; nunc illum adoriantur oportet universi, quo in negotio et tractatione hoc tempore versamur, ut iuncto foedere cum caeteris principibus Christianitatis coniunctis viribus atque armis illum adoriamur. Sed magnopere opus est, ut ipse quoque ista ex parte eum oppugnes, et quoniam dicitur adversum vos maxime valere tormentis bellicis atque ignibus e materia ad exardescendum facillima, ad ardorem retinendum tenacissima, ad res caeteras incendendas violentissima, quorum ipsi artificiorum vacui estis (nunquam enim virtute atque armis nobilitas Persica vilissimis mancipiis cederet), non patiemur vos his artificiis inferiores esse. Scitis his de rebus deque mittendis earum rerum artificibus magnopere vestro nomine cum superioribus pontificibus actum esse; in quo vobis tum satisfaciendi facultas non fuit, voluntas certe nunquam defuit. Nunc igitur, si Nobis in bellum incumbentibus, vos etiam statuatis bellum vestra ex parte instaurare et continuare, artifices conquiremus mittemusque. Certissima autem erit victoria Deo primum, a quo bona omnia exsistunt, illius scelera ulciscente, tum tantis undique exercitibus prodigium illud adorientibus. Nam si proxime a vobis quietus, tamen Christianorum virtute ad Echinadas superatus est, ingenti classe depressa, incensa, devicta, deleta, paucis aliquot tantae cladis nuntiis, navibus laceris ac semiustis elapsis, quid illi nunc fiet, et Christianorum principum et vestra etiam potentia atque armis circumvallato? Quis ei aut consistendi aut fugiendi locus ac spes relinquetur? Voluimus hoc Nostrum consilium Tibi aperire, atque hortari ut hac tanta opportunitate uti velis. Deus benedictus tum in hoc negotio, tum in omnibus cogitatis et coeptis Tuis ostendat, quid verum maxime sit, quid e re Tua atque regni Tui salute atque amplitudine. Has literas duplicari voluimus, cumque illis alteris certum hominem ad Te mittemus; is ubi pervenerit, et illas alteras reddet et nonnulla etiam mandato Nostro exponet; cupimus ut eius

verbis fidem tribuas. Dat Tusculi die ultima septembris 1592, anno i.

Ant. Buccapadulius.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 54, Papal Secret Archives.]

5. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE ELECTOR ERNEST OF COLOGNE.¹

1592 November 21, Rome.

Pastoralis officii quod in ecclesia catholica . . . Etenim episcopalis cura perpetua quaedam visitatio esse debet. Semper ager Domini excolendus, semper excolendus, semper noxiae, quae succrescunt, herbae evellendae et fructuosi palmites purgandi, ut Salvator noster docuit, quo fructus uberius efferant; semper vigilandum, ne forte, nobis dormientibus, inimicus homo in medio tritici supersemineat zizania. Magni sunt, frater, episcoporum labores, sed magnae propositae coronae et maxima apud Deum praemia. . . .

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo piscatoris di vigesima prima novembris millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo secundo, pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

M. Vestrius Barb.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 34, p. 24, Papal Secret Archives.]

6. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH II.²

1593, February 19, Rome.

Rodulpho Romanorum Imperatori electo. Carissime in Christo fili noster salutem etc. Quod iam pridem factum esse oportuit de Ernesto fratre Tuo rege Romanorum creando, id neque meliore tempore potest fieri neque magis necessario quam in proximo conventu. Agendum enim omnino erit de bello adversus barbarum immanissimum pro vestris proque totius Christianae reipublicae rebus suscipiendo. Ei porro bello praeficiendus necessario erit universi exercitus dux, cuius praesenti virtute ac imperio tota belli ratio gubernetur. Quis autem ea in re anteponendus Ernesto esse videatur, nemo est. Illum vero Romanorum regis gradu atque honore affici necesse erit. Sic enim postulat et rei dignitas et illius virtus et perpetuus familiae vestrae splendor atque amplitudo. Ages igitur in conventu hac de re in

¹ See *supra*, p. 366.

² See *supra*, p. 317.

primis, in qua speramus non defutura Tuæ Maiestati principum studia, atque ante omnia opem a Deo, in cuius manu sunt omnium potestates atque omnium iura regnorum. Hoc quoniam Tuæ Maiestati æque ac Nobis ipsis cordi esse scimus, tantum indicare satis habemus, quam ob rem longiores non sumus. Caetera ex Nuntio Nostro cognosces. Datum ut supra [Romæ apud S. Petrum etc., die 19 februarii 1593, anno 2^{do}].

[Antonius Buccapadulius].

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 38, p. 239, Papal Secret Archives].

7. GIULIO DEL CARRETTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1593, August 21, Rome.

. . . Sono avvisato da card^{li} ² et specialmente Aragona che S. Stà è travagliata grandemente per la nuova venuta questa settimana di Francia della conversione di Navarra, et il sospetto è maggiore non essendo venuto a Roma altro corriero, il che fa credere a tutta la corte che Navarra habbia maggior seguito et che si siano fatti sollevationi et spetialmente in Parigi, havendose alcune lettere da mercanti che il popolo volesse uscire fuori della città ad accettarlo per Re. Li Spagnoli si non stanno troppo contenti, ma trattengono S. Stà in speranza che Guisa sarà già pubblicato Re et che Navarra habbia fatto questa atione astretto da necessità, non havendo altro rimedio; ma essendo stato S. Stà più volte ingannato da essi in questo particolare delle cose di Francia non le crede, ma attenderà il successo, dicendomi di più li detti card^{li} che se vi vedesse inclinatione universale del regno per Navarra et che egli mandasse a render ubedienza alla Sede Apostolica che facilmente l'accetterebbe essendo hora le cose in altro termine che non sono state per lo passato, ma perchè sin qui non ci è resolutione alcuna, ma il tutto dipende dalli novi avisi che si haveranno, però non m'estendo più oltre, ma di quanto seguirà ne ragguaglierò al suo tempo. V. A. . . .³

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

¹ See *supra*, p. 77.

² This word is in cipher.

³ With this is an undated letter from Carretto: . . . La Stà di N.S. sta in travaglio grande perchè in Francia le vien scritto da suoi ministri che doppo la sospensione d'arme seguita tra il Re di Navarra et li principi de Lega s'è incominciata pratica tra loro di eleggere il detto Re alla corona di Francia, del che s'è doluto S.Stà con l'ambasciatore procuri di dar ad intendere a S.Bne che s'è informata sinistramente, con tutto ciò si è insospettita grandemente, come alla presenza dell'ambasciatore Cesareo mi riferi Monsr Minutio segretario del Pontifice, soggiungendo di più che Navari publichi di voler essere catolico et ch'in breve andarà alla messa . . .

8. GIULIO DEL CARRETTO TO THE DUKE MANTUA.¹

1593, August 28, Rome.

. . . N. S. hormai è chiarito che li Spagnoli le hanno date sempre parole, et persiste nell'opinione che le scrissi con le lettere mie dell'ordinario passato d'assolvere Navarra² quando sii accettato per Re da quelli popoli et tra tanto si servirà del beneficio del tempo ne resta di dirle che è puoco sodisfatto di Spagna, si perchè tentano di volere che S. Stà col imporgli pensione sopra li benefici di Spagna nel modo che si è usato sempre da tempo inmemorabile in questa corte et di dividere tutte le religioni et a voler generali della natione loro spetialmente et nella congregatione de Gesuiti che vorrebbero sovertire tutti gli ordini antichi loro, come anchora perchè gli hanno intercette tutte le lettere che ultimamente venevano di Francia, perchè credde veramente che intentione loro sii stata sempre di dividere, non di volere Re in Francia, et discorendo la settimana passata con un card^{lo} diceva che non havevano nominato Umena dubitando che facilmente non potesse socedere, ma Ghisa sapendo che Umena non lo vuole et che perciò non potrà riuscire per dar tempo al tempo, et tra tanto dividere et dominare

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

9. GIULIO DEL CARRETTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.³

1593, October 9, Rome.

. . . Quanto alla mente di N. S. circa la venuta del duca ho scoperto di novo che da Spagnoli si fanno tutti gli ufficii contrarii che si possono imaginare, ne mai passa giorno che non vi sii alcuno da S. Stà per tenerlo saldo ; un giorno vi va l'ambasciatore, l'altro il secretario dell'ambasciata, il 3^o ambasciata, il 3^o Sfondrato, il 4^o Caetano, il 5^o Dezza, il 6^o Alessandrino, il 7^o uno che è agente della Lega per il com^{re} di Diou che ora è infermo, si che non vi è giorno vacuo, protestando che se il duca viene da una parte, l'ambasciatore cattolico uscirà per l'altra che dall'accettare il duca dipende la rovina di tutto il regno di Francia, et con dar speranza dall'altra parte che si mandarà per tutto il giorno vigesimo di questo mese potente esercito in Francia per fare un Re cattolico, et che Navarra è relapso non sarà men cattolico,

¹ See *supra*, p. 78.² This word is in cipher.³ See *supra*, p. 85.

et che Navarra è relapso non sarà men buon cristiano con altre ragioni simili. Ne manchano dall'altra parte chi facino officii contrarii. Salviati, Toledo, il S^r Gio. Aldobrandini, Oratio Rucellai, l'ambasciatore di Toscana, alla gagliarda, il card^{le} Sforza, Aragona, ma assai destramente et di raro per la sua indispositione l'ambasciatore di Vineggia, et dicono alcuni di quello di Ferrara, ma io non l'affermo per vero, et questi protestano al Pontefice che non accettando il duca di Nivers si levarà quel regno dall'ubbidienza della Sede Apostolica, che potrebbero far un concilio in Francia et far un patriarcha, et questa ragione preme infinitamente al Pontefice havendo l'esempio del conciliabolo Pisano in tempo di Giulio 2^o che fu forzato poi a convocare il concilio Lateranense. Se le fa toccar con mano al Pontefice che al tempo destinato non possono havere li Spagnoli esercito in essere, et che l'intento loro non tende ad altro fine che a rovinare et a dividere quel regno. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

10. PROTOCOL OF THE SITTINGS OF THE ROMAN INQUISITION OF THE 15, 16, 17 AND 18 SEPTEMBER, 1593.¹

Die 15. Sept. 1593 fer. 4 ad horam 21 fuit tractatum in congreg. St^{ae} Inquisitionis habita in domo d. card. S. Severinae, in qua interfuerunt dⁿⁱ card^{les} Dezza, Pinellus, Asculanus, Sarnanus, Sfondratus et ipse St^{ae} Severinae.

In ea fuerunt lectae litterae Henrici q. Navarrae regis, et ducis Nivernen, et praelatorum, qui assertum regem ad poenitentiam receperunt, ad S^{num} D. N., et aliae litterae card. legati etc.; deinde facta est disceptatio de ea re. Et conclusum referendum esse, ut dicta legatio Navarri uti regis Franciae non admittatur, neque etiam uti eius orator dux Nivernen. et alii qui cum eo veniunt etc.

Die 16. eiusd. mens. fer. 5 in congreg. Stⁱ Officii habita coram S^{mo} D. N. apud S. Marcum supradicti card. generales Inquisitores Dezza, Pinellus, Asculanus, Sarnanus, Sfondratus et St^{ae} Severinae et St^{as} Jua tractaverunt supradictum negotium.

In ea ego plenissime disserui et conclusi ex multiplicibus rationibus non posse neque debere recipi huiusmodi legationem aut ducem Nivernensem uti oratorem q. regis Navarrae

¹ See *supra*, p. 84.

uti regis Franciae ; quae sunt compendiose notatae in meo scripto, et ita omnes concluderunt.

Et St^a Sua mandavit, ut hodie intimetur congreg. generalis Stⁱ Officii et Franciae pro crastino die, quod habeatur in domo dⁿⁱ card. de Aragona, ut in ea legantur litterae supradictae et fiat consultatio et de hoc et de persona mittenda obviam duci Nivernensi, ut vel sistat viam duci Nivernensi, ut vel sistat aut revertatur si discessit, quae (persona) sibi placeret, ut esset religiosa vel Iesuita, et ita factum est.

Summa sententiae nostrae, quam super susceptione legationis Henrici Borbonii olim Navarrae regis et responsione ad eius et suorum assecularum litteras, dixi in congr^e Rom^{ae} Inquisitionis et universalis coram S^{mo} D. N. ac ill^{mis} et r^{mis} d^{nis} card^{b^{us}} collegis habita ad S. Marcum die XVI mens. Sept. 1593.

Et quam rursus, sed compendiosius in congr^e ill^{morum} et r^{morum} duorum card^{lium} tam generalium Inquisitorum, quam super rebus Franciae deputatorum habita in domo ill^{mi} dⁱ card^{lis} de Aragona die XVII eiusd. mens. Sept. dixi ac repetii.

Die 17. eiusd. mensis [Sept.] fer. 6 ad horam 20 fuit tractatum in congreg^e habita in domo dⁿⁱ card^{lis} de Aragona, in qua interfuerunt omnes card^{les} tam congr^{is} Franciae quam dⁿⁱ card^{les} St^{ae} Inquisitionis videl. d. c. S. Sever., d. c. Dezza, d. c. Salviat., d. c. Lancelott., d. c. Caiet., d. c. Pinell., d. c. Asculan., d. c. Sarnan., d. c. Sfondrat., d. c. Matt. et d. c. de Aragona.

In ea fuerunt lectae litterae praedictae Navarri et ducis Nivernen. et praelatorum, qui receperant eundem Navarrum etc. et aliae scripturae seu litterae card. Placentini legati etc. et litterae ducis Montmorancii in idem argumentum de recipiendo et reconciliando Navarro.

Et deinde oportuit me repetere et dicere omnia, quae hesternae die dixi, contra admissionem huiusmodi legationis.

Et ita ab omnibus conclusum est, nullo modo illam esse recipiendam.

Quoad personam mittendam ad ducem, ut non procedat ulterius, sed sistat vel revertatur, dictum est, ut mittatur aliquis de Secretaria Ap^{ea} vel Iesuita, et a me propositus fuit r. p. Anton. Possevinus, qui ex alia causa privata ex Urbe est discessurus.

Ac etiam dictum, ut ego facerem instructionem, sed ipse me excusavi.

Deinde post solutam congr^{em} d. c. de Aragona accessit ad S^{mum} et retulit omnia, atque etiam personam patris Possevini, et S^{tas} S. omnia probavit etc.

Postmodum die sabbati, 18. eiusd., ill. d. c. S. Georgii, privatim (quia nondum susceperat galerum) ad me venit rogans nomine S^{mi} D. N., ut ego conficerem instructionem pro r. p. Possevino, prout feci etc.

[Borghese I. 28, p. 226, 227, 234, Papal Secret Archives.]

II. PROTOCOL OF THE SITTINGS OF THE FRENCH CONGREGATION AND OF THE INQUISITION ON OCTOBER 24, NOVEMBER 6, AND DECEMBER 5, 1593.¹

Die dom^{co} XXIII Octob. 1593 hora XXI in Monte Quirianli fuit congr. Franciae et Inquisitionis insimul, cui interfuerunt coram S^{mo} D. N. d. c. de Aragona, d. c. S^{tae} Severinae, d. c. Dezza, d. c. Salviat., d. c. Lancel., d. c. Caiet., d. c. Pinell., d. c. Asculan., d. c. Sarnanus, d. c. Matth., d. c. Sfondrat., d. c. Aquav. et d. c. Toletus.

In ea sunt lectae litterae patris Possevini de eius congressu et colloquiis cum ill^{mo} d^{no} duce Nivernensi apud Grisones et deinde in Italiae finibus, de eius querelis etc. et quod saltem cupiebat venire nisi ut orator regis Navarrei seu Franciae, sed uti persona privata, et maior pars conclusit, postquam erat in Italia, ut admittatur ut persona privata, sed ea limitatione, ut prius de ea re praemoneatur d. c. Legatus in Francia et per eum catholici, quod non sit admittendus, sed si admittendus, non nisi ut privatus.

2^o ut paucis diebus Romae commoretur et paucis audientiis a S^{te} Sua expediatur.

3^o ut ante huiusmodi resolutionem ei significandam accersatur et veniat ad Urbem p. r. Possevinus, ut exponat nonnulla quae ipse scribit oretenus tantum et non alias posse exprimere.

Item de praelatis, episcopo Cenoman. et aliis dictum, qui veniunt rationem reddituri de eorum actione circa receptionem et sequelam Navarri, ut recipiantur, tanquam rei se defensuri.

Et quod statim expediretur tabellarius.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 86, 87.

Die sabbati VI mensis Novem. 1593 hora XVII fuit congr. Franciae et Inquisitionis insimul coram S^{mo} apud S. Petrum cui interfuerunt coram S^{te} Sua Ill^{mi} et r. d. e. Aragon., S. Sever., Dezza, Salviat., Lancel., Caet., Pinell., Ascul., Sarz., Matth., Acquav., et Toletus.

In ea fuerunt lectae litterae scriptae nomine S^{tas} Suae a d. card. S. Georgii ad patrem Possevinum, quod S^{tas} Sua erat contenta, illum ut privatum principem, non autem ut oratorem asserti regis benigne recipere, et quod haec resolutio erat facta in congr^e Inquis^{is} et Franciae etc., Sed quod ipse antecederet per quatuor dies, ut et veniret in Urbem, ut S^{tas} Sua de gestis per eum informari posset etc.

Et deinde eius litterae, quod dux erat in itinere veniendi ad Urbem, et ipse Possevinus erat iam Bononiae iter facturus Florentiam.

Ex quibus collegebatur quod dux veniret certior factus, quod reciperetur ut privatus ante reditum ipsius Possevini in Urbem contra resolutionem congreg^{is} etc., et contra mandatum, ut aliquibus videbatur, licet ex litteris dⁿⁱ card^{lis} S. Georgii aliter videretur intelligi.

Item scribebat quod ipse conficiebat quasdam scripturas pro duce Nivernensi, quas volebat vertere in linguam Gallicam, ut posset mitti in Franciam ad docendum de causis quare S^{tas} Sua non poterat admittere Navarrum uti regem et ducem Nivernen. uti eius oratorem.

Conclusum mitti tabellarium ad Possevinum cum mandato, ut significet duci Nivern^{si}, ut privatim absque pompa et magno comitatu veniret et in Urbe non esset commoraturus nisi per decem dies etc.

Ac insuper cum inhibitione, ut nullo modo daret huiusmodi scripturas duci nec gallice nec italice, et si dedisset, ut reciperet.

Prout factum est expedito tabellario cum diligentia, quo pervenerit ad Possevinum Florentiae, et ipse inde digrediens Perusia, se contulit in Marchiam et invenit ducem in terra Muniae prope Serravallem venientem Lauretana domo, et cum illo prudenter collocutus significavit eidem mentem S^{tlis} Suae etc., ut Romae non degeret nec commoraturus esset nisi per decem dies, quod ille gravissime accepit etc.

Quia vero omnia quae in proxime praecedenti congreg^e ordinata seu constituta fuerant, rescita et propalata fuerunt,

Stas Sua de caetero tractata in hac congreg^o et tractanda in aliis secreta teneri et haberi [decrevit] sub poena excommunicationis latae sententiae ipso facto incurrenda, a qua card^{lis} transgressor non possit absolvi a quocunque etiam a me poenitentiario maiori, nisi a St^o Sua, praeterquam in mortis articulo.

Die dominico quinto Decemb. 1593 qui fuit dom. II Adventus, ill^{mus} d^{nus} dux Nivern, habuit quartam audientiam a S^{mo} D^{no}, in qua (ut mihi deinde die 16. eiusd. retulit Stas Sua) egit et tractavit eadem quae prius, et instetit valde se ad pedes Stis Suae prostratus et genuflexus pro absolutione Navarraei saltem in foro conscientiae; ac voluit Stas Suae legere libellum inscriptum. Ristretto degli inconvenienti che seguiranno se non si accetta et assolve Navarra, etc. Sed Stas Sua illum interrupit et noluit audire. Et ipse rursus porrexerat ei libellum memorialem super hoc negocio absolutionis etc., et Stas S. vix aegre accepit [cuius etiam exemplum mihi idem dux misit die sequenti 6. eiusd. atque aliis quoque d^{nis} card^{bus} misit] ¹ et sapienter ei respondit petitionibusque et instantiae ab eo factis prudenter satisfacit etc. Ac etiam postulavit, ut episcopus Cenoman. et eccl^{ri} alii ad oscula pedum Stis Suae admitterentur. Et Stas Sua expresse negavit.

[Miscell. I. 28, p. 246, s. 261, Papal Secret Archives.]

12. GIULIO DEL CARRETTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.²

1593, November 6, Rome.

. . . Doppo havere serrate le lettere et fatto anco il piego, un sig^{re} mio amicissimo m'ha fatto sapere che nella nova congregatione de hoggi sopra le cose de Francia avanti la Stà di N. S. s'è rissolto che il s^r duca di Nevers venga a Roma come persona privata et non mandato da Navarra, et che non habbia a visitare ne essere visitato da card^{li} et che non debba stare in Roma più di dieci giorni. Questo cancell^{re} ha havuto l'aviso soddetto dal Papa stesso et nello istesso modo ch'io ho referito a V.A. . . .

[Original: Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

¹ This is in the margin.

² See *supra*, p. 87.

13. GIULIO DEL CARRETTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1593, December 4, Rome.

. . . La domenica et il lunedì si pose l'oratione delle 40 hore nella cappella Paolina, et N. S. vi venne tutti doi li giorni et vi stette un hora et mezza per volta senza cuscino ne sorte alcuna de comodità con tanta copia di lagrime et di sospiri, con prostrarse et bacciare la terra, con percuotersi tante volte il petto, che tutti li circostanti restorono grandemente edificati in vedere devotione così grande in S. B^{ne}. Di più hora fa l'Advento digiunando ogni giorno et bene spesso in pane et acqua, che se continora qualche tempo in sì aspra penitenza, dubito che in breve finirà li giorni suoi, et s'assicuri V. A. che non vi è fintione, ma che fa da dovero, essendo di vita irreprensibile et di sanità esemplare. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

14. CARDINAL CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI TO THE CARDINAL
LEGATE MADRUZZO.²

1594, January 15, Rome.

. . . Non so ancora cio che N. S. risolverà intorno alla legatione della dieta. Io non ho mancato di rappresentare il rispetto che devemo havere all'età et indispositione di V. S. Ill^{ma} et alle fresche fatiche, ma più ancora al pensiero che conviensi havere di conservarla lungamente per li frutti che potemo cavara dalla sua molta prudenza.

N. S^{re} è stato con ansioso pensiero di far qualche officio gagliardo con questi principi d'Italia ne aspettava altro che poterli animare col tuono della dieta. Onde quando intese che già si scrivevano le lettere et era determinato il giorno et il luogo fece chiamare il vescovo di Spoleto di cui intende valersi in questa occasione insieme con D. Valerio Orsino, ma quando si pensava poterle spedire ne s'aspettava altro che l'aviso della dieta, scrive il vescovo di Cremona che le lettere della intimatione stavano già 14 giorni sopra la tavola della M^{ta} dell' Imperatore et che non si sottoscrivevano di che et egli et l'ambasciatore di Spagna si doleva in estremo. Andando dunque le cose in questo modo, noi non vedemo, come sia possibile l'infiamar altri più lontani dal pericolo

¹ See *supra*, p. 28.² See *supra*, pp. 317, 320.

et dal'interesse. Per questo si sospenderà la detta deliberatione con molt'altre non meno opportune all'impresa.

[Copy. Cod. 2832, Communal Library, Trent.]

15. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO CARDINAL MADRUZZO.¹

1594, February 6, Rome.

Clemens Papa VIII.

Dilecte fili etc. V. S. è dotata di tanta prudenza che conoscerà benissimo che per l'imminente dieta imperiale non ci è persona, la qual possa in essa sostenere l'impeto degl'heretici ne guidar quel negotio di maniera che passi, se non con miglioramento, almen con non peggioramento della religione, se non la sua. Et insieme anco è ripiena di tanto zelo verso Dio et la religione et di tanto amore verso questa S. Sede che ci rendiamo sicuri ch'ella si contenterà di sottentrare un'altra volta al peso di questa legatione certificandola, che si come a Noi sarà questo di estrema consolatione, così ci sforzeremo che sia senza danno suo quanto alle spese, così potessimo fare che fosse senza lesione anco del corpo et della sanità. Ma quello che non è in potenza Nostra pregaremo la Maestà Divina, del servizio della qual si tratta, che l'operi con la sua infinita misericordia. Aspetteremo a publicarla sino alla risposta sua, la qual speriamo conforme al desiderio Nostro, perchè a tutte queste cose s'aggiunge l'amore ch'ella ci porta, del qual viva sicura che n'è da Noi abundantissimamente ricambiata. Con il qual fine le preghiamo da Dio benedetto ogni contento et la benedictione con l'Apost. beneditione.

[Concept. Cod. Campori Nr 214, Este Library, Modena.]

16. CARDINAL MADRUZZO TO POPE CLEMENT VIII.²

1594, February 23, Trent.

Beatissime Pater. La lettera che ha piaciuto a V. S^{tà} di scrivermi di propria mano mi ha quasi rapito fori di me, considerando l'eccesso della benignità, che usa meco, et il giudicio che fa delle debil mie qualità in occasione tanto importante, et che Lei tanto stima. Et si come il debito riguardo del servizio di V. S^{tà} et di questa S. Sede in tempi

¹ See *supra*, p. 321.

² See *supra*, pp. 322, 331.

periculosissimi et in coniontura di negoci gravissimi et difficili hano causato che considerando le mie imperfettioni et impedimenti habbi cercato di sotrahermi da un peso così grave, così intendendo pur che V. Stà iudicava poter servirsi di me in questa occasione, non ostande li mei impedimenti et diffetti manifesti et palesi, ho conosciuto conveniente, tal qual sono, a resignarmi in tutto al obediencia che devo a V. Stà. Et perchè so che Dio benedetto con la sua santa gracia dà l'incremento a quel che la pia solecitudine di V. Stà promove per beneficio publico, confido ancho, che a me, debol et diffettoso instrumento, darà forze in questo carico che m'impone V. S. al meno da testificare la devota affettione che porto al servizio di V. B. et la riconoscenza che tengo del grand' obbligo che ho a tanta benigna dimostracione fatta verso di me. Pregerò ben Dio con tutto il core che li negoci di questo carico rieschino a sodisfattione di V. S. et mi affaticarò sempre di non manchar punto a quella fideltà che devo, ne alla diligenza possibile a queste mie forze deboli, quali spero che debino essere sollevate et coroborate da la santa beneditione di V. B., alla quale humil. et reverentemente bacio li s. piedi pregando la M^{ta} de Dio conservi la Stà V. con longa et felice prosperità a beneficio della Chiesa sua santa. Di Trento alli 23. di Febr. 1594.

D. V. Stà

humil. et devotissimo servo

Lud^o card. Maddruzzo.

[Autograph letter in my possession.]

17. THE CARDINAL LEGATE MADRUZZO TO CARDINAL
CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI.¹

1594, February 23, Trento.

Ill^{mo} et rev^{mo} sig^{or} mio oss^{mo}. Il corriere spedito da Roma giunse quà sabato passato a mezo giorno, et da lui ricevei la lettera di V. S. ill^{ma} delli XIV del presente. Hebbi poi l'altra sua delli XII, et insieme quella che ha piacciuto a N. S^{re} scrivermi di propria mano ; et resto tra di me confuso, vendendo in che grand'obbligo mi mette il giuditio che fa S. Stà di me così vil soggetto, et l'eccesso della benignità che usa meco. Et sicome il risguardo del servizio di S. Stà et cotesta Stà Sede ha causato che conoscendo le imperfettioni

¹ See *supra*, p. 322.

et le deboli forze mie a questi tempi tanto scabrosi, habbi fuggito di sottopormi a così gran peso, così il debito dell' obediènza et la devota et humil osservanza, che devo a S. Stà fanno che mi risegni tutto al volere et commandamento suo, vedendo che pur'ella giudica in questa occasione potersi servir di me tal qual mi trovo. Spero che la M^{ta} di Dia favorirà la santa et pia sollicitudine di S. B^{ue}; et se le deboli forze mie non corrispondessero come il bisogno in se ricerca a questo carico, confido che conoscendo S. Stà quante difficoltà si possono a questi tempi tanto pericolosi et licentiosi attraversar a le attioni, a le quali son destinato, sia per compatir con le mie imperfezzioni et impedimenti, co' quali però con la gratia di Dio mi sforzerò con sincera fede et con ogni diligenza possibile almeno di testificar la devota et humil affettione che porto al servitio di S. Stà et cotesta Stà Sede. Spero anco che V. S. Ill^{ma} sia per protegermi, come ha fatto tanto benignamente sin'hora et starò aspettando li ordini, ricordi et commandamenti suoi, quali haverò, come devo sempre, per principali indrizzi delle attioni mie.

Sono veramente importantissimi li tre punti tocchi da N. S^{re} nel concistoro, oltre il negotio principal della guerra, a quali converrà con diligente cura attender in quel modo che il bisogno ricercherà. Et di quel d'Argentina scrissi a V. S. ill^{ma} delli 29 di Decembre passato qualche cosa, et insieme dissi quel che ne giudicava il s^{ar} duca di Bavera. Ma perchè il corso della dieta, secondo anco li motivi delli adversarii, ben spesso altera li negotii et lor considerationi, non mancherò di usar ogni diligenza et star attento a tutte le occasioni, che possino rappresentare qualche avvantaggio over pericolo, per non mancar con l'aiuto di Dio al desiderio di S. Stà et al servitio di Dio, come farò anco nelli altri due punti. È però bene in tutti questi negotii et simili far che li principi catolici si movino come da se per la osservanza delle constitutioni imperiali in quanto prevedono a la conservatione delle ragioni et sicurezze loro; et in specie converrà che sian pronti et uniti a oppondersi a la pretensione del Magdeburgese della sessione et voto tra li ecclesiastici, non essendo dubio che saranno congiunti con lui Halberstadio, Brema, Verda, Lubeca et Osnab[r]uch et altri non confirmati da la Stà Sede Ap^{ca}, poi che con questo minaccian non solo di gettar a terra quanto in favor de' catolici circa le chiese

imperiali statuisce la constitutione della pace della religione ; ma (se succedesse) causariano che li catolici restarebbero sempre inferiori di voti in ogni consultatione nelle diete.

Non è dubbio che Navarra mandarà suoi ambasciatori a la dieta, come hanno Franzesi fatto quasi sempre in simil occasioni, et dubito che haverà di molti fautori, che procureranno che sia trattato come re di Franza, et forse qualche catolici non vorranno pigliar la pugna ne farvi contrasto, se ben voglio creder che l'imperatore non sia per darvi cos di leggier'orecchia. Desidero però in questo particolare intender come mi habbia a governare.

Ho veduto le copie delle lettere del ser^{mo} re di Polonia, che V. S. Ill^{ma} mi ha mandate, et in quel negotio a suo luogo et tempo non mancherò a quanto da V. S. Ill^{ma} mi sarà comandato. Intanto resto baciando con la debita humiltà li s^{mi} piedi a N. S^{re} et a V. S. Ill^{ma} le mani, pregando il Signor Dio per ogni sua prospera felicità et contentezza.

Di Trento a 23. di Febr. 1594.

There then follows an autograph postscript by Madruzzo, in which he once again repeats that he only accepts the heavy burden out of obedience to the Vicar of Christ.

[Orig. in my possession.]

18. THE CARDINAL LEGATE MADRUZZO TO CARDINAL
CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI.¹

1594, May 4, Ratisbon.

La tardanza del Imp^{re} in venire alla dieta mi fa temere, che S. M^{ta} Ces. cerchi la brevità del tempo di escludere ogni trattatione dalla contribuitione in fuori, pericò dubito, che difficilmente darà orecchie alla elettione del re di Romani parendoli, che con questa possi aprire la strada a molte materie di mala digestione, al che non dimeno io non mancherò a tutto mio potere.

[Orig. in my possession.]

19. THE CARDINAL LEGATE MADRUZZO TO CARDINAL
CINZIO ALDOBRANDINI.²

1594, May 31, Ratisbon.

Qui si sta sin'hora travagliando per levare queste pretensioni de Brandeburgesi et altri che possono attraversar con non

¹ See *supra*, p. 329.

² See *supra*, p. 332.

picciol disturbi il principio della dieta, et sin'hora si ha havuto molto che fare per la pretension della sessione del pretenso Magdeburgese, quale con molta assistentia della parte contraria, veniva a esser promossa ; vi sono caduti certi incidenti, che l'hanno fatta pericolosa de novi pregiudicii ; io oltre l'haverne parlato nell'audientia a S. Mtà ho più volte ragionato di ciò con Magontia, Colonia, Trevere, Salzburg et Herbipoli, con il ser^{mo} duca Maximiliano di Bavera ne raggonai da principio et poi per med'a di mons^r di Portia le ho fatto intendere quanto di più occorreva et anco per soi consiglieri secondo mi si è offerta l'occasione. Et in summa circa la sessione di Magdeburg, questi principi catholici tutti si sono decchiarati a S. Mtà che non conveniva darle orecchia, ma ch'era bene che Sua Mtà vedesse di divertirlo da questo pensier in ogni modo. Ne anco l'amministrator di Sassonia ha voluto adherire alle turbulentie che si trattava di muovere in questa materia da Brandeburgesi et lor fautori. Et quanto a questo ponto si spera che sarà reiettato, non volendo Sua Mtà admetter preiudicio simile, stante massimamente questa resolutione de principi catholici, se bene li adversarii non cessano di convenire insieme in gran numero et dimostrarsi molto alterati. Nova difficultà batte hora cerca Halberstadio, ch'essendo convocato alla dieta et havendo l'indulto delle regalie et ottenuto il loco et sessione nelle altre diete, fa il caso suo più difficile ; non ho mancato con Sua Mtà istessa nell'audientia, che hebbi, et con tutti questi principi più volte di mostrare l'importantia del pregiudicio, et pur heri ne feci una scrittura todesca et latina per instruttion de mei consiglieri, quali mandai a inculcar di novo a Magontia et Trevere et altri il negocio. Saltzburg ha mandato un suo da me sopra di ciò et ha voluto esser informato di molte circostantie, dicendo di volersi sopra di ciò abbocare con Bavera et Herbipoli, et anco da lui ho mandato mio nepote a far quelli officii ch'erano necessarii. . . .

[Original in my possession.]

20. ANNIBALE CHIEPPIO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1594, October 22, Rome.

The mission of Giov. Fr. Aldobrandini to Spain. " Partirà dicono fra 15 giorni premendo tanto il Papa nel fare qualche

¹ See *supra*, pp. 50, 81.

lega contro quel commune nemico [Turks] che adesso non pensa ad altro." In the beginning of 1595 Aldobrandini became General of the Papal troops in Hungary. " Appresso tutto questo si va scoprendo ogni di più l'amore tanto del Papa verso li nepoti¹ tanto che per commune giuditio è fatto hormai di carne affatto et non si sarà cosa che non ottengano." Cinzio Aldobrandini is abandoned, all the influence has passed more and more into the hands di " questi altri Aldobrandini."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

21. ANNIBALE CHIEPPIO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.²

1594, December 22. Rome.

. . . È opinione comune la quale tuttavia s'accresce, che il Papa voglia assolvere Navarra, ma che vorrebbe farlo con quella maggior soddisfazione del re di Spagna che sia possibile, onde molti hanno pigliato congettura che anche questo negotio sarà incaricato, come si crede senz'altro almeno per reputatione, al s^r Giov. Francesco. Al fine di questo mese si aspetta mons^r di Peron, sì come mons^r Serafino mi ha accertato et all'hora si scoprirà più intimamente l'anima di S. Stà circa ciò venendosene egli come si sa per trattare quest'assoluzione, non parendo che per adesso gli Spagnoli si oppongano direttamente al Papa che Navarra non sia assoluto, ma premiano più tosto nella dilatatione guadagnando voti ai card^{li} segretamente per tutto quello che occorrerà trattarsi in concistero et per via d'insinuatione persuadendo, vanno mostrando le forze ch'essi hanno per nutrire una perpetua guerra in Francia, et i mali effetti che possano seguire alla giornata dall'assoluzione di detto re. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

22. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE EMPEROR RUDOLPH II.³

1595, May 20. Rome.

Rudolpho Imperatori electo.

. . . Quae ad Nos Maiestas Tua . . . Praeterea arbitramur Maiestatem Tuam iam audisse quam indigna et calumniosa scriptio contra eundem Nuntium Nostrum Apostolicum ad eius ianuam ante paucos dies fuerit proiecta. Hi nimirum

¹ This is in cipher.

² See *supra*, p. 110.

³ See *supra*, p. 372.

sunt fructus, qui ex haereticis ministris colliguntur, qui, non minus Tibi quam Deo infideles, nihil aliud cogitant et moliuntur, quam ut ea impediunt, perturbent, retardent, quibus Dei gloria et nominis Tui amplitudo et dignitas augetur. Quare, quod saepe ex vehementi erga Te amoris affectu et divini honoris zelo egimus, nunc quoque Te summopere hortamur, ut eiusmodi fallax et infidum hominum genus a publica administratione et intimis negotiis removeas, et muneribus atque officiis, quae vacantia sunt, neminem praeficias nisi catholicum, et nominatim in Tua Caesarea Cancellaria scribas et ministros et officiales omnes vere catholicos adhibeas; alioquin verendum ne ira Dei, quae hoc maxime tempore lenienda est, gravius irritetur. . . .

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die XX maii 1595, pontificatus Nostri anno quarto.

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 49, p. 245, Papal Secret Archives.]

23. PROTOCOL OF THE GENERAL CONGREGATION OF AUGUST, 1595.¹

1595, August 2.

Congreg. gener. pro absolut. Navarrei: Magna cum pietate et affectu narravit [Papa], quae ab initio sui Pontificatus acta et gesta essent in rebus regni Franciae, et quomodo favit catholicis foederatis et alienus a suscipiendo Navarrae rege, et quomodo ille misit ducem Nivern., et quomodo eius legationem reiecit, et quomodo reiecit march. Pinan. similiter ab eo missum orat., quomodo etiam admonitus per litteras card. Placentini card. Gondum, qui venerat pro eo in Ilatia, arcuit a Curia et ditioe ecclesiastica et destituit per multos menses ab ea, et quomodo omnia feliciter successerunt Navarro, non obstantibus his, et quo maiores diligentiae factae sunt pro eo regno, eo magis ipse praevaluit, et obtinuit fere omnes provincias, civitates et castra minutissima et ipsum Lugdunum, Lutetiam et deinde reliquas magnas civitates, ut Aurelianum et Rotomagum, et potitur regno, et quomodo instat periculum schismatis, nisi recipiatur, ut protestatus egit et misit istum d. de Perona, qui cum Doxat eius agente hic Romae agat de sua absolutione et receptione. Quindi furono lette le lettere del re al papa. Perciò per viscera misericordiae D. N. Iesu Chr. obsecravit et obtestatus est dd.

¹ See *supra*, p. 125.

card., ut considerent haec omnia charitate mature perpendant ; essi voglian dare votum suum singuli pro conscientia tantum et pro veritate et servitio Dei liberi et alieni ab omni factione et passione et affectu humano, et quid ipsi facerent, si ipsi locum eius tenerent ; vota autem eorum non exquirat hic, sed vult, ut in camera quisque seorsum libere dicat Stⁱ S. quod pro conscientia sensit. . . Singulis diebus vocavit aliquos card. ad dicenda eorum vota seu sententias, et eos benigne et patienter audivit, incipiens ab ep^{is} card., deinde prosequens a presb., demum a diac., per 16 ferme dies non impositos, mane et vespere pro temporis opportunitate.

[Copy Acta consist., Barb. lat. 2871, p. 148, Vatican Library.]

24. CONSISTORY OF 30 AUGUST, 1595.¹

1595, August 30.

The Pope said : Se iam audisse sententias et vota omnium card., et remansisse de eis contentum, et sibi satisfactum esse de eorum omnium pietate, prudentia et doctrina, in hoc negotio reconciliationis regis Navarrae, et invenisse maiorem partem, imo plus quam maiorem, inclinare et sentire, ut recipiatur, minorem vero partem et vix tertiam (sunt enim pauci) sentire contrarium, sed certe omnes pie et prudenter dixerunt et locuti sunt, et ideo esse recipiendum et nullam existimare difficultatem in hoc. Et quod S. S. egit et tractavit cum his agentibus et procuratoribus regis, et huc usque conclusit condiciones aliquas in eius reconciliatione servandas, quas illi implendas promittunt. Menzionò dieci condizioni, subiungens haec hactenus obtinuisse, quod si quid amplius poterit obtinere, melius erit, ac Deo benedicente haec acta esse. Gesualdo e Colonna chiesero se egli le adempirebbe subito ; egli disse che non poteva farlo subito.

[Copy *Acta consist., Barb. lat. 2871, p. 150, Vatican Library.]

25. AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM CLEMENT VIII., TO THE TREASURER-GENERAL CESI.²

1595, October 7, Frascati.

Essendo piaciuto a Dio di dare a Giovanni Francesca Aldobrandino nostro nipote una copiosa famiglia di maschi et di femine, la quale anco va tuttavia crescendo, et consider-

¹ See *supra*, p. 128.

² See *supra*, p. 53.



ando Noi il debole stato in quanto alle sostanze in che egli si ritrova, havendo massimamente per l'innanzi servito a questa. Sede in più carichi con ogni fede et diligenza et servendo tuttavia nella guerra d'Ungaria per generale del nostro esercito non perdonando ne a fatica ne a spesa ne alla propria vita et sangue, ci è parso per queste cause, that we ought to take care of him and his family, especially his daughters Margherita and Elena, now grown up. Per la presente vi ordinamo che de denari de spogli et beni vacanti et mal percetti o altre compositioni, che da voi o vostri commissarii si sono fatte et non pagate in depositaria generale ovvero per l'avvenire si faranno o incameraranno, facciate pagare et porre nel banco di Francesco et Niccolò Capponi di Roma a credito di dette nostre pronipoti a disposizione di detto Giov. Francesco lor padre in una et più volte come verrà l'occasione fino alla somma di scudi trenta millia. We give them to him "inter vivos." Clauses derogative of contrary dispositions, especially the bull of Pius IV.

Dat. in Tusculano li 7 ottobre 1595.

[Orig. Private Archives of the Aldobrandini in Rome, 42 Nr. 5¹.]

26. INSTRUCTION FOR CARDINAL ALESSANDRO DE' MEDICI, LEGATE IN FRANCE.²

1596, May 10, Rome.

. . . Li vescovi et arcivescovi, abati et altri che hanno giurisdittione e cura d'anime sono la base et il fondamento del clero, e però da questi bisogna cominciare, et haver bene l'occhio quali siano quei che sono provisti di tali cariche, e far che non manchino al debito loro, come di mano in mano li sarà suggerito da V. S. ill^{ma} secondo quello che si intenderà ; et in questo Ella farà opera li esser bene informata da huomini senza passione o interesse, per poter poi fruttuosamente ricordare a S. Mtà li rimedii che si potranno applicare.

Inoltre alle chiese cattedrali, che sono vacanti e che vaceranno alla giornata, converrà provvedere de buoni soggetti et avere in ciò riguardo più al servitio di Dio che all'utilità,

¹ *Ibid.* n. 5, is a second "Chirografo di Clemente VIII. a Cesi, dat. " dal nostro Palazzo apost. 3 febbraio 1596: Farete pagare di denari di spogli nel banco di Capponi fino alla somma di scudi quindici milia et li farete mettere a la dispositione di Giov. Francesco Aldobrandini nostro nepote, al quale Noi gli doniamo inter vivos per comprare un palazzo etc." Derogation clause as above.

² See *supra*, pp. 143, 151.

et circospettione nel nominare, e ricordarsi che questo sarà forse il maggior carico di sua coscienza che possi havere, et il maggior conto che habbi da rendere a Dio, e che i mali succeduti nella Francia da non molto tempo in qua sono stati attribuiti in grandissima parte all'offese fatte a Dio nelle cattive distributioni de cariche spirituali, essendosi qualche volta dati i vescovati a soldati et a donne ; di dove sono nate tante e sì enormi simonie e confidenze, et è proceduto di qui il mal governo delle chiese, il negletto del culto divino e della cura dell'anime, l'oppressione della giurisdittione e la dilapidatione dei beni ecclesiastici, et una estrema et infelice confusione di ogni cosa. Pregherà perciò S. M^{tà} che in questo voglia havere quella informatione che è necessaria per poter far bene il suo offitio, e potrà metterli in consideratione che, per fuggir l'importunità di chi domanda sarà bene che la M^{tà} Sua habbia una lista di huomini buoni et atti a regere e governare le chiese, e subito nominare uno di essi, ma da avvertire grandissimamente da chi piglierà informatione di loro ; et in tal proposito potrà anco soggiungere, che, procurando S. M^{tà} il buon stato delle chiese e de pastori e la conservatione de beni ecclesiastici, e di rimediare ai sudetti mali, non fa puoco servitio delle cose sue temporali, sì perchè un ordine ecclesiastico di quella qualità e grandezza, quando sia conservato e favorito nel mode che conviene, può essere gran scudo alla difesa della corona con l'autorità et anco con le ricchezze, benchè quanto a queste sia meglio quando si può fare senza truovarle o almeno se non per urgentissimi bisogni.

E si potrà anco mettere in consideratione a S. M^{tà}, se si potesse introdurre l'osservanza del concilio di Trento circa la vacatione delle chiese cattedrali, e levare l'abuso di dare li possessi in vigore delli biglietti, la qual cosa torna in gran danno delle chiese e del governo di esse ; e se ben questi sono punti difficili da superare, nondimeno, perchè importano al servitio di Dio N. S., è obligato di ricordare il rimedio per suo scarico. Però questa sarà la materia di andarla risvegliando e con il re e con qualcheduno di quei ministri più intelligenti e più ben affetti, e col consiglio et aiuto del sig^r card. Gondi, e trovandosi difficoltà insuperabile, non si violenterà il negotio, ma si attenderà all'altre cose più riuscibili, finchè piacerà a Dio mostrar migliore strada, non

lasciando però sempre di fare qualche cosa anco in questo, come dice S. Paolo, opportune et importune, talmente però che si vegga e conosca sempre che non si camina se non al bene del re e del regno.

Quel che si è detto de vescovi et arcivescovi et altri pastori ha luogo ancora nelli altri ordini e religioni dove sono molti servi di Dio, che con la sana dottrina, predicationi, amministrationi de santi sacramenti et orationi continue promovono grandemente il culto divino e la salute dell'anime; et in questa gran confusione che ora si trova nel regno delle cose sacre per i tumulti delle guerre è necessario maggior numero di operaii per supplire a tanta necessità et infinità di popoli; et in questa occasione farà toccar con mano alla M^{ta} Sua quanto sia ottimo et opportuno rimedio la publicatione et osservanza del concilio di Trento, come è stato promesso da suoi procuratori. . . .

Non può N. S. mancar di raccomandare al re efficacissimamente et in visceribus Christi tutte le chiese, gli ecclesiastici e sacerdoti secolari e regolari e veri servi di Dio, acciò voglia haverli in particolar protettione, conservarli la loro immunità e privilegii, difenderli dalle oppressioni, non permettere che li giudici laici perturbino li loro stato e la giurisdictione ecclesiastica, et in somma ricordarsi che quel che si fa a loro si fa a Dio, et che essi sono mediatori per placar l'ira di Dio e per ottener venia dei peccati e per tutte le consolationi e gratie che si aspettano dalla divina misericordia; e però quando verrà a notizia di V. S. ill^{ma} qualche caso particolare, ne avvertirà Sua M^{ta} ene suggerirà i rimedii.

Spera Sua S^{ta} et aspetta ogni grand'effetto dalla bontà del re et è certo che V. S. ill^{ma} continuerà ad animarlo acciò non si raffreddi nè si ritiri dall'opere buone per qualche difficoltà che insorga di presente, perchè così suole avvenir quasi sempre per suggestione del demonio, ma che metta pure in effetto la sua retta intentione e ne dia quel certo e sicuro inditio e saggio, che la s^{ta} Chiesa e tutti li buoni hanno bramato et bramano, perchè, S. M^{ta} così, non ha da dubitare che Dio benedetto non li somministri consiglio e forze bastanti da superar tutte le difficoltà, per grandi che siano; et in questo particolare gli metterà in consideratione quanto potenti e di quanta efficacia siano gli essempii dei principi; e perciò, quando S. M^{te} haverà buon confessore, si confesserà e comuni-

carà e frequenterà spesso i ss^{mi} sacramenti. Questa sarà una viva et continua predica per tutto il regno, attissima a ridurlo in brevissimo termine, et in ciò si potrà secondo l'occasioni mettere innanzi quanto siano stati grandi i re di Francia, che hanno havuta congiunta la religione con la fortezza e peritia dell'arte militare; e così, come nell'armi non cede a nessuno degli antichi, non la deve neanche cedere nella professione della vera religione; et andarle continuamente insinuando di quanta gloria li sarà l'esser chiamato ristauratore della religione.

Perchè nondimeno il re è stato allevato, come si sà, et hà atteso per inclinatione propria e per gli accidenti occorsi più alle armi che ai negotii civili e molto meno alli ecclesiastici, per la loro diversità, e si può riputare che sia come una novella pianta, la quale è dovere che sia maneggiata con gran rispetto e delicatezza, sarà però bene che V. S. ill^{ma} vada con molta destrezza e piacevolezza suggerendo le cose dette di sopra e le altre che pareranno lei per infervorare et infiammare S. M^{ta} alla vera gloria di Dio e sua et ad acquistarsi con le eroiche e sante operationi l'amore e divotione, non pure de' suoi popoli, ma di tutta la Christianità, la quale si promette grandissimi benefitii dallo infinito valore della sua persona.

E perchè S. M^{ta} ha pur fatto sin qui alcune cose buone e rilevanti, come di haver levato il principino di Condé di mano degli heretici e datolo in cura al marchese di Pisani, del qual principino si sentono buone nuove, et ha anco levato la prohibitione di venir a Roma per le speditioni, et ultimamente si è presentato che si sia dato qualche principio a restituir la messa nel principato di Bearne, se bene questo non si sà certo, et anco del Delfinato, si potrà prendere di qui argomento di lodare e ringratiare S. M^{ta} ampiamente et essortarla a seguitare di dar gl'ordini necessari acciocchè si continui et accresca l'opera, mostrando il contento che N. S^{re} ne ha sentito, e quanto lo sentirà maggiore, come intenderà che si vada innanzi a buoni passi e gagliardamente; et in somma in questa materia cercherà di andar sempre entrando et istillando [amore] nell'animo del re verso i cattolici e la religione cattolica, et odio verso gli heretici e le eresie, mostrandogli quanto siano inquieti, infideli, incostanti e desiderosi di cose nuove, e quanto il Calvinismo sia pernicioso alli principi istessi, poichè tutta la fallace dottrina sua è di sollevatione e perturbatione di tutti li stati.

Una cosa è grandemente da avvertire e da rimostrare a S. M^{ta} vivamente, che i parlamenti del regno cercano con ogni industria d'avanzarsi e di arrogarsi più autorità che possono, massimamente sopra gli ecclesiastici : il che conturba grandemente quell'ordine e ne nascono infiniti disordini e scandali ; laonde è necessario provederli li buona sorte anco per proprio interesse di S. M^{ta}, et reprimerli, e fare che si contenghino dentro dei suoi termini, perchè altrimenti in progresso di tempo ne verrà anco diminuita l'autorità regia. Ma tutto questo però haverà da essere insinuato a S. M^{ta} con gran destrezza e secretezza.

Volendo Sua St^a sovvenire in ogni maniera che possa ai bisogni spirituali del regno, e considerando che per le turbolenze passate e per la mala qualità de' tempi, molti di ogni sesso e di ogni qualità devono trovarsi illaqueati in varii modi, ha perciò fatto gratia di un amplo giubileo, compartendo i tesori di s^{ta} Chiesa con paterna benignità. Onde V. S. ill^{ma} ne darà conto al re e poi lo farà pubblicare con la solennità solita e conveniente, invitando tutti li fedeli alla partecipazione di esso per consolatione propria e per la gloria eterna . . .

Haverà insieme a vigilare veramente la vita del re nelle cose della religione et avvisarne con ogni schiettezza e cercar sempre di scuoprir sempre più l'interno dell'animo suo da quelli che saranno meno appassionati per l'una e l'altra parte.

E però che altre volte sono seguiti delli inconvenienti per conto delle speditioni dei legati, avvertirà V. S. ill^{ma} che nelle speditioni si proceda senza sorte alcuna d'interesse, fugendo ogni pagamento di denari. Il Papa in Polonia non volse che si pagasse cosa alcuna neanche per la carta ; e per questo avvertirà tutti li ministri e tutta la sua famiglia a procedere nettissimamente, acciochè, andando per rimediare alli abusi, non dessimo noi essemplio di maggiori.

E però, ricapitolando tutta questa scrittura, in somma due sono i negotii che Ella ha da trattare : l'essecutione di quanto ha promesso Sua M^{ta} per i suoi procuratori, la riforma e riordinatione della religione in quel regno, come diffusamente sta scritto di sopra, e la pace tra la corona di Francia e Spagna: negotii della gravità che Ella conosce ; dalla quale pace evidentemente ne viene la distruzione dell'Imperio Ottomano. . . .

Qui entra un punto molto essenziale, che è sopra l'editto,

della cui rivocatione e publicatione fatta dall'istesso re fu sentita molto dal Papa e da tutti li buoni. Ma sin'hora non vi si è potuto rimediare, nè anco parve tempo di trattarne nell'assolutione, riserbando questo punto alla legatione. Però N. S^{re} non può, per debito dell'offitio suo, mancar hora di mettere in consideratione a Sua M^{ta} il rimediarci in qualche modo, al meno, se non puote far altro, con non osservarlo in quello che può portar pregiuditio alla religione et a' cattolici; e sarà bene che V. S. ill^{ma} procuri, se è possibile, la rivocatione per tener gli heretici più ristretti che si può. Ma quando, per la turbolenza del tempo o per altro, giudicasse che ciò non potesse riuscire, quando non si possi far meglio, tenti di haver parola secreta da Sua M^{ta} di questa inosservanza, acciò la concienza e fama sua non resti illesa, e procurerà che per il regno non si facci forza da altri sopra di ciò, et al Papa et ai cattolici si dia qualche honesta sodisfattione e si mostri tener conto delle gratie ricevute da questa Sede et havere il debito il debito riguardo all'honor di Dio, e non muoversi per rispetti humani. . . .

Data in Roma nel Palazzo Apostolico di Montecavallo questo di 10 di maggio 1596.

[Copy Nunz. div. 239 p. 188 s. Papal Secret Archives, also in Borghese I 616 p. 1 s. *ibid.*]

27. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN.¹
1596, July 18, Rome.

A great difficulty of our times is that many bishops who are good and learned, do not sufficiently fulfil their episcopal duties, do not administer the sacraments, especially Confirmation and Holy Orders, on feast days they neither celebrate nor hear mass, they do not convoke synods, above all they do not hold visitations of their dioceses, not even the principal cities, and do so only in appearance, whereas instead they should be watchful and fight against the cockle, and enforce the decrees. In this matter the Spanish bishops especially sin, not only now, but we saw it for ourselves when many years ago we dwelled for a long time in Spain.

“Ac sane iam tum animadvertimus, eiusmodi vitae genus sequi episcopos illos, ut externo potius splendore et terrenis honoribus quam divino cultu et sacrarum rerum tractatione

¹ See *supra*, p. 206.

oblectarentur, et ut planissime dicamus, potius saeculares principes quam animarum pastores et episcopi viderentur, quod institutum absurdissimum et a Christi Domini imitatione alienissimum adhuc perdurare et in tanta sacrorum canonum et concilii Tridentini luce eos adhuc in tenebris versari, qui aliorum duces et magistri esse debent, profecto acerbum et luctuosum est. Nec vero cessavimus fratres nostros episcopos exemplo nostro invitare, ut non verbis, sed operibus admonerentur, ipsos esse cultores agri Domini, ad ipsos pertinere, manum ad aratrum admove, noxias herbas revellere, christianae pietatis et virtutum omnium sementem facere, ipsos esse pastores, qui gregem suum per se ipsos visitare et vultum pecoris sui agnoscere tenentur; quare et si pro nostro apostolicae servitutis munere in tantis christianae reipublicae tempestatibus iis curis et occupationibus, quas nemo ignorat et tu optime omnium nosti, distenti, et distracti sumus, tamen ab ipso pontificatus nostri initio episcopalem visitationem ecclesiarum et cleri huius nostrae almae Urbis indiximus eamque nos ipsi adhibitis delectis cardinalibus et praelatis obivimus et obimus, atque adhuc in eadem muneris functione versamur, et re ipsa experti sumus, quantus et quam copiosus spiritualis fructus ex eius modi visitatione consequatur. At vero quia apud Hispanos episcopus parum videtur exemplo profecisse, statuimus etiam per litteras nostras unumquemque illorum officii sui admonere, ut tandem aliquando intelligant, quid sit episcopum esse, et in quo non adumbratus, sed verus honor et dignitas episcopalis consistat." We pray you, when you propose translations to us, to see how the person suggested has governed previously, because we shall only with difficulty be able to translate anyone who has not carried out canonical visitations, or shown himself a true pastor. "Urget nos charitas Christi, urget officii nostri munus."

[Brevia Arm. 44, t. 40, n. 302, Papal Secret Archives.]

28. AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO
PHILIP II. KING OF SPAIN.¹

1596, October 15, Frascati.

Carissime in Christo fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

¹ See *supra*, p. 205.

Sa la maestà Divina a cui non è occulta cosa alcuna, che desideriamo con tutto l'affetto dell'animo nostro poter apportare alla M. V. refrigerio e consolatione e non travagli e fastidii di animo, il quale desiderio è così intenso che ci ha fatto indugiare quanto abbiamo potuto a por mano alla penna, ma procedendo le cose tant'oltre per non aver a rendere conto a Dio di esser cane morto, non valens latrare, siamo stati necessitati violentar la natura nostra, e rappresentare a V. M. con nostro infinito dispiacere le oppressioni che si fanno dalli ministri della M. V. alla giurisdizione ecclesiastica, talchè per quello che si vede dagli effetti poi, che abbiamo deliberato di estinguerle. Il che ci ha fatto qualche volta sospettare, che sia vicino il dì del giudizio, poichè uno de' segni, secondo Chiesa santa, è quando conculcabitur clerus, e castigando le cose di Fiandra delle quali abbiamo scritto brevi particolari a V. M., e cominciando dal regno di Napoli è intollerabile il strapazzo, che si fa ai poveri vescovi et a beni loro, pigliando ardire ogni barone ben piccolo per il fomento, che hanno dalli consigli, e Vicere di conculcarli spogliarli delli beni e ragioni loro, e sino a circondarli con violenza le cose, e poco meno, che metter mano alle persone loro. Giudichi poi V. M. in qual maniera sia trattato il clero inferiore, onde nasce, che se li superiori vogliono castigare o preti o frati maleficienti sono con il ricorso a giudici laici difesi, e levate le forze a chi governa di poter più riformare li frati e monache, come segue hora in Napoli, volendo noi levare il governo delle monache a' frati zoccolanti, necessitati da infandissime scelleratezze verificate colle diligenze fatte tre anni continui, le quali sono tali, che se Ella le sapesse non solo stupiria, ma siamo certi che il zelo dell'honor di Dio la sforzaria a lagrimare, e si dorria insino al vivo cuore, che i ministri suoi impediscano pur un'hora l'esecuzione di questa nostra deliberatione, come fanno sotto pretesto, che il card. Gesualdo non habbia chiesto l'Exequatur del breve fatta da noi sopra questa materia e con quanta poca ragione lo potrà vedere V. M. dalla lettera scritta da Noi sopra ciò al conte d'Olivares, della quale mandiamo copia al Nuntio, il quale Exequatur vanno tanto dilatando, che con esso si vogliono costituire e giudici e sindacatori in un regno feudatario di santa Chiesa, dell'istessa Chiesa, annichilando ogni esenzione di persone e luoghi ecclesiastici, impe-

dendo infinite riforme e visite che si fanno in quel regno, colle quali si rimediariano infinite anime, e levariano molti peccati del clero e secolare e regolare, delle quali riuscirebbe conseguentemente soavissima la riforma de' laici, e si levariano infinite offese che si fanno a Dio benedetto.

Non raccontiamo i particolari casi per due ragioni, l'una perchè è molto tempo, che Ella et i suoi consigli li sanno, essendo stati dati in nota particolarmente quando il cardinale Alessandrino venne in Spagna per le cose della Lega copiosamente capo per capo, tanto queste di Napoli, quanto quelle di Milano e Sicilia. L'altra ragione è perchè essendo ogni giorno cresciuti bisognaria che questa lettera fosse un volume; faccia V. M. conto, che pare che indictum sit bellum atrox con questa giurisdizione tanto rispetto del clero come de' laici, e particolarmente quanto al clero vederà V. M. quello che si fa in Milano in parte con il veder solo il bando fatto dal governatore . . . con il qual bando si sono atterriti talmente tutti, che non è chi ardisca più comparire ai tribunali ecclesiastici dell'Inquisitione officio tanto favorito da lei; e non solo hanno fatto questo bando, ma havendo Noi scritto poco innanzi con quella paterna carità che habbiamo saputo al governatore et al senato, come Ella vedrà dalla copia delli brevi, non solo non hanno rimediata cosa alcuna, ma scritto maggiormente contro quelli, di chi hanno sospettato che fossero ricorsi da Noi, citandoli a comparire personalmente sotto pena di ribellione, come se fossero ricorsi al gran Turco e non al vicario di Christo. Ma quello che ci duole sino al vivo cuore è, che per difendere quelle attioni cominciano a seminare dottrina diabolica, seminario di eresie e scisme, negando insino che la Chiesa non abbia potestà nei laici, etiam ratione peccati, etiam in ordine ad salutem, usando ancora fondamenti con li quali percuotono non solo la giurisdizione ecclesiastica, ma la secolare ancora, perchè come si dice che la difesa è de iure naturali, e che quando il suddito è aggravato dal suo superiore gl'è lecito difendersi ancora de facto, quale percuote l'una e l'altra giurisdizione; quando si dice, che quando il suddito ha bisogno di difesa e la ricerca, e per la lontananza del superiore non gli viene a tempo, gli è lecito di ricorrere ad altri. Ponderi V. M. quanto lontano sono l'Indie da Napoli e Milano da Madrid, e veda se torna conto che questa dottrina così universalmente si

semini negli animi degli huomini e che effetto possono fare ne'suoi stati, quando dicono, che non facendo il prelato o suo ufficiale giustitia in un caso, in quello non è più prelato, e se li può resistere de facto, se questo medesimo ha luogo nei re, negli altri principi e nei loro ufficiali, poichè Iddio ha costituito ancora loro per reggere bene i popoli, se non facendo giustitia restano in quel caso di essere re e principi, e però se gli può resistere de facto, come questi dicono. Veda la M. V. che semi di seditione e sollevamenti sono questi, le quali cose ci paiono tanto esorbitanti e pericolose che habbiamo qualche volta sospettato, che questi, come seditiosi et instrumenti del diavolo padre delle discordie, seminano questa dottrina malitiosamente mostrando di voler abbassar la giurisditione ecclesiastica per aver fumento de' principi secolari, ma l'intento presente loro sia di abbassar l'una e l'altra e ridurre ogni cosa a tumulti e popularità; alle generali cose è necessario aver grandemente l'occhio, perchè per il mondo passano strani pensieri, e noi sappiamo ogni cosa. Ma tornando al nostro proposito è gran cosa che si sia spenta la memoria e l'imitatione di quei buoni principi che donavano alle chiese . . . provincie e stati, e che oggi non si pensi ad altro che a snervarla e nel temporale e nello spirituale, e pur si sa, che quei che l'hanno espilata non hanno avuta molta prosperità, nè lungo è stato il loro imperio. È pur strana cosa, che tanti re, anco barbari, abbiano donato e ridonato alla Sede Apostolica mezza l'Italia, e che i principi d'oggi, come la Chiesa ha un castelluccio di 4 contadini nei loro stati, si faccia ogni cosa, ancor per vie indirettissime, perchè non habbia giurisditione in quelle 4 case et in 4 villani, et si faccia più conto di questo che di debellare il Turco, come hora prova la povera chiesa di Tortona nello stato di Milano. Sia certa la M. V. che come si incomincia appresso i popoli a dedurre in vilipendio la chiesa et i prelati, s'apra una grandissima porta all'heresie et a scismi et a mille mali. E degnisi considerare V. M. che quelli, che hanno questo fine, effettivamente nel fine si accordano cogli heretici, poichè il fine dell'eretico è di astringere la giurisditione et il Papato, non avendo cosa che l'abbassi, se non questo, e da qui è, che per molto, che siano fra di loro discordi et infinite sette, in questo articolo dell'abbassamento et estintione della Sede Apostolica sono tutti uniformi; chi dunque si propone per fine a estin-

guere la giurisdizione della Sede Apostolica e l'autorità di lei si conforma con il fine loro, et a questo ci s'induce pian piano con il negare l'autorità in una cosa et in un'altra, e con avvezzar li popoli alla disobbedienza di essa, et allo sprezzamento delle censure e simili cose.

Siamo necessitati a mettere in consideratione a V. M. lo scandolo che da questo bando mandato in stampa e mandato la Christianità per tutto il mondo, ne riceverà et il contento degli eretici, vedendo, che i principi cattolici resistono, detraggono e sforzano di spogliare et annichilire questa giurisdizione et insieme ancora a pregarla a considerare i mali che di qui possono nascere poichè coll'esempio di principe primo cattolico si dilataranno gli altri tanto, che nelli stati loro si estinguerà questa giurisdizione, so Dio benedetto non opera per la sua causa, e pur di tutto s'averà da dare conto a Dio e del male e delle occasioni del male e dei mali che hanno tratto successivo, e sa V. M. di quanto momento sono, e quello che gli soprapsta.

La chiesa di Milano doveva essere quietissima, perchè tutto quello che poteva essere controverso fu fermato nel tempo del card. di S. Prassede ; perchè oggi innova il governatore ? perchè di nuovo fa un bando ? che havendolo mandato al duca d'Albuquerque fu costretto dichiararlo nullo, ne più ce ne fu memoria. È possibile, che s'abbia da temere che un'arcivescovo massimamente di tanta bontà nato vassallo di V. M. si voglia usurpare la giurisdizione regia ? Ha da esser crimen laesae maiestatis, che un corriere porti una lettera di un ecclesiastico al Papa, che un notario si roghi di un'atto ecclesiastico ? Queste sono le cose che ritengono i Papi, che hanno avanti gli occhi i beni della Chiesa, e non l'interesse particolare delle loro case, dal concedere ai re et ai principi più di quello che s'habbiano, poichè la Chiesa ogni giorno ne riceve maggior nocumento e minor riconoscimento.

Preghiamo V. M. con tutto l'affetto dell'animo nostro a provvederci da dovero et in buona forma, acciò non siamo costretti a pensare a concilii o provinciali o generali, come per questi effetti ha usatici altra volta la chiesa, il che lo deve fare V. M. tanto più come qualmente si tratta in questa materia grandemente l'interesse dell'anima sua, e se fu lecito dire a S. Agostino scrivendo a Marcellino : si non audis amicum petentem, audi episcopum consulentem, quamvis

quidem christiano loquor maxime in tali casu non arroganter dixero, audire te episcopum convenit iubentem, possiamo ben noi con tutta quella modestia, ma insieme con tutta quell'efficacia maggiore, che possiamo rappresentare la necessità del remedio come più largamente dirà il Nuntio a V. M. al quale ella si contenterà dare in questo piena fede soggiungendoli, che uno de' maggiori fondamenti o una delle maggiori ritirate, che usano questi ministri di lei, è il dire negli altri stati si fa peggio. Noi non vogliamo fare questa comparazione, confessiamo che in tutti ci siano degli abusi, ma diciamo, che in niun'altro stato è stato fatto bando simile a quello che snerva tutta l'obbedienza agl'ecclesiastici, atterrisce a chiunque si ha da impacciar con la Chiesa. Diciamo ancora che la M. V. la quale come in altre occasioni le abbiamo scritto è stata tanto favorita da Dio benedetto, è obbligata più degli altri a rendersi grato a Sua Divina Maestà e poichè ella sa quanto gl'è cara la Chiesa, che nella conversione di S. Paolo dice, ego autem dico in Christo et ecclesia, deve verso di essa esser grato riconoscore di tali grazie ricevute da Sua Divina Maestà acciò che la Chiesa coll'esempio suo possa ridurre gli altri principi, con il qual fine benediciamo con quel maggior affetto di amore, di che è capace l'animo nostro coll'apostolica beneditione V. M. e li serenissimi figliuoli, pregandoli da Sua Divina Maestà in utroque homine ogni felicità.

Dato in Tusculano li 15 di Ottobre 1596.

[Copy, nel Barb. lat. 3369 p. 108^b s., Biblioteca Vaticana, cited by SENTIS (Clemente VIII, p. XVII) 1879, and transcribed by me in 1879.]

29. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO HENRY IV., KING OF FRANCE.¹

1596, December 21, Rome.

Reply concerning the death of Cardinal Toledo ; a serious loss. We know his merits and his virtues from long and intimate intercourse. "Fuit in eo summa doctrina et divinarum atque humanarum rerum cognito, excellens prudentia, acre iudicium, pietas et vitæ integritas singularis, accedebat zelus catholice religionis, tum insignis quidam amor erga Te et regnum istud nobilissimum," so that you

¹ See *supra*, p. 133.

justly lament him in a special way, because he adjured us so strongly in your favour, that we should grant you the absolution, and died the more calmly for having seen you received into the bosom of the Church. He has taken his flight to heaven, and we grieve for him as much as we thank God for having granted it to us to enjoy the fruits of his learning and his piety. Exhortation.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 10, n. 451, Papal Secret Archives.]

30. GIULIO CESARE FORESTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1599, June 5, Rome.

. . . Duoi volte mi sono abboccato col Malaspina² dopo che io scrissi a V.A. ; nel primo ragionamento mi disse che dovessi scrivere a V.A. tre capi sostantiali. Il primo è che indubitamente la St^a S. farà un'altra numerosa promotione quest' anno santo, a che non osta ne l' esservi la bolla che prefige il numero, ne esservi il numero istesso adimpito con molta povertà dei promossi. Il fondamento di ciò egli locava dal saper che N. S. studia come trovar modo di liberar il colleggio dalla servitù de Spagna et farlo libero così nell' atione del crear nuovo pontefice come anche di resolver senza timore nelle cose occorrenti et che hanno per fine la riputatione della St^a Sede. Sa di più il sodetto che per stabilir simile libertà il tutto è governato col consiglio del card^{le} Baronio, il quale propone non esservi mezzo più e'ficace del sopradetto di promotione, che li promovendi non saranno in numero minor di dieci overo dodeci soggetti, tra li quali quattro siano principi. Austria fratello del ser^{mo} arciduca Ferdinando, Toscana, Savoia, Mantova, et che a questi si unisca il s^r Silvestro Aldobrandino, gli altri poi debbino essere prelati che ancora non sono in predicamento perchè alla giornata nascono nuovi soggetti et vi sono nove inclinazioni. Il 2^o capo circa la sua legatione che oltre al procurar l' accordo tra l' Imp^{re} et Battori contiene di più un' aperta persuasione ai medemi che debbano continuare la guerra col Turco senza venir ad alcun accordo di pace, perchè altrimenti per quello che sa S. St^a ne nascerà la guerra contro cattolici, il che non seguirà mentre si manterrà viva quella. Il fondamento de questa negotiatione è cavato tutto dalla

¹ See *supra*, p. 250.

² This name is in cipher.

mala intentione degli eretici, li quali volendo innovar contro il solito per la creatione del novo imperatore, fomentati dalle intelligenze che hanno con Francia et Inghilterra, prevede S. Stà che questo sia il più opportuno rimedio per divertire gl' orditi loro pensieri, il quali non si effettueranno mentor collà si terrà vivo lo spirito, perchè se bene gl' istessi sono inimici de cattolici sono però più inimici del Turco, et acciò l' Imper^{re} possa meglio fuggire et divertire gli ordimenti S. Stà piglia ispediente di persuadere nella maniera descritta. Mi disse 3^o che il duca di Sessa gli ha dato che quanto alle controversie di Milano sarà data ogni sodisfazione a N. S^{re}. . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

31. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO CHRISTIAN, DUKE OF
BRUNSWICK-LÜNEBURG.¹

1599, September 4, Rome.

Dilecte fili, nobilis vir, divini luminis incrementum usque ad perfectam conversionis diem. Multa cum spiritali voluptate et gaudio cordis Nostri legimus litteras nobilitatis Tuæ, quas quarta decima superioris mensis die ad Nos dedisti, videmurque in eis agnovisse antiquam illam Germanicam ingenuitatem et candorem animi Tui, quem Tu ipse profiteris et alii de Te prædicant et præsertim ven. frater Ernestus Coloniae archiepiscopus et princeps elector, qui Te valde amat et de Tuæ animæ salute pio affectu est sollicitus. Illud autem Nobis in primis est iucundum, quod Te coram Deo, qui scrutatur renes et corda, in veritate ambulare ostendis, tantumque abesse ut eius vocationi et gratiæ velis obicem opponere, ut eum potius assidue, ut scribis, precaturus sis, ut cor Tuum Spiritu Sancto suo collustret Teque ad veritatis lucem perducatur. Studium hoc Tuum et propensionem veritatis catholici agnoscendæ valde in Domino commendamus Teque paterne hortamur, ut magis magisque in hanc curam incumbas et veritatem agnitam toto ex corde Tuo totoque animo complectaris. Confidimus siquidem in eo, qui divitias bonitatis et gratiæ suæ effundit in humiles et in eos, qui vere seipsos in eum proiciunt, quod auferet velamen de corde Tuo et tenebras omnes depellet, ut multo Tuo cum gaudio et Nostro et bonorum omnium accurras ad gremium unius sanctæ catholici Ecclesiæ Romanæ, omnium fidelium

¹ See *supra*, p. 379.

mater [sic] et magistra [sic], quam solam agnoverunt avi et maiores Tui, principes non solum generis splendore, sed pietate et devotione clarissimi erga hanc Sanctam Apostolicam Sedem, in qua Nos immeritos Deus praesidere voluit. Ad hanc praeclaram maiorum Tuorum hereditatem recuperandam Te invitamus, fili; nusquam enim salus nisi in Ecclesia catholica, ad quam, divina gratia adiutrice, Te perducere conantur Ernestus archiepiscopus elector, princeps illa gravitate, prudentia caeterisque animi ornamentis praeditus, quae Tu nosti Tuique amantissimus; hoc idem conatur vir insigniter eruditus et pius Ioannes Pistorius notarius Noster, quem merito Tuo valde amamus; hoc caeteri catholici, qui zelo honoris Dei et salutis Tuae sunt accensi, quorum catholicae doctrinae et salutatibus cohortationibus dum aures corporis et cordis faciles ac dociles praebes, recte facis et magnam in Nobis de Tua perspecta conversione spem, atque expectationem commoves. De his vero quae ad Mindensis ecclesias spiritualem gubernationem spectant, quaeque item ad eiusdem temporalis et politicae administrationis rationem pertinent, tum eitam de eo quod respicit constitutionem et deputationem dilecti fili Godeschalchi praepositi Osnabrugensis, qui Tuo et aliorum iudicio ob perspectam pietatem et prudentiam mangnopere commendatur, de his omnibus copiose scribimus ad eundem venerabilem fratrem Coloniensem, a quo cuncta uberius intelliges. Interea Deum et patrem misericordiarum precari non cessabimus, ut opus suum in Te perficiat et gaudium Nostrum de Te impleat et diem illum laetissimum et optatissimum cito Nobis adducat, quo Te plene conversum et perfecte catholicum intra viscera cordis Nostri et caritatis Christi uti filium unice dilectum recipiamus.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris, die 4 septembris 1599, pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44 t. 43. n. 357, Papal Secret Archives.]

32. GIULIO CESARE FORESTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTOVA.¹

1600, February 19, Rome.

. . . Nissuna altra cosa per fin qui trovo nel particolare della lega se non confirmatione che il padre Cicala ha alle mani simile trattatione et che la S. Sta si è compiaciuta

¹ See *supra*, p. 297.

trattare con detto padre alle volte per spatio di due hore continue, con meraviglia dei proprii familiarii che servono alla St^a S., la quale per quello che tocca a se ha grande volontà di simile conchiusione, ma il ritiramento ch'ora trova dalla parte del Chris^{mo} ha intiepidito l'ardore col quale l'istessa abbracciò simile impresa con speranza di condurla al suo buon fine. Gl'imperiali qua si prometтино molto di qualche buona conchiusione et fra essi si come mi dice mons^r Malaspina, l'ill.^{mo} Madruzzi ne spera grandemente. Dalla parte di Spagna si scopre non solo un ardore grande di simile trattatione ma è quasi incentivo ch'il trattato stia risvegliato. Et di già scrissi a V. A. che il s^r duca di Sessa per questo conto teneva ampia autorità, hora confermo il medemo, et soggiungo di più che mons^r Malaspina mi dice di sapere che l'ambas^{re} della M^{ta} predetta residente appresso la M^{ta} Ces^{ea} tiene ordine di assentire a qualunque cosa, pur che la lega si concluda. La M^{ta} dell'Imp^{re}, come anche altre volte ho scritto, desidera questa sorte d'aiuti, ma la particolare proposta che per quanto intendo si mantiene tuttaria salda nella M^{ta} Sua di voler far la pace quando le tornerà bene, ha difficoltàato la prattica in maniera che quest'un rispetto ha causato la ritirata de Francesi. Per quanto io penetro tre fondamenti si sono presi in questa trattatione per vedere di conseguire con uno di essi il fine che zelantemente si mantiene nella Santità di N. S. per la guerra contro il Turco. Il primo è circa il tentativo di far la guerra congiuntamente, et quando questo capo non riesca, si va ponderando per il secondo, se si possa disgiuntamente, et ultimo, come si possa fare cosa sussistente ausiliarmente, mancando per difficoltà i primi duoi fondamenti. Per guerreggiare congiuntamente già è tanto si è alle mani che per le difficoltà emergenti non si ha sin qui alcuna certezza, et pure in questa prima propositione persiste più che in ogni altra. Disgiuntamente si teme che l'impresa non riesca. Ausiliarmente, cioè col dar aiuto alla M^{ta} Ces^{ea} lasciandola far guerra a suo modo, si come più piacerebbe alla S. M^{ta} è un capo preso per ultimo sussidio, nel quale non inclinano gl'animi de potentati come stracchi et particolarmente della S. St^a se non per rispetto di certa honorata violenza, nel qual caso pare che si debbano disperare aiuti opportuni a un impresa insigne, massime che dovrebbe toccare alla Sedia

Apostolica più che a ogn'altro potentato dar simili aiuti, la quale è tanto esausta che come pure in quest' istessa materia ho con altre mie rappresentato a V. A., non trova modo di provvedere agl'urgenti bisogni domestici, di maniera che V. A. intende brevemente, come si vada masticando questa pratica, la quale in ogni caso quando bene si terminasse con qualche buon fine non si vede però che sia per eseguirsi alcuna cosa per il presente anno.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

33. RELATIONE FATTA ALL'ILL^{MO} SIG. CARDINALE D'ESTE
AL TEMPO DELLA SUA PROMOTIONE, CHE DOVEVA ANDAR
IN ROMA.¹

In questo teatro del mondo (che così vien chiamata Roma) dove V. S. ill^{ma} viene a proseguire il felice corso degl'honori suoi, troverà due gran mete da superare, cioè l'aspettatione che ha eccitata di se stessa, et l'esempio dei cardinali del suo serenissimo sangue. Ma avvenga, che V. S. ill^{ma} habbi valore et virtù di trapassare et lasciarsi a dietro l'una et l'altra di queste mete, non dimeno perchè a fornire più facilmente il suo corso, le sarà molto oportuno l'aura propitia della corte, non despiacerà a V. S. ill^{ma} forse, per poterla, come prudente nochiero prender meglio, di lasciarsi indurre alla memoria alcune qualità, inclinationi, humori et interessi dei primi sogetti di essa corte, da quali, come da suo ponente, par che spiri quest'aura.

From these introductory words of the account which is preserved in Cod. 6619 pp. 79-125 of the National Library, Vienna,² in Cod. 10059 n. 4 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and Cod. Vat. 10337 of the Vatican Library, its purpose is made clear: to give special instructions on the court of Rome to Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, appointed on March 3rd, 1598. Ranke, who used this report for the first time from the manuscript at Vienna, though only to a limited extent (II. 155, III. 92*) read it in great haste, for otherwise he could not possibly say that the recovery of Ferrara was passed over in silence. Actually that event is mentioned three times. As to the date when it was written, Ranke thinks that the report undoubtedly belongs to 1599.

¹ See *supra*, pp. 23, 30, 39, 49, 50.

² This MS. is the basis of the present publication.

The date can be fixed exactly. Since the death of Avalos de Aragona is mentioned, who died on February 20, 1600, it belongs to 1600; and as Madruzzo, who died on April 20, 1600, is still alive, the report was written between February 20 and April 20, 1600.¹

[I. Pope Clement VIII.]

È N. S. Clemente ottavo di complession flemmatico e sanguigno, ma con qualche mistura di colera, di corporatura carnoso e grasso, di costumi gravi e modesti, di maniera dolce et affabile, nel modo tardo, nell'attioni circunspetto, nell'essecutioni cuntatore, la qual cuntatione nasce parte dalla sua flemma nimica del precipitio, parte dalla bontà sua, che dubitando sempre, di non errare, usa il tardo consiglio contra il tardo pentimento. Però quando par che mastichi alcune gratie che li sono dimandate, le rumina, et quando non risolve, premedita. E perchè l'irresolutione è quella, che confonde se stessa, o nel discorrere o nell'applicarsi, è la prudenza discorre, e s'applica maturamente. Però il Papa, ch'è molto saggio et ottimo conoscitore delle cose, per qualche sua procrastinatione deve chiamarsi propriamente non irresoluto, ma considerato; poscia che ove accade prestezza di executione, egli non lascia di usarla, è tenace del secreto, cupo ne i pensieri, industrioso nel tirarli a fine. Osserva benissimo il detto di Vespasiano imperatore, ch'el principe non dee mandar niuno da se mal sodisfatto, poscia ch'el suo ragionare è humanissimo, e par che accenni sempre alla gratia. Conosce (come da l'unghia il leone) da poche parole la persona con chi tratta, ciò che vagli e quanto pesi; è difficile ad esser ingannato, trovandosi sempre armato contra l'inganno del sospetto; è occorso [sic] ne i detti, arguto nelle risposte, nimico della loquacità, dell'apparenza, della pompa et dell'ostentatione. Aborre l'adulatione e le lodi, che non siano molto sobrie di se stesso, nelle quali s'alcuno per amplificatione in voce e in scritto pensa d'acquistar gratia, ne consegue anco il contrario. Ma havendo ciascuno alcuni gusti particolari non si può dir di qual cosa precisamente il Papa si diletta, se non si dice, che di tutte e di niuna, per ciò che quantunque in esso non si veda humor di fabriche

¹ A later marginal note in Vat. 10337 says: "Informatione al s. card. d'Este creduta del Lanfranco." In the Paris MS. the year in which this was written is given as 1599 and is in the Florentine style.

come in Sisto quinto, di guerra come in Giulio secondo, di letterati come in Paolo terzo, di conviti come in Pio quarto, di riforme come in Pio quinto, non dimeno ha genio indifferente, più tosto applicativo che molto applicato, a tutto questo perchè ha fabricato in Vaticano, in Laterano et in Monte Cavallo, guerreggiato in Ungheria, in Romagna, non ischiva in ocio ne di diporto le facetie, massime di Trulla, favorisce i letterati, essendo egli di quel numero. Non fuge, quando accade la conversatione honestamente piacevole, anzi la condisce con ingeniose inventioni, banchetta lautissimamente, et nelle riforme non differisce in altro da Pio quinto, se non che l'imprende con più circunspezione e l'introdue con manco strepito. Non s'affissa molto in casa alcuna. Non è punto amico di suoi commodi anzi espone se stesso a fatiche et usa forma di vita diversamente da quel che farebbe persona troppo amante di se stessa. È indifesso nell'audienza et ne i negotii. Legge volontieri tutte le scritture, che le sono appresentate. Ascolta patientemente ogn'uno, et attende con tale attentione anco alle cause private altrui, che quando son proposte in segnatura, spesso supplisce a i defetti della memoria o della cognitione de i referendarii, e nel segnar delle gratie è sì circunspetto di non alterar la lege, massime nelle cose che possono dar scandalo, che la sua segnatura di gratia è quasi come segnatura di giustitia.

Ha mostrato sempre di amare huomini religiosi e di buona vita, così chia mando alcuni all' officii, alle dignità, non da fuori o dalle corti, ma da i chiostrì e dalle celle, favorendo particolarmente i preti della Vallicella, onde avviene che la maggior parte de i prelati della corte, per secondare l'humor del Pontefice sono Vallicellioli.

Non porta però buon concetto de Frati, anzi questo nome appresso S. St^a suona sempre male et attende tuttavia alla loro riforma, mà con destrezza.

Ha nobili creanze e nel mostrare alcuna parte del corpo che soglia coprirsi o far atto schivo della persona, è verecondo anco con suoi più intimi servitori.

È di vita incolpabile, di mente retto, d' eruditione universale, per che oltre le leggi, nelle quali è molto eccellente, ragiona fondatamente d' ogni cosa ; con che et con haver trattato i maggiori affari del mondo, si può dir, ch' habbi in se stesso, come in compendio tutta la theorica et la pratica della politica e ragion di stato, di cui è particolarmente intendente.

Stà l' autorità del Papa in se più che nel collegio di i cardinali, coi quali non comunica se non quanto l' agrada, avvenga che con la maggior parte di loro et con tutti quelli, che se ne sono stati mostrati bisognosi, sia S. Santità stata liberale di pensioni e beneficii oltre i cento scudi il mese, che porghi del suo a molti cardinali poveri.

Non ha (doppo la morte del cardinal Toledo) persona della cui fede o del cui sapere si fidi intieramente nel consigliarsi, fuor che coi nipoti et in specie con Aldobrandino, dall' occorrenze in poi, che vanno rimesse per ordinario alle congregationi dei cardinali, le quali anco ha nuovamente tirato a Palazzo, per poter assistervi, quando li piace.

Ha Sua Sanità quattro instituti suoi proprii di grande edificatione, ciò sono confessarsi e celebrare ogni giorno e dare ogni mattina da disnare ad un numero de poveri nell' istessa stanza, nello stesso tempo et delle stesse vivande et tal'hor con l' istesse mani di S. Stà, visitare come vescovo particolarmente di Roma le chiese et i conventi della città et esaminare i vescovi promovendi.

Dal nascimento del Papa, quanto al punto preciso non si sà cosa più distesa di quella si legge nel libro del battesimo, nella parrocchia cathedrale di Fano, con queste formali parole: . . .¹

Nacque il Papa in esilio, essendo la sua famiglia, ch' è molto nobile et antica scacciata da Fiorenza, a tempo de i Medici sotto Clemente settimo, nè furno rimessi. perciò che questi Aldobrandini erano stati sempre difensori della libertà et il padre stesso di S. Stà (si come intendo) fu segretario della repubblica. Orò in Napoli a Carlo quinto contra i Medici. Seguitò le parti francesi. Fu persuasore a Paolo quarto, di cui era molto favorito, della guerra del Regno et con suo figliolo, trovandosi in Port' Hercole per Francia vi lasciò la vita. Cose tutte, che possono mostrare, che se ben S. Stà vincendo le proprie passioni o cedendo i suoi privati interessi alla persona publica, alla quale poi è stato assunto, si mostra padre commune a tutti, non dimeno non ha cagione di esser molto innamorato nè de Medici nè de Spagnuoli. Dicesi non dimeno. che Pio quinto, volendo promuovere il cardinal Giovanni fratello di questo Pontefice assicurò il Gran Duca Cosmo, che tutta questa famiglia Aldobrandina

¹ For this point, see *supra*, p. 21, n. 3.

gli sarebbe fidelissima sempre et che mandò l' istesso Hippolito Aldobrandino, hora Papa, a render testimonio a S. Altezza, dalla quale fu molto ben visto et che d' alhora in quà siano dimenticate le cose vecchie tra i Medici et Aldobrandini.

2. KINSMEN AND CONFIDANTS OF CLEMENT VIII.

Hebbe Sua Stà sei fratelli, uno morto, come si è detto in Port' Hercole, uno che fu segretario de brevi sotto Paolo quarto, l' altro il cardinal Giovanni promosso da Papa Pio quinto, uno ch' essendo discolo, non fu mai grato al Papa, uno ammogliato in Roma con una Capizucca, poco fa morta et Pietro avvocato consistoriale, padre di Aldobrandino et della moglie del sig^r Gio. Francesco, che sono tutta la successione, che rimane di tanti fratelli.

Fra i servidori del Papa il più intimo et domestico è il sig^r Giovan Bardi de i conti di Vernio, luogotenente delle guardie, di molta bontà, virtù e nobiltà, e però honorato et amato da S. Santità et questo è gran parziale della ser^{ma} casa di V. S. ill.^{ma}; è anco antico e confidente servitore di Sua Santità il maestro di camera Firmano, caro anco esso come il Bardi per un rispetto, tra gl'altri, che non hanno famo d'ambitione.

3. THE NEPHEWS OF CLEMENT VIII.

Primi dopo il Papa di maneggio e di autorità nella corte sono i nepoti di S. Santità, dui cardinali, et il sig^r Gio. Fran^{co} Aldobrandini, se ben questo ultimo delli carichi et expeditioni di guerra et d'ambasciarie c'ha havuto in poi poco s'ingerisce negli affari della corte o del Palazzo, forse perchè, dovendo egli habitare con la fameglia in Roma, dove, e nello stato ecc^{co} contra il solito de gl'altri nipoti de i Papi ha comprato stabili e giurisdizione non vuole haver di che render conto sotto un'altro pontificato; poi che dall'administration d'Ungheria, l'ha già reso in Camera, e gli è stato saldato. Per questo si retira più di fare ofitio et molto più di dimandar cosa alcuna per altri.

Possiede, per esser generale della chiesa suprema authorità nelle cose militari, come il cardinale Aldobrandino la possiede nelle negotiali et di stato, onde par che l'uno ha sua prerogativa domi l'altro militiae, se non quando Aldobrandino per l'assoluta

preminenza ottenuta nella spedizione di Ferrara si può dir supremo domi et militiae, come San Giorgio per la moderata sua autorità nec domi nec militiae. Però il maneggio tutto, l'espeditiōi, l'ufficii, la consulta, i favori, gli honori, le gratie dipendono dal mezo di Aldobrandino, a lui corrono i prelati, i cortegiani, gli officiali, i ministri di principi, ricorrono i negotianti et pretendenti, sì che vedendosi sempre nella sua casa tutta la prelatura et tutto il baronaggio di questa città, come si disse già, che il mondo era in Roma, orbis in urbe, così può dirsi hora che prima sia nel palazzo di Aldobrandino, onde nel più sicuro consiglio nelle cose gravi si è di usare la sua intercessione col Papa, perchè quella d'ogn'altro potrebbe nuocere più che giovare, poscia che urtando nell'opposizione di Aldobrandini solo, perchè se fusse creduto di poter far senza lui, non sarebbe favor sì gagliardo di alcuno, che non potesse meno d'ogni semplice disfavor suo.

E per vero Aldobrandino si rende degno di questa sua autorità, per che l'usa con gran modestia, con singolar prudenza e con indefessa assiduità nei negotii, ne' quali ha capacità e destrezza indicibile, sì ch'è pur meraviglia, come in sì fresca età e dalla vita privata, vestendosi l'habito di principe e rubandosi alli gusti della gioventù, sia tanto immerso nel negotio che si può dire, che dal Pontefice in poi, il qual vuole pur sapere ogni cosa, il tutto ascolti per le sue orecchie, si spieghi per la sua lingua et si consulti col suo parere e si deliberi con la sua opinione et si eseguisca con le sue mani.

È di natura ingenuo, verdatiero, trattabile, officioso, amico dell'amico e gran secondator dell'humor del Papa et ottimo resarcitore delle sdruscite, che S. Beat^{ne} per la dignità, è tal volta astretta di fare o co' ministri de principi et altri personagi o con principi stessi; perchè dove il Papa inasprisce Aldobrandino mitiga, dove rompe consolida, dove comanda giustizia intercede per gratia; con quali modi si rende grato a tutti, amato da tutti, se non dove tanto applauso e tanta autorità gli acquista invidia.

Ha diversi servitori cari e favoriti, ma quel che assorbi i favori di tutti è il cavalier Clemente Sennesio, mastro di camera, salito a questo grado di privatissima fortuna et che per ampliar maggiormente la sua autorità, ha fatto salire il fratello al segretariato della consulta, così possedendo tra lor due la somma, l'uno della gratia del cardinale, l'altro della provisione degli officii et delle maggiori expeditioni.

Quai siano nel collegio gli amici particolari di Aldobrandino è difficile a cognoscersi, mentre ognuno ambisce di esserli amico, et egli sà dar sodisfattione a tutti. Tra le sue creature il più confidente e del Papa et in cui sono rivolte dal canto loro i disegni del futuro pontificato, è San Marcello ; dopo lui nella confidenza si può mettere Bandino, Antoniano, Baronio ; quantunque Aldobrandino sappi così ben trattenersi con le sue creature, che non leva ad alcuna di esse l'occasione di potersi riputare ben sua favorita. Fuor delle sue creature par che si stringhi assai con Giustiniano, il quale e per essere strettissimo parente et amico del Bandino et per una sua particolar solertia et industria nell'acquistarsi l'amicitie utili, si è reso assai intimo di Aldobrandino.

Il cardinal San Giorgio, di cui si giudicò da principio che per esser di maggior età, esperienza e forse eruditione che Aldobrandino dovesse haver la somma del maneggio ; rese poi vano questo giuditio, non sò per qual causa, se non forse perchè essendo egli (che a me par tutta bontà) riputato e forse dal Papa stesso di natura alquanto difficile et impressionata, ha voluto Sua Santità preferire al maggior sapere la miglior dispositione, la qual facilmente com'è intravenuto a ponto ad Aldobrandino con l'uso et con la prattica s'instruisce. Può essere ancora, che il Papa conoscendo che l'authorità de nipoti divisa in due diventava minore di se stessa, habbi voluto congiungerla tutta in quel solo, ch'è più suo congiunto, avvenga che ad alcuni paia, che questa disparità altro non sia che un' occulto seme di discordie fra lor due, il quale aspetti a dar fuori i suoi pestiferi frutti ne i conclavi e nell' altre occasioni subito che il Papa eschi di vita et che si vadi generando al medesimo Aldobrandino un capo di tutti i mal contenti. Però se ben da principio parve che San Giorgio per fortificare et far corpo contra la potenza d'Aldobrandino, si restringessi in Colonna, Sforza, Sfondrato, Farnese allhor non molto congiunto con Aldobrandino, dal cui mezo tutti i prelati riconoscono gl' honori, i cardinali il capello et i prencipi le gratie, che non sarà nel collegio chi ardischi di urtarlo o l' urtarlo in vano.

Hora San Giorgio accommodato l' animo alla fortuna sua, mortificate le sue pretensioni, non garreggia, non contrasta più con Aldobrandino, ma o lo seconda o non s'impaccia seco et si mostra sodisfatto dell' ottenuta segnatura di giustizia,

et non dimeno è degna di esser conservata quantunque non adoprata nè coltivata molto per non dar ombra ad Aldobrandino, l'amicitia con San Giorgio per le virtù sue, per esser nipote di Papa, partecipe di molti segreti, di molti maneggi, et perchè s'avvenisce (che Dio non vogli) caso di morte di Aldobrandino succederebbe alla sua autorità.

Servitore favorito di San Giorgio, dopo che licentiò il Stagna coppiere et mastro di camera suo favoritissimo, non si può dir qual sia, non si concedendo egli molto a suoi servitori, se non si dice, che ha Lanfranco suo segretario diligente et indefesso, il quale havendo nella sua menor fortuna praticato et cresciuto in Monte Giordano all'ombra felice dell'Aquila d'argento, conserva verso il serenissimo sangue molta devotione.

I prelati, che cortegiano San Giorgio quando tutti per ordinario concorrono ad Aldobrandino sono Montorio, Maggio, Germonio et Garzadoro.

Nacque San Giorgio d'una sorella del Papa maritata in Sinigaglia, in casa di Passeri, da quali sarebbe il cognome e l'armi, s'el Papa non l'havesse aggregato a gl'Aldobrandini.

Quanto all'amicitie di tutti tre questi nipoti del Papa coi prencipi christiani, si può dire che l'habbino tutti per amici et niuno per padrone, poscea ch'el Papa ha veramente con molta sua lode conservato la dignità sua et la libertà loro in questo di non farli stipendiati ad alcun potentato, avvenga che con diverse gravissime occasioni havesse potuto farlo meglio d'orn'altro Pontefice, pur si parla di una lor inclinatione particolare, lasciando da canto i nuovi rispetti di parentela ch'anno to i Farnesi, par che Aldobrandino propenda a Francia, San Giorgio a Spagna, e si potria dire che il sig. Gio. Francesco a Spagna et a Tedeschi essendo stato con offitio, o con carico nell'un luoco o nell'altro, se o qua o là si fusse interessato d'obbligo alcuno, San Giorgio conserva una particolar confidenza col duca di Urbino pre esser nato in Sinigaglia.

4. THE COLLEGE OF CARDINALS.

Quanto al resto de cardinali trovasi il collegio diviso in più fattioni, cioè di Spagna, di Sisto, dell'uno et dell'altro Gregorio e d'Aldobrandino e di Francia, fattione che morta già col cardinal Luigi fe. me. si è ravvicata in questa ultima

promotione con due cardinali Ossat et Sourdi oltre Gondi, Gioiosa e Giveri, a quali tornato che [sarà] s'aggregaria Lorena ancora, come parente del re, il quale par che pensi di far maggior applicatione alle cose di questa corte di ciò che s'hebbi fatto da un pezzo in quà re di Francia, se ben per non haver quella corona l'interessi in Italia ch'hanno li Spagnoli non potrà mai havervi premura uguale alla loro.

Le creature di Pio quarto, che sono tre, Gesualdo, Madruccio e Cuomo, non formano fattione alcuna non havendo capo particolare, ma si riducono sotto l'insegna di Spagna.

Il collegio che per l'ultima promotione fu ripieno di tutti i vacui che vi erano per compire il numero settuagenario della bolla di Sisto essendo in poco tempo scemato da cinque sogetti, due ultramontani, Battori et Radzivil, gl'altri Gaetano, Priuli et Aragona, contiene di Giulio terzo una creatura ch'è Simoncelli, di Pio quarto tre Gesualdo, Madruccio et Cuomo, di Pio quinto due Santa Severina e Rusticucci, di Gregorio decimo terzo nove [sic] Dezza, Fiorenza, Sinigaglia, Gioiosa, Salviati, Verona, Austria et Sforza, di Sisto quinto quindici Pinelli, Ascoli, Gallo, Sauli, Pallotta, Gondi, Camerino, Montelbaro, Monte, Matthei, Borromeo, Montalto, Colonna, Lorena e Giustiziano, di Gregorio decimo quarto cinque Sfondrato, Paravicino, Acquaviva, Plata e Farnese, d'Innocentio nono uno S^{ti} Quattro, di Clemente ottavo ventinove Sasso, Tarugi, Bandini, Gueri, San Clemente, Borghese, Baronio, Bianchetto, Dietristan, Avila, Guivara, Mantua, Arrigone, Aldobrandino, San Giorgio, Cesis, Poretti, Bevilacqua, Toledo, Visconti, Toscho, Ossat, San Marcello, Antoniano, Bellarmino, Bonvisio, Sourdi, Este et Deci.

Tutti si divideno in quattro fattioni Spagna, Francia, Montalto e Aldobrandino, perchè il Gran Duca, che ha fatto strepito ne i conclavi, più tosto aderisce a Venetiani, e Montalto che da se stesso non ha fattione propria, non havendo altro fattionario sicuro che Monte, perchè Simoncelli non apparisce se ben si crede che sia reconciliato con S. A. et Firenze come vecchio per non pregiudicarsi nelle proprie speranze del papato, dovrà prestare molto cautamente se pur presterà la sua sequela al Gran Duca, di cui anco si crede che per non mostrarsi più contrario al re di Spagna, col quale ha fatto ultimamente ogni demonstratione di amicitia e

servitù, non premerà, come per l'addietro d'haver banda particolare nel collegio.

Potrebbe assegnarsi una fattione a Genovesi, che hanno Giustiniano, Sauli, Pinello, e San Marcello, se quella repubblica premesse in haver fattione, o se questi soggetti potessero riconoscere da lei il cardinalato.

Potrebbe anco assegnarsi a Venetiani che premono alquanto più che Genovesi quantunque assai manco de Spagnoli nelle pratiche de pontificati, se essi (che per la morte del Priuli non hanno che Verona sicuro e Mantua dubioso) potessero far colpo ne i conclavi.

In tutte queste sette alcuni militano stipendiate et obligati, alcuni volontarii, alcuni sono de certa, alcuni de dubia fede; sono nella cohorte di Spagna commilitanti sicuri l'infra scritti, sicuri dico in quanto non conoschino altro stendardo, che nel resto molti di loro trattandosi di far impresa a favor d'alcun soggetto non grato loro si fan lecito il mutino, come tanti di loro s'ammutinorono nel conclave contra Santa Severina.

Per sicuri dunque di Spagna si ponno mettere Madruccio, Gesualdo, Cuomo, Santa Severina, Rusticucci, Dezza, Sini[ga]glia, Terranova, Ascoli, Sauli, Montelbara, Sfondrato, Parravicino, Plata, Avila, Guevara, Toledo, Austria, Colonna, Farnese, S^{ti} Quattro e si può dire anco Gallo et ha pensione di Spagna, quantunque sia creatura di Montalto. In tutto XXII.

A Montalto se ben compresa la sua persona restano ancora quindici creature nondimeno nelle resegne sue non ne trova allestiti più di tre o quattro: Pallotta, Camerino e forse Gallo oltre Peretti, che è franco di Montalto, l'altre o sono sbandate a fatto, come Colonna et Ascoli per Spagna, Gondi et Lorena per Francia, Monte per Toscana, Borromeo per se stesso, o si mostrano tuttavia di riconoscerlo per capitano si van però riducendo ancora sotto altra insegna come Sauli, Montelbaro, Matthei sotto quella di Spagna, Giustiniano forse sotto quella di Francia, Pinelli sotto quella della libertà se non quanto è detto a Rusticucci et non affatto havuto da Montalto, anzi Camerino stesso, che nel conclave d'Urbano desiderava Papa Santa Severina all'hor abborrito da Montalto et causò disparere fra esso Montalto e Sforza et è molto avverso da Spagnoli, coi quali non dimeno Montalto è hora congiunto purchè non sia

per essere attaccato alla cinta di Montalto, come non vi si è mostrato attaccato ne anco Gallo.

Ad Aldobrandino remosso Giveri, Sordi et Ossat che sono per Francia, Avila, Guevara e Toledo per Spagna, Peretti per Montalto, Este per se stesso, Mantua forse per Venetiani e San Giorgio che più tosto si può temer che sia per esser contrario, vengano a rimanere (compresa la persona sua) dicinove creature, e fra questi Cesis che ha compro il cappello con la thesoreria vorrà forse conservarse finto più libero quanto o pretende dalla sua nobiltà o rimane poco sodisfatto di vedersi levato il maneggio che haveva prima o non vorrà concedersi ad altri senza premio. Arrigone, Borghese e Bianchetto, che sono confidenti di Spagna, vorran talmente conservarsi questa confidenza che per non perderla si può credere, che non si daranno mai totalmente ad Aldobrandino, al quale però vengono a restar soli quattordici voti. Siche aggiunti alli ventidue, che dicemmo di sopra di Spagna, quello di Montalto loro collegato, di Peretti, che è l'ombra, e di Pallotta, che è l'Acate di Montalto, aggiunto ancora Borghese, Arrigone e Bianchetto vengono ad avere i Spagnoli da venti otto o più voti quasi sicuri, che non pur danno franca l'esclusione, ma fanno grand impeto nell'inclusione. E così resta chiaro che la maggiore e più soda fattione è quella di Spagna, alla quale riducendosi le creature di Gregorio decimo quarto, da Aquaviva in poi, il quale non dinieno professò id esser servitore ma non mancipio del re cattolico e di volerlo servire in ogni occasione ma con la dignità e libertà dovuta all'eccles^{co}, non accade computar queste creature di Gregorio per fattione particolare.

Venghiamo hoggimai all'anatomia particolare de cardinali, cominciando da Alfonso cardinal Gesualdo . . . T. Galli . . .

L. Madruzzo :

Per bontà, gravità, prudenza e dottrina può chiamarsi il Caton del collegio, ma non censore perchè è modestissimo e rispettosissimo, differisce ad ogn'uno più che a se stesso accomodando l'orecchie più a sentire, che la lingua a parlare e se parla le parole li nascono nel petto non nella lingua et è breve et somnesso fuorchè nelle conversationi domestiche e nell'occasione dove bisogna favellare, perchè in quelle riesce affabilissimo, pieno di sale e di facetie, in queste facon-

dissimo. Nelle cose del mondo e di stato ha gran cognitione, gran partiti, gran recapiti et ne tratta con mirabil fondamento di dottrina, d'essempii et di giuditio, non promette che non eseguisca anzi eseguisce che non par che l'abbia promesso, così è più liberal de fatti che di parole. Non se ingerisce, non ambisce, non vaga ne col corpo, che per la gotta non ha inetto se non è portato, ne con l'animo che sta sempre col negotio di che tratta et è con la persona con cui tratta.

G. A. Santori . . . Girol. Rusticucci . . . G. Simoncelli . . .
P. Deza . . .

Alessandro Medici card. of Florence :

Arcivescovo della sua città, capo della congregatione de regolari, creatura di Gregorio decimo terzo, ma per patria e conformità di humore così avezzo al presente Pontefice che si può dir sua creatura havendolo in poco tempo accresciuto d'intrata et honorato con carichi principali dentro e fuori della corte come è stata la congregatione sudetta ch'era già di Alessandrino et per anzianita sarebbe toccata a Simoncelli, che la pretendeva, et la legation di Francia.

In somma è quello (in cui fuor delle sue creature) Aldobrandino ferma la mira più che in altri del futuro pontificato, al quale camina felicemente con le sue buone qualità, con l'aura del collegio, col favour del Gran Duca, con esser confidente ad Aldobrandino, caro a Francia, carissimo a Sforza e discaro a Montalto et all'appositione, che come Fiorentino e parente del Gran Duca potrebbe haver da Spagnoli circa d'ovviar con la memoria della pace frescamente conclusa tra loro e Francesi e con una opinione seminata appresso alcuni et nodrita ad arte ch'egli interiormente non sia soddisfatto dal Gran Duca, il quale gli contese il cardinalato e l'hebbe già per diffidente mentre serviva d'ambasciatore in Roma il Gran Duca Francesco, col quale Ferdinando all'hor cardinal de Medici haveva molti dispiaceri. Dall'altro canto molte cose argomentano hora compita inclinatione tra questo cardinale et il Gran Duca: l'haver havuto la confidenza nell'ultimi conclavi, gl'uffitii amorevoli ch'oggi di passono fra loro, il ricorso dell'ambasciatore di Toscana ha in ogni occasione a lui, il dimostrarsi egli sempre, che accade, partiale del Gran Duca, l'haverlo S. A. favorito ad ottenere

la legation di Francia, i donativi che gli fece et sopra tutto l'esser dato il primogenito di Toscana in cura di una sorella del cardinale, donna di molto valore, con tutto ciò si vede ch'el Gran Duca potendo farlo con garbo schivera volentieri la sua esaltatione per le differenze antiche, per vederlo troppo congiunto con gl'Aldobrandini, per non vedersi più Fiorentini superiori et perchè questo cardinale quantunque non habbi nepoti se non un frate vescovo di Bisignano, un don Alessandro de Medici, sig^{re} d'Ottaiano nel regno di Napoli, figlio d'un fratello che solo hebbe esso cardinale, et un altro in Firenze, figlio d'una sua sorella, non dimeno sua parentela stretta con le prime fameglie di Firenze, dove et nel resto del stato haverebbe tanta intelligenza, che aggiuntovi l'autorità Ponteficia non sarebbe se non di molta gelosia ad un principato nuovo come quello, si come anco sarebbe di gelosia a Spagnoli il nome Fiorentino e Medico, l'esclusione gl'han fatta nelli conclavi, l'aderanza ch'egli mostra a Francia, in cui servizio molto più che di Spagnoli ha conchiuso la pace, favorito la dichiarazione di nullità del matrimonio del re Christianissimo, tenutone la congr^{re} in casa sua, celebrato sempre quel re con chiarissime lodi et mostratosi in somma come Fiorentino e Medico molto Francese, oltre che essendo egli ne i conclavi passati et massime nell'ultimo stato particolare avversario et esclusore di Madruccio gli sarebbe difficile l'acquistar mai confidenza con questo capo della fattione Spagnola, quando anco fusse ch'el Gran Duca, la cui parte mostra il cardinal di Fiorenza di seguitare, non sia per fare più oppositione ne i futuri conclavi al re di Spagna. È questo cardinale di confessione tra flemmatica e sanguigna, di natura placida, di spiriti anzi rimessi che elevati, di età di 65 anni, ma sano. Ha 14^m scudi d'entrata cioè 5^m dell'arcivescovato, 8^m di patrimonio, mille d'una pensione in Toscana et da Clemente ottavo, oltre un donativo di scudi 7^m per pagare i suoi debiti e la provision che tiene di cardinal povero et havuto una badia, che fu già del cardinal Savello, di 1500 scudi d'intrata, mille scudi sopra Melfe e l'abbadia di Santo Galgano di presso 5 a^m scudi di rendita, ma carica per la metà del suo valore di provisione. È suo favoritissimo il cavalier Cima, cresciuto da giovanetto al suo servizio.

Rodrigo von Sevilla. . . Joyeuse.

Federigo cardinal Borromeo :

Imitatore nella bontà e nella mortificazione del cardinal S^{ta} Prassede suo zio se ben la gioventù non li concede ancora tanta perfezione ne tanta fama, la contrizione non li leva l'affabilità e dolcezza in conversazione, è dotto, studioso, prudente e di buon discorso, allievo della Vallicella, avversario di Santa Severina et del contestabile di Castiglia e per lui venuto forse in qualche diffidenza col proprio principe per zelo di religione e conversation della giurisdizione ecc^{ca}, e che però il Papa dovesse difenderlo con ogni spirito non havendolo ottenuto, par che resti mal soddisfatto di Sua Santità e se ne doglia. Ha belle doti del corpo e dell'animo, o officioso efficace et in questi ultimi conclavi s'è diportato con molto valore. È bene di manegiarlo con soavità perchè ha senso molto delicato facile ad offendersi e disgustarsi. Ha 30^m scudi d'intrata fra l'arcivescovato che vale 12^m et tre abbadiie resignateli una dal cardinal di Vercelli, due di Altemps, ne si trova mai senza debiti, ancor che tenghi fameglia assai modesta et facci quanto alla persona sua vita riformata. Però si crede che le sue spese consistano in elemosine grosse fatte secretamente per mezzo particolarmente de i preti della Vallicella. È giovane di 34 anni.

Camillo cardinal Borghese :

Vescovo di Iesi del quale paga mille scudi di pensioni a Baronio e egli restano quando ha le tratti de grani da 2500. Ha mille scudi di pensione sopra Campotrasì, 400 sopra Parenzo in Istria e cento il mese come cardinal povero che in tutto vengono ad essere 5800. È d'origine Senese, di nascimento e parentado Romano. Ha fratelli et sorelle casate in Roma, è intelligente, destro, flemmatico e di buona natura, sì che non ha quasi altro impedimento al Papato che l'età ancor fresca. È grato al collegio et al Papa da cui mandato mentre era auditore della Camera al re Cattolico per ottenere da S. M^{ta} o che agiutasse l'imperatore o che ch'intrasse in lega con altri principi contro il Turco, non riportò da quella corte se non una promessa di 2^m scudi di pensione, i quali have accettati più tosto non contradicente che permettente il Papa, il quale fa professione che li sue creature non habbino intrate da altri che da S. S^{ta}. Tuttavia è confidente di quella corona, per il padre che servì 16 anni

in questa corte di avvocato al re Cattolico, al quale anco servivono nel medesimo officio un cugino et un zio del cardinale. Di due sorelle già morte e maritate in Roma, una ne i Caffarelli, l'altra ne i Vittori, hebbe quattro nipoti, ma più dilette quelli della prima sorella, uno de quali di età di 22 anni che tiene appresso di se et è amatissimo di lui. Di dui suoi fratelli non ha nipoti alcuni. Perchè è d'origine Senese fu nominato solo all'arcivescovato di Siena dal Gran Duca, dal quale il fratello del cardinale quando comprò l'auditorato di Camera hebbe 4^m scudi in prestito et fece molta professione di servidore di S. Altezza. Si crede ch'el cardinale debba star bene e confidente col Gran Duca. Dall'altra banda perchè non volse accettare il detto arcivescovato et ha venduto quanto possedeva egli et i fratelli in Siena fa dubitare che questi attioni non siano piaciuti al Gran Duca, il quale anco chiese al cardinale 14^m scudi che haveva prestati al fratello in tempo molto incommodo ad esso cardinale.

Cesare cardinal Baronio.

Della città di Sora, scrittore degl'annali ecclesiastici, allievo della Chiesa nova, confessore del Papa, dal quale è molto amato per la dottrina, bontà et semplicità sua. Si dimostra tutto spirito, tutto resignato in Dio, che si burli del mondo et della propria esaltation di se stesso. Non prende volontieri assonto di far officio per altri con S. Stà, ma s'egli li fa è per opere caritative e virtuose et li porge quando vuole con buona maniera. Ha più tosto domestichezza et confidenza che autorità con S. B^{ne}, fa professione di non haver altro interesse nel ragionare e nel oprare che del servitio di Dio et della Chiesa, però fu solo nella congregatione generale tenuta ne i mesi passati sopra le cose di Milano che si arrischiasse di palrar fuor de denti di Spagnuoli et con titoli strani. È suddito e molto congiunto col duca di Sora, è stato figliolo unico onde non ha nipoti se non d'un suo cugino poco a lui grato. Questi nipoti che sono tre maschi fa instruire nelle lettere havendo monacate et maritate tre altre nipoti femine. Ha da 5^m scudi d'intrata. Seguita tuttavia di scrivere gl'annali, in che s'occupa una gran parte della mattina, ancor che si levi di letto sempre inanzi giorno. Fa una vita quasi monastica, perchè mangia ad una tavola con la sua famiglia ad uso de priori di frati.

Here follow the characterists of Cardinals Ávila, Guevara, Montalto, A. M. Salviati and B. Cesi.

34. DONATIONS TO GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ALDOBRANDINI.¹

1600, May 4.

Instrumento publico di donazione delli scudi 96,000 d'oro e delli scudi 45741.97 e dello spoglio di Pienza fatta dal card. camerlengo d'ordine di N. S. al S. Giov. Francesco Aldobrandini per gli atti del Calderino 4 Maggio 1600.

The following indenture of Clement VIII. mentions :

1. 1599, July 20 : about " scuta 4000 auri in singul. mens. incipiendo a dicto mense Iulii per totum m. Martii subseq. anno 1600 persolvenda S. Sti."

2. 1599, July 24 : concerning " 40,000 scuta " on *spolie* in Spain.

3. 1599, July 30 : concerning " 20,000 scuta."

4. 1599, July 30 : the Pope orders " ut exigeret ab Io. Franc. Aldobrandino scuta 20,000 quae S. Ex. Ill. in summa scutor. 40,000 ex precio civitatis Sarsinae et terrae Meldulae et illor. comitatum ab ill. d. Rudolpho Pio emptor. erogare promiserat."

5. Indenture concerning *spolie* from Pienza.

[Orig. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, 42, Nr 14.]

35. TESTAMENT OF CARDINAL PIETRO ALDOBRANDINI.²

(Drawn up on 22 September, 1600, upon beginning his legation).

He recommends himself to the divine mercy and chooses his place of burial in S. Niccolò in Carcere, or in the church which at the time of his death should be his cardinalitial title. Monumentumque mihi construi volo structura et sumptu considerabili haeredis arbitrio, et hoc quidem non ad pompam aut ullam inanem gloriam, sed ad posteros exemplo excitandos ad viam virtutum, per quam maiores nostri ad supernas dignitates evecti me quoque Dei gratia extulerunt et denique ut aspectu eiusdem memoriae iidem posteri pie admoniti reminiscantur Deo preces offerre pro salute animae meae.

Legacies : 2000 scudi to the church where he is buried for the celebration of masses for himself, his parents and his

¹ See *supra*, p. 54.

² See *supra*, p. 49.

relatives ; to the Dominicans at S. Maria sopra Minerva, to the Servites at S. Maria in Via, and to the Oratorians at S. Maria in Vallicella 1000 scudi each ; 10,000 scudi to the Confraternity of the Annunziata at the Minerva, to marry poor girls, who must pray for him. The "sacra suppellectilia" and his "privata capella" are to go to his cardinalitial title, and to the church of Tre Fontane (a me semper ad gloriam Dei et dicti apostoli a fundamentis restitutae, aedificatae et exornatae).

The general heir is to be Clement VIII., not as Pope but as a private individual. If he is unwilling, or cannot be this, then his heir is to be Flaminia Aldobrandini "mea dilectissima mater," and if she is dead Olimpia Aldobrandini, his sister and the wife of Giov. Francesco Aldobrandini ; if she too is dead, then the inheritance is to go to Silvestro "et filii masculi." If the general heir is Clement VIII., then his mother is to have 10,000 scudi. Then there follow small legacies to his relatives, to Girol. Agucchi (praef. domus) and his servants. As executors of the will are appointed Card. Zacchia, Cinzio Aldobrandini (Tit. S. Georgii) and Deti, as well as Gian Francesco Aldobrandini.

[Copy, Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 286, n. 9.]

36. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO CHRISTOPHE DE LE VALLÉE, BISHOP OF TOUL.¹

1600, September 30, Rome.

Venerabilis frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Magna res est oves ratione praeditas gubernare, magnus labor spirituales agros excolere, ut iure optimo, ut fraternitas Tua novit, a sanctis patribus dictum sit artem artium esse curam animarum. Sed, si magni sunt episcoporum labores, magna etiam praemia et magna divinae gratiae adiumenta, modo nos, vocationis nostrae et officii memores, attendamus nobis ipsis et universo gregi fidei nostrae credito et custodiamus super eum vigilias noctis huius, hoc est saeculi huius et mundi tenebrosi, qui positus est in maligno, in quo princeps tenebrarum nocte circuit, iscut leo rugiens quaerens quem devoret Et Nos quidem de Tua fraternitate libenter Nobis persuademus, quod stes super super custodiam Tuam et vigiles et circumspicias et vineam istam a vepribus et spinis purgare

¹ See *supra*, p. 193.

studeas curesque, Deo iuvante, ne incultae vites silvescant et pro uvis labruscas ferant ; sed tamen dissimulare non possumus, pro Nostra omnium ecclesiarum sollicitudine, multo nostro cum dolore et molestia, ad Nos afferri, quod quamplurimi ex clero istius insignis Tuæ ecclesiae, qui bonus Christi odor esse deberent ad vitam multorum, ita licenter et incontinententer vivunt, ut sint odor mortis ad mortem spirituales multorum et offensionem bonorum omnium. Narrant etiam eos laqueis diaboli irretitos concubinas habere et in omni impuritate eos versari (de quibus scriptum est : Munda-mini qui fertis vasa Domini, et sancti estote, quoniam ego sanctus sum, dicit Dominus), alea et ludis indecoris tempus conterere ac denique apostoli praecepti oblitos in cubilibus et impudiciis, in commensationibus et ebrietatibus, quasi non sint in sortem Domini vocati et divino illius obsequio mancipati, qui est candor lucis aeternae et speculum sine macula. Quid ergo valde mirandum est, si sal infatuatum est et si lux tenebrae sunt, id est si clerus, qui populo salis et lucis instar esse debet, per operas tenebrarum et per abrupta vitiorum praeceps ruit ? Quid iterum mirum, si multi quotidie apud vos, ut audivimus, haeretici existunt et haereses convalescunt et fides catholica in ista nobili civitate in magno omnino discrimine adducitur ? Quamobrem, frater, excita zelum Tuum et ne dederis somnum oculis Tuis ; cape ventilabrum et purga aream Domini ; adhibe quidem prudentiam, adhibe caritatem, infunde oleum, sed infunde etiam et vinum, argue, obseca, increpa et spiritu lenitatis utere et virga etiam. Dei honor agitur et salus animarum et periculum fidei non licet dissimulare, non licet procrastinare. Itaque, frater, manum serio admove ad salutarem reformationem ; visita gregem Tuum, incipe a domo Domini : nihil frequenti ecclesiae et dioecesis visitatione salutaris ; congrega synodum, clama in fortitudine et quae de clericali disciplina, praesertim de vita et honestate servanda et de impurissimo concubinato exterminando a sacris canonibus et a sacra potissimum disciplina, praesertim de vita et honestate servanda et de impurissimo concubinato exterminando a sacris canonibus et a sacra potissimum Tridentina synodo decreta sunt, quantum Dei gratia iuvante potes, exequere atque in morem inducito. Vide ut adiutores et operarios et magistros fideles habeas et timentes Deum ; manum nemini cito

imposueris, sed ad clericalem militiam et sacros ordines et praecipue ad presbyteratum et curam animarum ne admiseris nisi idoneos et probatos, qui non destruant, sed aedificent. Postremo praebe Te ipsum exemplar et formam bonorum operum in cultu Dei ac in divinorum officiorum frequentia in sancto altaris sacrificio, in omni nitore et decore domus Dei, ut videant omnes opera Tua bona et glorificent Patrem, qui in coelo est ; quod Te facere confidimus et hortatu nostro Te impensius etiam facturum non dubitamus. Dolemus etiam valde in eo, quod audimus, quod pueris rudimenta doctrinae christianae non traduntur et multi adulti ea ignorant quae ad salutem sunt necessaria. Scis quanti momenti res sit, huic gravi incommodo, immo gravissimo detrimento medicinam adhibe, ne prudentiores sint filii tenebrarum filiis lucis ; illi enim, ut nosti, infantibus paene suis haeresum venenum cum lacte instillant : quanto magis nos decet docere pueros doctrinam salutis ? iis praesertim in locis ubi haeretica pestis circum quaque grassatur et tantum a contagione imminet periculum ? Haec fraternitati Tuae ex magno amore scribimus, de quibus etiam coram Tecum paterne agemus, amamus enim Te et caritas Christi urget Nos.

Tu ergo sic age, ut, cum ante tribunal Christi fueris, non sanguis pereuntium animarum de manu Tua requiratur, sed cum servis fidelibus a iusto iudice mercedem sempiternam accipias. Tibi vero et clero ac populo Tuo Nostram apostolicam benedictionem amanter impartimur.

Datum Romae apud s. Apostolos etc., die ultima septembris, anno iubilaei 1600, pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 44, n. 320, Papal Secret Archives.]

37. GIULIO CESARE FORESTO TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1601, March 10, Rome.

. . . Gionse alla S.St^a domenica di notte un corriere dell' ill^{mo} Aldobrandino con avviso della risoluzione havuto dal Catolico intorno alla capitulatione della pace, alla quale S.M^{tà} per compiacere alle persuasioni et al desiderio di N.S. presta il suo consenso, approvando in ciò tutta la negotiatione del medesimo Aldobrandino dal quale restava haver avviso della ratificatione fatta dal Ser^{mo} di Savoia. Poco dopo il sodetto corriere arrivò altro corriere di Sessa con copia della

¹ See *supra*, p. 239.

lettera scrittali della S.M^{tà} il contenuto della quale in sostanza è il sopra rappresentato, si come hieri più particolarmente m'affermò il sⁿ card^{le} Camerino, et può essere che a questa hora vi sia l'avviso della ratificatione che ancora non lo so. L'esito di tutto questo negotio . . . ha adesso confirmate tutte le considerationi che col fondamento di tutti quelle cose che si sapervano veramente et altre si speculavano che li Spagnuoli non solo desiderarano, ma procurarono per effetto di questa pace che il s^r card^{le} sodetto passasse in Francia, et che tutto ciò che hanno fatto in materia di preparamenti bellici, ha tutto havuto per fine la conservatione del credito et il mantenimento del timore, et obligarsi la S^{tà} S., mentre nella conchiusione si mostravano maggiormente renitenti. Il giorno dopo l'arrivo delli sodetti corrieri due volte in un istesse giorno la S^{tà} S. fece oratione alla Scala Santa et si stava aspettando qualche più probabile dimostratione di allegrezza, la quale non essendo sin qui sequita ci da chiaro testimonio che la ratificatione non si ha ancora havuta et che S.S^{tà} vorrà aspettare la total conchiusione per discorrerne poi in pubblico nel concistoro. Degli assoldati dal Catolico che per essecutione della capitulatione deveno esser licentati fra il termine di un mese, si va penetrando che per l'istanze della S.S^{tà} siano per andrae parte d'essi nell'Ungaria, altri in servitio del ser^{mo} Ferdinando, et il resto in soccorso delli stati della Fiandra, et che l'Italia fra pochi giorni sia per restare libera da ogni sospetto di guerra. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

38. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE FRENCH BISHOPS.¹

1601, May 25, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

. . . Christianae reipublicae universae et amplissimo Franciae regno nominatim quam multas utilitates attulerit pax optatissima inter potentissimos reges et magnos principes summo Dei beneficio conciliata, fraternitas Tua pro sua prudentia optime intelligit ; sed ea certe praecipue existimanda, quod venerabilibus fratribus Nostris ecclesiarum Franciae praesulibus tanto magis licebit, omni cura et diligentia incumbere in agri dominici culturam, hoc est in fidei catholicae propagationem, disciplinae ecclesiasticae

¹ See *supra*, p. 193.

instaurationem et divini cultus incrementum, ut templa Dei et sacra altaria omni, ut par est, nitore colluceant et sacrosancti sacrificii purissima oblatio omni etiam cum decore et maiestate peragatur; nam praeter internam sanctitatem, quae potissimum exquiratur, his quoque externis rebus et Deo honor debitus a clero adhibetur et populi devotio magnopere excitatur; denique omnes pastoralis vigilantiae partes strenue nunc obeundae, ex praescripto praesertim oecumenici concilii Tridentini, cuius saluberrima decreta, Spiritu Sancto auctore edita, magnam et salutiferam episcopalis officii instructionem continent, ad cleri et populi salutarem conformationem, et nos quidem de Tuae fraternitatis virtute, prudentia et pietate omnia nobis praeclara in Domino pollicemur. . . .

Datum Romae apud sanctos Apostolos sub annulo piscatoris die 25 maii 1601, pontificatus Nostri anno decimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 183, Papal Secret Archives.]

39. POPE CLEMENT VIII TO THE BISHOPS OF THE PROVINCE OF BORDEAUX.¹

1601, July 12, Rome.

Clemens PP. VIII.

. . . Agite igitur, fratres, quae Spiritu Sancto auctore constituta sunt, in mores inducite, synodos celebrate, episcopales visitationes institute, ecclesias et dioeceses vestras frequenter obite, vultum pecoris vestri agnoscite, agros inspicite, vepres et spinas et noxias errorum et abusuum herbas evellite, bonum semen serite et rigate assidue verbo praedicationis et divinis sacramentis et omni pietatis cultura, ut Deus et pater misericordiarum, a quo omnis est nostra sufficientia et sine quo nihil possumus, optatum det incrementum. Videte autem etiam diligenter, quos huius spiritualis agriculturae socios et adiutores assumatis, quos sacris ordinibus initiatis, praesertim prebyteros et animarum curatores. Non enim, quod absit, nullo delectu e media turba accipiendi homines rudes, inepti, illiterati et plerumque vitiis cooperti, quo nihil perniciosius, sed viri idonei deligendi, prudentes, sobrii, casti, vere digni qui in sortem et peculiarem Dei haereditatem vocentur, quorum portio sit Dominus, qui non sua quaerant, sed quae sunt Iesu Christi, qui et vitae integri-

¹ See *supra*, p. 193.

tate et doctrina etiam praestent, ne caeci caecos ducant et simul cum eis in foveam interitus aeterni cadant. . . .

Datum Romae apud sanctos Apostolos, sub annulo piscatoris die XII iulii 1601, pontificatus Nostr anno decimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 45, n. 281, Papal Secret Archives.]

40. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO ERNEST OF BAVARIA
PRINCE-ELECTOR OF COLOGNE.¹

1602, December 7, Rome.

Venerabilis frater salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Iustus fraternitatis Tuae dolor, et alias saepe et novissimis litteris Tuis Nobis efficaciter expressus ac repraesentatus, veterem dolorem Nostrum et refricat et auget vehementer. Vere digna res est admiratione, immo stupore et commiseratione magna, filium Nostrum in Christo carissimum Rudolphum Imperatorem electum, illo rerum usu, illa prudentia principem, in hoc gravissimo successoris sui deligendi negotio usque adeo sui dissimilem esse, eiusque ingenii vim atque aciem, nescimus qua importuna suspicionum caligine impedita [sic] adeo esse et obvolutam, ut quae sibi totique domui suae, ut nunc publicas causas omittamus, in primis utilia, honorifica et salutaria sunt, non videat, immo quasi adversa et a suis rationibus aliena abhorrent et reiiciat, neque iis hac in re credat, qui eum amant maxime eiusque gloriae et felicitatis sunt cupidissimi, ut Nos praecipue et fraternitas Tua sumus; neque Te neque Nos ullis officiis, diligentibus, laboribus pepereimus. Agnoscimus tanti momenti negotium esse, ut ad extremum usque minime sit deserendum; pericula et detrimenta, quae imperio et reipublicae Christianae imminet, nisi seren^{mus} Caesar consilium mutet et aliam mentem induat, et te prudenter metuere fratemur, et Nos ex hac apostolica specula, in qua meritis impares excubamus, iam pridem prospicimus. Sed quid agamus, frater? Eo usque, ut vides, hic diffidentiae morbus progressus est, ut patris amantissimi cohortationes etiam suspectae sint. Itaque haeremus prorsus, illud valde metuentes, ne, dum curationem adhibemus, morbum augeamus. Quare a Te etiam atque etiam petimus, ut de tota re attentissime Tecum consideres, sententiam etiam, si ita Tibi videtur, collegarum electorum exquiras ac Nobis significes, quamam tandem via

¹ See *supra*, p. 390.

et modo uti possemus ad Imperatoris electi animum permovendum et flectendum. Nos quidem, ut hactenus egimus, ita nunc quoque omnia agere et moliri in spiritu sinceræ caritatis parati sumus, modo spes sit fructuose aliquid agendi et ne ex ipso remedio malum ingruescat, quod nimis absurdum videretur. Nemo res Germanicas fraternitate Tua melius intelligit, nemo Caesaris ingenium et naturam penitus novit; utique Nostrum idem spectamus, Dei honorem, publicam quietem, propriam etiam ipsius Cesareæ M^{tis} utilitatem ne deseras, frater; hanc curam et negotium, pro quo tantopere laborasti, adhuc Tua prudentia, auctoritate, gratia sustine, quantum potes et fove. Quis scit, quæ dies et tempus possit afferre? Una interdum nox magnam saepe rerum commutationem attulit, et, quod caput est, multae sunt miserationes Domini, in cuius manu est cor regis. Nullo modo desperandum, sed quoad licet Romana prudentia progrediendum. Nos Deum orare non cessamus, ut Tua et aliorum, qui eadem Tecum pro Dei ipsius gloria sentiunt et agunt, studia et consilia sua coelesti gratia regat et secundet. Tibi meritorum Tuorum in hoc negotio certa est merces et segura apud Deum et bonos omnes, neque Te laboris et diligentiae Tua adhibitae et ad omnem numerum expletae umquam poenitebit. Interea benedictione apostolica Te toto corde benedicimus, valetudinemque Tuam Tibimetipsi ut diligenter cures rogamus, immo in Domino iubemus.

Datum Romae apud sanctum Petrum sub annulo piscatoris die 7 decembris 1602, pontificatus Nostri anno undecimo.

[Brevia, Arm. 44, t. 46, n. 330, Papal Secret Archives.]

41. LELIO ARRIGONI TO THE DUKE OF MANTUA.¹

1603, December 20, Rome.

. . . Ho inteso di buon luogo che trovandosi martedì l'ambasciatore di Spagna all'audienza di S. St^a per cagion del corriero che gli venne di Spagna con ordine che dovesse supplicare S. B^{ue} acciò che in gratia di S. M^{tà} si compiacesse di promuovere il Doria al cardinalato, fatto ch'ebbe l'ufficio volle entrare a persuadere S. St^a che essendo horamai grave d'anni dovesse scaricarsi delle fatiche et attendere a riposare, addossando il peso de negotii agli ill^{mi} s^{ri} nipoti; la qual cosa fu così mal intesa da S. B^{ue}, che ella gli rispose che

¹ See *supra*, p. 256.

attendesse pure a far l'ufficio suo, et che del resto non se ne pigliasse pensiero, perchè sapeva ciò che s'haveva a fare, onde S. Ecc^a se ne tornò con questa nasata a casa, lasciando S. Stà poco bene impressa di se, la quale si trova inchiodata colla solita sua gotta che da alcuni anni in quà non la lascia intervenire alli divini officii di Natale. . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

42. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO PHILIP III., KING OF SPAIN.¹

1603, December 3, [Rome].

Carissime, il Nostro Nuntio darà conto alla M^{ta} V. d'una cosa occorsa nel arrivo del duca di Scalona con molto Nostro disgusto per le conseguenze che da simil modo di procedere possono risultare ; si come sappiamo questo esser contra la intentione della M^{ta} V., così la preghiamo efficacemente a farci quella provisione che la molta pietà et bontà sua le detterà, assicurandola in verbo Nostro che nessuna cosa è atta a sminuir ponto l'affettione, che portiamo a lei et a suoi negotii. Si contenterà V. M^{ta} dar fede al Nuntio et ordinare quello che Dio benedetto l'inspirerà ; solo vogliamo aggiunger che quando maritamo nostra nipote lo facemmo particolarmente per maritarla ad un vassallo di V. M. sperando certo che il principe di Stigliano et il figlio, di tanta lunga mano servitori suoi, dovessero havere per sempre la protezione sua meritata veramente dai padri, avi et maggiori loro con il qual fine benediciamo V. M^{ta} con l'apostolica benedittione. Dat, etc.²

[Copy. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.]

43. POPE CLEMENT VIII. TO THE DUKE OF SESSA.³

1603, December 3, [Rome].

Se il patriarca Biondo ha mal trattato V. E a Civitavecchia sarà stato per la natura del paese di dove ha origine, ma se ha eseguito gl'ordini dategli havrà fatto il debito suo. Ci duol fin al vivo cuore che il Marchese di Vigliena ci hab[ia] subito nel primo incontro doppo quelle carezze fatteli che hanno fatto non aggradite agli altri ambasciatori, habbia dico fattoci conoscere, il che non havevamo non solo creduto, ma ne anco

¹ See *supra*, p. 252.

² Similar autograph letters follow to the Conte di Miranda, the Duke of Lerma, and the confessor of Philip III.

³ See *supra*, p. 252.

sospettato la differentia dal sig. duca di Sessa et lui et travagliatoci tanto che ci ha messo in compromesso la sanità et quasi la vita, et perchè crediamo che Zimenes ne havrà dato compito raguaglio a V. E., non entraremos a narrare la historia la quale a noi è stata quasi tragica et non meritata da ministro di re tanto cattolico. Sappiamo certo che ella ove potrà cercarà di rimediare questo inconveniente perchè se si seguirà in questo modo, veggiamo i negotii di S. M^{ta} dover molto patire non già per difetto o colpa Nostra o perchè sia ponto scemata la buona volontà che habbiamo sempre portato a gl'interessi della M^{ta} Cattolica, ma perchè temiamo che questi modi di fare non solo non accreschino, ma alienino amici et servitori a S. M^{ta}. Non vogliamo esser più longhi perchè il card. Aldobrandino, al quale ci rimettiamo oltre alla gazzetta narreranno ogni cosa a V. E.; ci è mescolata ancor'essa perchè protesta ch'ella habbia rovinato questa ambasceria et con questo fine benediciamo V. E., la sig. duchessa et figlioli con la Apostolica benedizione. Dat. etc.

[P.S.] V. E. scusi la mala scrittura perchè la chiragra n'è cagione, la quale ci ha debilitato tanto la mano che non la possiamo rescrivere.

[Minuta), Aldobrandini Archives, Rome, t. 287.]

44. CARDINAL P. ALDOBRANDINI TO DOMENICO GINNASIO, NUNCIO IN SPAIN.¹

1603, December 5, Rome.

Venne il duca di Scalona ambasciatore per S. M^{ta} al quale sarebbe cosa lunga se si volesse contare minutamente gli honori che le sono stati fatti nel suo ingresso in questa corte così per ordine espresso di N.S^{re} come per l'inclinatione, che la corte istessa scoperse di ciò nella S^{ta} Sua; solo dirò a V.S. che S. B^{ne} volse che a Civitavecchia fusse servito dal suo mastro di casa et spesato per tutto il viaggio che fece in quattro giorni sino a Roma, dove entrando lo fece incontrare da uno de proprii nipoti, figliolo del sig. Giovan Francesco, non essendo solito che queste dimostrazioni si fecino se non all'ambasciatori che vengono a rendere obediienza, et mandò in casa del s. card. Farnese, dove gli era destinato l'alloggiamento, la signora mia sorella con tutta la nobiltà di dame di questa città per ricever sua moglie, dimostrazione che non

¹ See *supra*, p. 252.

poteli far quasi maggiore S.Stà se fosse venuta la regina istessa di Spagna, et fatte con qualche querela degli altri ambasciatori.

Tutte queste cose sono quelle che eccedono l'ordinario et che non si son fatte mai ad ambasciatore residente nessuno nè di S.M^{tà} nè di qualsivoglia altro re nè dell'Imperatore stesso.

Ma egli ci ha malamente corrisposto poichè da primo lancio andando il duca di Mondragone con il nipote di S. B. per honorarlo essendo anch'egli tale per haver una nipote per moglie lo trattò manco che d'Eccellenza, titolo ordinarissimo de parenti de' Papi, massime viventi, ma essendoli poi detto lo stile di ciò si mutò in questo primo et contentossi di honorar dell'Eccellenza il duca di Mondragone, ma si lasciò chiaramente intendere che non voleva far così con il principe di Stigliano suo padre, cosa sproportionatissima di trattar meglio il figlio che il padre.

The Spanish ambassador stood firm in spite of the intervention of the Pope. When the Prince of Stigliano went to visit the ambassador the latter addressed him by the title of "V^{ra} merced," a title which in Spain is ordinarily given to the most humble individuals and to country folk. The Pope intervened, but in vain. The ambassador declared that he would not give the title of "excellenza" to the Prince of Stigliano, even if the king ordered it! The Princess of Stigliano, being extremely angry, gave the ambassador in St. Peter's the title of "V^{ra} merced."

The nuncio was charged to address complaints to the king of the conduct of his ambassador. "V.S. facci questo offitio di maniera che si conosca che prema a N.S.^{re} sino al cuore et tanto piu quanto ha fatto questo parentado con questo principe come vasallo di S.M^{tà} con suo gusto et per mezzo del s. duca di Sessa suo ambasciatore."

[Concept. Aldobrandini Archives, Rome.]

45. INSTRUCTION FOR MAFFEI BARBERINI, ARCHBISHOP OF NAZARETH, NUNCIO FOR FRANCE.¹

[1604, December 4], Rome.

Non ha dubio, che la Nuntiatura di Francia, alla quale la Stà di N. Sig^{re} ha eletto la persona di V. S., non solo è di molta consideratione, ma di arduissimi negotii et quelli ripieni in molte difficoltà, così porta lo stato di quel regno, che per le

¹ See *supra*, pp. 174, 193, 310.

guerre passate si può dire in molte parti nobili et principalmente nella religione conquassato, poichè in esso il nomico dell'humano genere vi ha sopraseminato la zizania, che sono i spini et l'herbe velenose dell'heresia. Onde andando ella in quel regno ministro di S. B^{ne} sopra le sue spalle et nella diligenza di lei gran parte della restauratione di essa si deve appoggiare così in quello che tocca la religione come nel culto divino et politia eccl^{ca}, a tale che entra V.S. in una selva grandissima et in un oceano, pieno di tempesta. Ma dall'altro canto se ella sopra due cose farà riflessione, gran contento et grand'animo in questa impresa doverà ricevere. Et prima se ella considererà la confidenza che mostra N.S^{re} nella persona di V.S. raccomandandole affare di tanta et sì grande importanza alla Chiesa di Dio, che ben si conosce il concetto, che tiene di lei.

Secondariamente se ella avvertirà l'occasione, che se le porge con questa nuntiatura di meritar con Dio, con la Sede Apostolica, con Sua B^{ne} medesima infinitamente in maniera che ella può dire con S. Paolo: Ostium mihi apertum est magnum et evidens. Queste cose dalla sua prudenza considerate et unite con il talento che Dio le ha dato, la faranno più facilmente, et con minor fatica corrispondere all'espettazione che si ha di lei, tanto maggiore di molti altri quando sono stati mandati da N.S^{re} in questa nuntiatura, quanto il talento che Dio gli ha dato di prudenza, di esperienza et di lettere è singolare, et ella nelle cose di Francia non è nuova, essendovi da S.B^{ne} altre volte stata mandata Nuntio straordinario a tale, che già vi è introdotta, conosce le persone, sa gli humori et intende molto bene i negotii, che la lunga esperienza di questa corte gli ha fatti possedere.

Et se bene sopra la restauratione della religione et intorno al redur quel regno alla vera politia eccl^{ca}, la quale hora è sì fattamente diminuita, non occorre dare a V.S. altra instrutione, se non dirle che N.S^{re} le ordina che ella facci tutto quello, che humanamente potrà fare, et vi usi esattissima diligenza per quei mezzi, che alla prudenza sua pareranno necessarij, più utili et più opportuni, tuttavia si diranno alcune cose, che di quà sono giudicate non solo profitevoli a porre in essecutione il santo desiderio di S.B^{ne} et il servitio di Dio, ma che senza le quali non si vede, come ne anco si possi fare buon principio, le quali furono anco commesse a mons^{or}

vescovo di Modena et ultimamente al sig^{or} card^{li} del Bufalo, predecessori di V.S., che una parte di esse non si sono per la difficultà de'tempi potute eseguire. Si ricordano adunque a lei intorno ad esse solamente quelle circostanze che il tempo ha rese diverse.

Et prima arrivato V.S. alla corte del re Christ^{mo} et dato conto a Sua M^{ta} della causa della sua venuta nel complimento, che ella farà con la M^{ta} Sua, et in nome di N.S^{re} benedicendola prima con l'apostolica benedittione, come anco la M^{ta} della regina, visitandola in nome di N.S^{re}, procurarà di rappresentare a S.M^{ta} la tenerezza dell'amore, con il quale S.S^{ta} ama la M^{ta} Sua, et l'affetto paterno che le porta, non solo come a figliuolo primogenito di S^{ta} Chiesa, ma come a parto suo et a cosa sua propria et cara, et per questo tiene S.S^{ta} particolar conto di S.M^{ta} et fa private orationi per il suo felice stato et perchè il Sig^{re} le allarghi la mano delle sue gratie, stimando la S^{ta} Sua gl'interessi di S.M^{ta} come proprii, tenendo, che la vera reputatione sua vadi a pari passo con la reputatione et satisfattione di S.S^{ta}, et con questo et con la destrezza sua solita V.S. doverà nutrire et riverenza et confidenza dalla parte del re verso N.S^{re}, la quale potrà poi esser scala a V.S. a molte cose buone et a resolver bene molte delle sue commissioni per servitio di Dio et di questa S^{ta} Sede.

Molti saranno i negotii che passeranno per le mani di V.S., come si è accennato, perchè il regno è grande per se stesso et lo stato eccl^{co} in esso è molto ampio et numeroso di clero così socolare come regolare, et per le guerre non hanno havuto quella disciplina che converrebbe; però a V.S. starà l'indirizzarlo bene et usará a suo luogo et tempo il vino et l'olio et valersi delle facultà concesseli opportunamente avvertendo però alli ministri suoi che siano tali che si mostrino disinteressati, acciò non solo gli heretici non habbiano occasione di mormorare, ma i Cattolici et buoni non si scandalizzino, anzi si edificino non solo della bontà del ministro della Sede Apostolica et di N.S^{ta} come de' suoi ufficiali et famiglia, la quale dovrà usar sempre ogni modestia, se bene si sà che il ricordar ciò a V.S. è superfluo per la bontà sua et professione che ella ha fatto sempre.

Et perchè di questi negotii che corrono alla giornata nella Nuntiatura non le si può dire cosa particolare, non sapendosi quel che succederà giornalmente, però le sono ricordate le

cose in generale, avvertendola di attendere all'amplificazione della religione cattolica, alla riforma del clero et de i religiosi più che si può et introdurre buoni costumi in essi et animarli a i studii, del che s'intende esservi gran bisogno per l'ignoranza che hora si truova nelle persone ecclesiastiche, et in questo particolare avvertirà i vescovi per parte di N.^{S^{re}} ad usare accuratezza et diligenza nelle ordinationi de i preti tanto secolari come regolari, inculcandogli nell'orecchi la vilezza de i cleri in Francia et che il debito loro è vedere di sollevarli et usare quelle diligenze, che convengono intorno alla letteratura, nobiltà, costumi et altre circostanze degli ordinandi.

Cercherà d'intendersi bene con gli arcivescovi et vescovi di quel regno, massime con quelli che ella conoscerà essere più zelanti dell'honor di Dio et di S^{ta} Chiesa et li aiuterà continuamente nelli loro bisogni et gli andará di mano in mano ricordando et suggerendo quelle cose spirituali, che possono giovare alla riforma delle loro diocesi in tutte le cose spirituali et particolarmente nella collatione de' beneficii, nella quale materia è in quel regno molto abuso.

Procurerà la conversione de gli heretici et l'augumento della religione catt^{ca} con ogni studio et con tutte le sue forze, adoprando ogni mezzo opportuno. In che una cosa l'aiuterà grandemente, se ella farà con il re che egli mostri non solo di desiderare che gli heretici si convertino et tornio al grembo di S^{ta} Chiesa, ma che dopo che sono convertiti, gli aiuti et favorisca, non solo non levandoli i carichi che havevano prima, ma accrescendoli in honore et dignità, et in favore con la M^{ta} Sua. Et. ben sà ella anco quel che può l'esempio et autorità del principe et che si veda risoluto a questo quanto possi giovare. Si è in alcune parti cominciato a fare delle missioni ne i luoghi, dove o l'heresia ha estinto affatto il Cattolicismo o lo ha superato in maniera che poche reliquie ve ne restano. Così ha fatto il vicelegato d'Avignone verso il Delfinato et Linguadoca et l'istesso il Nuntio di Savoia nelle valli di essa et in quei baliaggi ambidue d'ordine di N. S^{re} et con l'aiuto particolare della S^{ta} Sua temporale et spirituale et non senza molto frutto. V. S. mossa da questo esempio, procurará di far l'istesso dove potrà et parerà il bisogno maggiore, non lasciando indietro gli altri luoghi, che non sono tanto infetti d'heresia ; per questo, a i quali et con le prediche ordinarie et con i ricordi che V. S. darà a i vescovi,

andrà procurando che sia giovato et diviso il pane della predicatione et della verità per tutto. Con questa occasione si ordina a V. S. di tener protettione di queste due missioni così d'Avignone come di Savoia et particolarmente della casa fondata in Tunone per ricevere i convertiti dall'heresia, opera di molto frutto et conseguenza, la quale può in molte occasioni haver bisogno dell'opera di lei appresso il re, massime hora che per la pace di Lione ultima S. M^{ta} è restata padrone de i paesi vicini. Et questo è quello che si può dire a V. S. in universale delle cose spettanti a i negotii ordinarii della Nuntiatura ; però passeremo a i negotii che si haveranno da trattare con il re lasciando che di questi ella si governi nelle occasioni secondo la prudenza et ne i bisogni che haverà, potrà scrivere anco quà et dimandar quei aiuti, che gli pareranno necessarii, che non si mancherà di somministrargli prontamente.

In prima dovrà procurar V. S. di mantenere il re bene affetto alle cose della nostra s^{ta} religione cattolica, con destrezza anco et soavità instruendolo nelle cose della religione : perchè l'esercitio militare, che ha sempre fatto, non ha lasciato che ne sia instrutto in quella maniera che faria di bisogno, et lo animerà non solo a promuoverla et favorirla, acciò con il calore di S. M^{ta} si augumenti il culto divino et si estinguano l'heresie, ma anco procurare che in effetto deprima gli heretici et si mostri aperto difensore delli Cattolici et inimico de 'tristi et abominatore delle heresie, al che se bene si crede, che sia per se stessa inclinata la M^{ta} Sua per sua bontà et prudenza, nondimeno può essere che i ministri malintentionati sotto spetie di falsa ragione di stato, mantenghino in qualche tepidezza la M^{ta} Sua, con pericolo di cavarli alle volte qualche cosa di mano, poco utile et conveniente alla professione di vero et buon cattolico principe et poco profittevole al regno ; et però dovrà V. S. rimostrare a S. M^{ta} el nel suo arrivo et poi secondo l'occasione, che oltre al debito di re Christianissimo et del titolo che gli hanno lasciato i suoi antecessori di difensore della fede catt^{ca} si aspetta da S. M^{ta} particolar calore et zelo alle cose della religione, si per l'obbligo particolare, che tiene a Dio benedetto per le molte et straordinarie gratie che gli ha fatto, come perchè essendo Sua Maestà vissuta molto tempo fuor del grembo di S^{ta} Chiesa (del che non ne può esser venuto se non pregiu-

ditio alla religione), è in obbligo con Dio et con il mondo di fare opere tali in utile et augumento di essa et mostrarsi tanto ardente del servitio di Dio, che il mondo se ne edifichi et la Chiesa Santa sia ricompensata de i danni patiti, et deve la M^{ta} Sua far frutti degni di vera penitenza, ricordando a S. M^{ta} che per questo rispetto quello, che negli altri sarebbe giudicato tepidezza, appresso la M^{ta} Sua sarà tenuto più che freddezza et [a]ggravio, anzi questa considerata realmente et per i veri termini l'ha da spingere a ciò. Et però falsi saranno quei consigli et diabolici et i consiglieri interessati et cattivi, che anteporanno al re cose che concernono neutralità, tepidezza et favor di heretici, perchè questo è contrario all'honor de Dio et alla riputatione et utile di S. M^{ta} et dannoso allo stato et regno, perchè cosa chiara è che omne regnum in se ipsum divisum desolabitur ; et mantenendo la diversità delle religioni, il regno in divisione, necessariamente bisogna che lo precipiti, et però non può essere questa diversità, se non perniziosa allo stato, non permettendo che stia unito non solo al servitio di Dio, ma neanche all'obediencia di S. M^{ta} nè alla osservanza delle sue leggi, nè può la M^{ta} Sua esercitare liberamente il suo imperio, nè amministrar giustitia nè governar lo stato politico liberamente, et essendo tutte queste cose tanto necessarie in un governo di un regno sì grande, massime hora che non vi è più guerra, chiara cosa è che mancando l'unione, mancherà la quiete di esso, si nutriranno sempre i cattivi humori et si starà sempre in sospetto et non potrà mai la M^{ta} Sua dar satisfattione ad una parte, che non disgusti l'altra, et così non haverà mai quella tranquillità d'animo, nè di governo che desidera et le conviene. Et cercherà d'imprimerli nell'animo, che è impossibile non solo mantenere quieto, nè mantenerlo obediante quel regno con due religioni, et dovendosi attaccare ad una, vede qual di queste è più potente in quel regno, talchè per ragione di stato, se quella si ha d'attendere, si vede quale debba abbracciare con tutto l'animo et affetto. Gli haverà in questa materia da render sospetti tutti i disegni de gli heretici, i quali non tirano se non a nuove guerre et nuovi garbugli perchè in quel tempo fanno i fatti loro.

Et il pensare di bilanciare le cose in maniera che si tenghi amiche ambe le parti, questa è una propositione vana, erronea et falsissima et l'esperienza lo mostra pur

troppo et la Germania pur troppo lo testimifica, et non potrà esser soggerita a S. M^{ta} da altri che da politici et male intentionati, et da chi non ama la suprema autorità della M^{ta} Sua nel regno et vorrebbe più tosto che il re fusse servo de i sudditi, che i sudditi sottoposti alla conveniente obediencia del re ; perchè nelle satisfattioni, che darà S. M^{ta} a gli heretici, oltre che farà cosa di poca sua riputatione et che nel cospetto del mondo et particolarmente in Italia sonerà sempre malissimo, è inconveniente et ingiusta : offenderà Dio, terrà sospeso sempre l'animo di N. S^{re}, darà che dire agli altri principi che osserveranno le sue attioni, et se ci sarà chi desidera turbarli il regno, haverà insieme con i sudditi mal satisfatti vivo quel medesimo pretesto della religione, o poco meno che hanno havuto le guerre passate ; darà poi anco disgusto et mala satisfacttione alla maggior parte et alla migliore del suo regno, poichè è chiaro che la maggior parte et la migliore della nobità et persone d'autorità, è cattolica, nè può far si poco S. M^{ta} o permettere a favore di quella maledetta setta, che non disgusti i suoi sudditi cattolici, non scandalizzi il mondo et non facci grandissimo danno a se stesso et alle cose sue et reputatione propria, et così non gli riuscirà il bilanciare ; perchè un tantino di guadagno da quella banda apporterà molta et grandissima perdita da questa parte, oltre che di là non guadagnerà niente, perchè gente che non conosce Dio, che non ha disciplina nè obediencia, non solo si nutrirà sempre nel suo sospetto, ma le carezze la faranno insolente, et ogni giorno ardiranno di pretendere et dimandare qualche cosa di nuovo ne' dieci cose concesseli, saranno causa, che ricevino in buona parte la negativa di una sola, anzi più faranno i mal satisfatti, et forse permetterà Dio, per castigo che questa piacevolezza con loro sia la prima strada alla nuova perturbatione del regno, et talvolta questi saranno i primi, che si opporranno ai disegni di Sua M^{ta} e quelli che non la vorranno vedere d'autorità nè padrone assoluto. Queste così non si dicono, perchè si dubiti che il solo zelo di S. M^{ta} verso la religione cattolica non habbia da operare nella M^{ta} Sua ogni buono effetto, ma per mostrare a chi le suggerirà mali consigli per ragione di stato, che non la medesima se gli può ben rispondere, et che non solo questa verità non è oscurata da altra verità, ma bugia nessuna o falso pretesto non l'adombra, et però conviene a S. M^{ta} di

procurare d'ingrandire la religione cattolica et annichilar per quanto possono le forze sue l'heresie ; onde dovrà fuggire di concedere niente o permettere a favor loro ; et V. S. invigilarà a questo punto, et quando sentirà che si tratti cosa in lor favore et in conseguenza in pregiuditio de' Cattolici, dovrà risentirsi gagliardamente et opporsi, et parlare con il re et con i ministri vivamente, con i vescovi, con i Parlamenti et in somma con quelli, che giudicherà che possino profittare, in modo che non vadi inanzi niente, anzi procurare che si rimedii a gli errori, che si sono fatti in ciò per il passato, et particolarmente nella publicatione dell'Editto del 77 che ha dato tanto scandalo a i Cattolici et fatto una mescolanza in tutto il regno d'heresie et della loro maledetta setta, che Dio voglia che un giorno S. M^{ta} medesima se ne habbia a pentire, nè la scusa, che ella suole allegare che ha giovato alla religione cattolica, riducendola ne i luoghi dove era estinta affatto, è buona, poichè se S. M^{ta} havesse voluto, poteva far questo senza dar quella licenza a gli heretici, o almeno andar più moderato nelle concessioni a loro favorevoli, oltre che si è per la parte de gli heretici eseguita ne i luoghi cattolici esattamente, et per quella parte che faceva qualche servitio a i Cattolici, non si è mai potuto eseguire affatto, et si sono sfacciati gli heretici in molti luoghi ad opporsi sin con l'armi all' essecutione di essa, dove non faceva per loro, ne sono stati castigati conforme al merito, et i Cattolici che hanno voluto replicare, non solo sono stati castigati, ma è andato il re in persona a farli fare a suo modo. A queste cose instarà V. S. che il re rimedii in ogni maniera secondo i casi et l'occasione, et sentendo altre volte trattare di cose simili, ne doverà anco dar avviso quà, acciochè da questa parte ancora si possa applicare quel rimedio che si potrà secondo la qualità de i casi et del male.

Per mostrarsi tale S. M^{ta} quale conviene et quale si è detto di sopra di desiderare et estirpar più che si può l'heresie, non è dubio che haverà S. M^{ta} molti modi et Dio benedetto gli aprirà molte strade et V. S. secondo l'occasione gli anderà suggerendo quello che in ciò gli occorrerà. Ma N. Sig^{re} non vuole lasciare di porli in consideratione una strada facile et senza che possa partorir tumulto et che si eseguisce facilmente et fa il suo effetto con il tempo da se senz' altra coltivatione, et è quella che altre volte ha S. St^a ricordato alla M^{ta} Sua

et addottoli l'esempio di Polonia, cioè di non dar gradi ad heretici, perchè oltre che non si pongono le armi in mano de'nemici, non se gli dà occasione di far male et di sedurre i Cattolici et di vomitare il lor veleno, si accorgono che in quello stato in che si truovano, sono esclusi da i magistrato et dal governo, et pensano a i casi loro et si ritirano dalla mala via o l'esempio loro ritiene il precipitio de gli altri; l'esempio di Polonia è chiaro, poichè osservando questo buon ricordo quel re, che N. Sig^{re} essendo legato là gli diede, con questo solo ha quasi ridotto quel regno affatto cattolico, talmente che molti grandi signori et grandi heretici sono tornati al grembo di Stà Chiesa, et qui potrà anco ricordare V. S. a S. M^{ta} quello che si è detto di sopra di favorir quelli che tornano alla fede cattolica et honorarli, non facendo come ha fatto con qualche altro convertito, che gli ha levato il luogo et datolo ad un'altro heretico con scandolo universale.

Non vuole hora N. Sig^{ri} passar tant'oltre, che esorti il re espressamente a pigliar l'armi contro gli heretici, non che non lo giudicasse utile fatto con le debite circostanze, ma ricorda solo a S. M^{ta} di dar qualche sbarbazzata alle volte a costoro, perchè è turba rebelle et insolente, che procura sempre d'avanzarsi per ogni strada et via anco diretta contro il particolar servitio della M^{ta} Sua, perè ogni ardire che gli dia, potrebbe tornare in grave suo pregiudizio.

Uno de i modi di riformare il regno et augumentare la religione cattolica è il culto divino e il far buon vescovi, et però V. S. ricorderà a Sua M^{ta} et nel principio in genere et poi in particolare secondo l'occasioni, di nominare a S. Stà buoni soggetti per le chiese, persone cattoliche et lontane da ogni sospetto d'heresia et che in questa materia non habbino bisogno di dispense letterate et di buona vita et costumi et che i popoli habbiano con la loro buona fama buona opinione di essi, acciò gli portino rispetto et devotione avvertendo di non presentare persone, che sieno state heretiche o sospette, nè figlioli di heretici, perchè questi, come nati da radice infetta, fanno sospetti i suoi frutti a i sacri canoni et al mondo. Però V. S. doverà anch'essa nell'occasioni delle vacanze aprir gli occhi et avvertire che chi si tratti di nominare, et se si sentirà parlare di persona indegna, farà offitio con S. M^{ta} che non la nomini, et avviserà ancor quà le sue qualità, ponendo in consideratione alla M^{ta} Sua, oltre

le cose predette, che è ben di fuggire le occasioni di porre in necessità N. Sig^{re} di non la compiacere. Il che sarebbe forzato a fare, quando sentisse gravarsi la coscienza sopra qualche soggetto, et così le molte negative che potrebbero occorrere in simili occasioni, darebbono causa di disgusti con poca satisfattione ricordando a S. M^{tà} quello, che ha detto a me più volte, che i vescovi di Francia hanno disogno di esser letterati et predicatori. V. S. dovrà anco dire liberamente al re, che deve fuggire economati et il dar vescovadi et badie a soldati et donne in confidenza, come si è fatto per i tempi passati, perchè queste sono state le prime cause delle ruine del regno et dell'heresie, et sono cose che N. Sig^{re} non potrebbe più comportare et sarebbono di scandalo, come è di scandalo dare li possessi per vigore de i biglietti o brevetti, come si è usato l'altre volte, il che eccede i Concordati, oltre che la forma premessa da essi è hora alterata per quanto s'intende con molto pregiudizio, et quest'hoggi hanno tanta autorità che sono preferiti alle lettere apostoliche et però è necessario che S. M^{tà} se ne astenghi et proibisca che altri non facci ciò di propria autorità, et di questo particolare credo, che la M^{tà} Sua ne desse particolare intentione o promessa al sig^r card^{le} di Fiorenza, mentre fu legato in quel regno, però V. S. lo doverà tener ricordato et lasciarsi intendere secondo le occasioni.

Haverà V. S. d'haver l'occhio anco che non si eccedino ordinariamente i Concordati, et quando vedrà che si vogli passare i termini di essi, i quali sono pur troppo larghi, senza più dilatarli a favor del regno, et restringono molto l'essecutione dell'autorità apostolica in Francia, dovrà trattarne vivamente con il re et i ministri et lasciarsi intendere tanto più che sendosi promesso ciò nelle capitulationi dell'assoluzione di S. M^{tà}, la doverà aiutare. Et particolarmente si eccedono i Concordati et la forma della ragion commune nell'introduzioni et pessimo abuso degli economati, i quali contengono che mentre i vescovi et abbati nominati dal re non hanno ancora la provisione dal Papa, onde non possano usar giurisdittione alcuna, intanto il re nomina l'economo, il quale in virtù di un arresto, innanzi sia fatta la provisione apostolica amministra lo spirituale et temporale, conferisce beneficii, costituisce vicarii, che giudicano, assolvono, dispensano, come se havessero causa dal vescovo già ordinato et in legitimo

possezzo overo dalla istessa Sede Ap^{ca}. Questo abuso è passato tant'oltre che non solo pregiudica alla St^a Sede, ma è incomportabile, sichè V. S. ne informerà bene il re et farà ogni opera, perchè si tolga via. Haverà l'occhio ancora V. S. per l'osservanza de i Concordati, che il re non conferisca i benefitii vacanti in Curia, et conferendoli si opponga gagliardamente, procurando che si rivochi la sua collatione.

La giurisdittione eccl^{ca} è assai conculcata in quel regno, però V. S. dovrà raccomandarla al re, acciò non permetta che sia oppressa da i tribunali laici et dalla giurisdittione temporale, ricordandoli quel che disse N. S^{re} Gesù Christo: reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo, oltre che se i vescovi et ecclesiastici non hanno il braccio libero, per esercitare le loro armi et giurisdittione, non sono temuti et così non possono riformare il clero et le loro chiese, da che ne nasce la pace de i popoli et in conseguenza la quiete del regno, rappresentando anco a S. M^{ta} il biasmo che ricevono que' principi che occupano quello che è della Chiesa et la sua giurisdittione, et V. S. riduca a memoria a S. M^{ta} che la bontà de i re antecessori suoi privilegiorno la giurisdittione eccl^{ca} in quel regno sopra tutti gli altri regi, talmente che volendo (se mal non mi ricordo) Filippo re di Francia ritirarla, parendo che pregiudicasse alla giurisdittione reale, convocò i tribunali regii et molti de i Parlamenti et alcuni prelati et all fine non ostante le condittioni fu risoluto che si mantenesse la Chiesa in tutte le sue preheminenze, et hoggi si truova ancora stampato quello, che in questo congresso scrisse un buon card^{le} Bertrando, che serve per conoscere la pietà di quel buon re.

Sono al s^{or} card^{le} del Bufalo avvenuti alcuni casi sopra questa materia, nelli quali Dio gli ha fatto gratia, mediante la sua destrezza et resolutione, di superar le difficoltà del Parlamento et degli altri che si opponevano a tale, che pare sia la giurisdittione alquanto sormontata et avanzatasi di riputazione sopra gli avversarii. V. S. doverà continuare di mantenerla in questo stato et andarla sempre più avanzando, ma con destrezza et senza che se ne accorgano, et per via della negotiatione, più che delle minacce, potendo molto più in quella corte la diligenza et in particolare con il re, prevenendo nell'informarlo et farlo bene et con efficacia che con la forza o timore, benchè talvolta il farsi liberamente intendere non sia nocivo. Ma l'occasione ne farà conoscere alla

prudenza di lei più facilmente il tempo e l'opportunità. Queste sono le cose che V. S. avrà da ricordar a S. M^{tà} prima in generale et raccomandargli l'osservanza et l'esecuzione di esse caldamente, replicandogli poi di mano in mano secondo l'opportunità del tempo et i negotii particolari che occorreranno et l'occasione.

Restano hora alcune cose particolari da trattare con S. M^{tà}, et di quelle si diedero al vescovo di Modena et al sig^r card^{le} del Bufalo predecessori di V. S., nelle quali ancorchè si sia durato molta fatica et usato ogni diligenza, non si sono potute spedire sì per l'occupationi del trattato della pace come per la qualità de' tempi. Si fecero però molte cose buone, perciò queste et quelle che occorrono di più se gli toccano con i seguenti capi.

Preme N. Sig^{re} infinitamente in mantenere la pace nella christianità, come si può ben conoscere delle attioni passate di S. B^{ne}, et però nell'osservanza delle due paci ultime di Vervino et di Lione V. S. avrà d'invigilare particolarmente et avvisare ogni picciolo accidente che nascesse, che la potesse conturbare procurando anco per se stessa di rimediarvi, senza aspettare altro ordine potendolo fare. Vedrà di penetrar sempre in ciò l'animo del re et de'suoi ministri di maggior autorità, et tutto quello si tratti di cose di stato et avvisare in ogni capo diligentemente, sapendo ella quanto in ciò premono tutti i principi et particolarmente vi deve premere N. Sig^{re} che non desidera ciò per altro che per servitio publico et de i principi istessi et l'aiutare l'interessi loro, quando sono buoni et honesti et rimoverli et heradicarli quando sono cattivi. Però sarà bene che ella procuri di penetrare quel che si tratta con Inghilterra, con i stati di Fiandra et con i principi di Germania, quel che si facci a confini del regno, et altre cose simili. Procurarà di nutrir bene [la corrispondenza] tra le due corone di Francia et di Spagna et anco con il duca di Savoia, del quale cercherà di sapere come stia intrinsecamente con quella corona dopo l'ultima pace, invigilando tutto quello, che egli potesse trattare a quella corte, come persona che è in concetto di esser amico di cose nuove et di concetti varii et forse inquieti.

Et qui si avvertisce V. S. che una cosa può mettere in molto pericolo la conservatione della pace, che è l'intendersi, che il re permette che li molti suoi vassalli vadino a servire i stati di

Fiandra rebelli del re Cattolico et dell'arciduca Alberto et fomenta i loro interessi. Et se bene ha publicato editti in contrario, tuttavia ho inteso io in Francia, che egli sottomano ha ordinato che vi vadino, et bene se ne vede segni, perchè tiene presso di se publicamente un ambasciator loro, come se fusse d'un principe legitimo et li dà commodità di commercio non solo nel suo regno, ma li fa godere di quello di Spagna, mediante i suoi sudditi contro l'ordine di quel re. A queste cose procurerà V. S. di opporsi gagliardamente, dicendo con occasione al re che questo non solo è contra la pace di Vervino, ma contra la parola data da'suoi ambasciatori a Sua S^{tà} più volte, et ciò però esser causa di rottura senz'altro, perchè dopo una o due o tre volte il re di Spagna havrà giusto protesto di moversi per difesa delle cose sue. Ne dovrà parer strano al re che N.^{S^{re}} le calchi la mano adosso, poichè per l'osservanza della pace fa il simile con il re di Spagna, et in quest'ultima guerra di Savoia, si sà quello che ha operato per quella banda la S^{tà} Sua con l'autorità che tiene. Queste cose non dovrà V. S. proporle [ne] la prima audienza, ma scorrer qualche giorno, mostrando di haverne inteso parte là et essersene informato bene, come anco davrà fare veramente pigliandone nuove informazioni et faverà l'occasione buona, poichè potrà anco attaccarsi all'istanza che io ne feci, quando ero legato appresso Sua M^{tà}, et ne detti scrittura in occasione et mi fu promesso l'osservanza molto prontamente della pace di Vervino. V. S. di questa materia ne havrà anco una scrittura particolare. L'esempio dell'editto del commercio può fare a V. S. strada di mostrare a S.^{M^{tà}} quanto poricolo perti il tener questi modi indiretti di dar disgusto in principe con chi si ha pace, poichè questa quasi l'ha rotta, et poco è mancato, che non habbi causato una guerra. Et poichè per raccomandar l'inconveniente nato da esso si è durato tanta fatica quanta si sà, et essendosi finalmente quietato et accomodato questo punto con l'autorità di N^{ro} Sig^{re} per mezzo del sig^r card. del Bufalo, benchè nel proemio dell'accordo se ne sia dato l'honore al re d'Inghilterra per i rispetti che V. S. sà, dovrà ella procurare sempre l'osservanza et avvertire che continuandosi l'istesse cause non ponghino questi principi nell'istessi et talvolta maggiori inconvenienti, poichè non sempre riesce da un accidente fastidioso l'uscita senza rottura et ben spesso le picciole scintille accendono gran fuoco.

Invigilarà ancora un altro fastidiosissimo negotio, il quale è che essendosi lasciato tirare l'arciduca Alberto a contentarsi che si finiscino le controversie de' confini in Francia et Fiandra nascono per quello che intendiamo fastidiose differenze, dalle quali potria nascere nuova rottura. Vederà di saperle bene, et andare mollificando con il re et con i ministri questi humori, quanto sarà possibile, usando in questo liberamente il nome del Papa.

Restano ancora da eseguirsi alcune cose che furono imposte per penitenza alla Maestà Sua, le quali si crede che Sua Maestà non dovrà fuggire di farle, poichè così prontamente le ha promesse per mezzo de' suoi procuratori et ratificate con altre tante liberalità, si che oltre l'obbligo che a ciò la spinge la coscienza, vi è anco la convenienza del cavaliere et principe tale, quale è la M^{ta} Sua, che fa tanta professione di osservator della parola, che ben si crede voglia essere simile a se stesso con Dio et la sua santa Chiesa et con gli huomini. V. S. farà la sua istanza per l'essecutione di tutte queste cose et le potrà prima ricordare a Sua M^{ta} in genere et poi andarglile ponendo inanzi ciascuna secondo l'opportunità del tempo et dell'occasione non lasciando però d'instare sin che ne veda il fine.

Può ben credere V. S. che tutte queste cose fatte con l'autorità di N^{ro} Sig^{re} così solennemente desiderì Sua S^{ta} che sieno poste in essecutione et sortischino il suo effetto. Ma particolarmente brama sopra modo Sua S^{ta} che si eseguisca quella promessa di pubblicare il concilio di Trento come cosa che stima Sua S^{ta} et lo crede universalmente ognuno che debba essere l'unico mezzo della riforma della Francia, che sia per tor via gli abusi et l'ignoranza nel clero, introdurre la riforma de i costumi et estirpare le heresie. Qui V. S. ha da fare l'esperienza del suo valore, della volontà del re et dell'autorità di N^{ro} Sig^{re}, perchè Sua S^{ta} è risoluta di fare ogni cosa per guadagnarla et vincerla, et V. S. non ha mai da abbandonar questo negotio sino che non l'abbia ridotto in porto, ma instare appresso il re et ministri, si del consiglio come del parlamento, insomma bussare ogni porta et tentare ogni via per superare le difficoltà che ci possono essere, et dopo haver accordato a Sua Maestà tante promesse fattele per mezzo dell'assolutione del sig^r card^{le} di Forenza, de'tutti i suoi ambasciatori, ultimamente quando io mi licentiai da Sua M^{ta} mi promise di sua bocca di eseguirlo in termine di

due mesi et hora sono passati gli anni. Et se Sua M^{ta} si scusarà con dire che si è trattenuta l'essecutione della pace, ecco che questa è finita, ne ci è più tal scusa, faccilo hora. Oltre a questo ha mostrato Sua M^{ta} che le cose contenute nel Concilio non le dispiacciono, che conosce che son cose utilissime alla Chiesa. Potrà porre in consideratione che ha sempre sonato male negli orecchi degl'huomini, che il regno di Francia, che si vendica il nome di difensore della Chiesa, ricusi di ricevere un Concilio universale, celebrato con tanta solennità et ricevuto da tutto il mondo; che però molta gloria apporterà alla Maestà Sua il levar questa nota dal suo regno et apportargli tanto utile, quanto caverà dall'usarle in esso gli ottimi documenti et decreti che nel detto Concilio si contengono, dalli quali riceverà notabilissimo giovamento, perchè si riformarà il clero secolare et regolare, il quale riformato risplenderà tanto più se si levaranno molti abusi; et in somma sarà ciò utile alle cose di stato, perchè con questa tranquillità, che riceverà il clero, si quietaranno mediante la riforma de i buoni costumi molti humori, et le cose si ridurranno a maggior' obbedienza della M^{ta} Sua, perchè in somma, come le cose della religione vanno quiete, vanno similmente quiete quelle dello stato, ne si possono conturbar quelle, che non si rivoltino ancora queste, anzi il principio delle mutationi di stato è la mutatione della religione. Il re Filippo 2^o di Spagna morto pochi anni sono, ha premuto straordinariamente all'osservanza del Concilio, et questo perchè oltre di far opera di re cattolico, conosceva che gli rendeva i sudditi pacifici et obbedienti, et è ciò seguito con molta sua lode, anzi haveva per male che i Papi ci dispensassero. Tutta la difficoltà di questo negotio è che sono persuasi in Francia falsamente che i decreti del Concilio pregiudichino a molti privilegii, che presuppongono di havere nelle loro chiese, et consuetudini, per non dire abusi, quali non vogliono perdere, opinione che è falsa, perchè il Concilio in quasi tutti i suoi decreti, levati i canoni pertinenti ai dogmi, non tratta d'altro che della riforma del clero et s'intromette in poche altre cose che in controversie tra i vescovi et i capitoli et nella riforma particolare de i regolari et cose tutte concernenti lo spirituale mero, poco toccante anco le cose forensi di esso. Facci Sua Maestà questa nobile attione, et se tocca contradittione, la superi con l'autorità sua et sua sola sarà questa gloria.

Ben lo sa fare Sua Mtà quando vuole et chiude la bocca al parlamento, publichi insomma di Concilio in ogni maniera, et poi veda le gratie che vuole il regno da N. Sig^{te}, che troverà la mano di Sua Stà pronta per ogni conveniente satisfattione et dissingannisi ognuno, che questa publicatione non apporta alle cose più forza di quello che hanno ne la doverebbono tanto stirarla. Qui è una congregatione del Concilio che l'interpreta quando bisogna secondo l'opportunità del tempo et qualità de i casi.

In somma bisogna che V. S. s'affatichi di levar questa opinione da gli huomini che la publicatione di questo sacro Concilio habbia da esser la destruttione de i privilegi di Francia. Finalmente istare et con le buone con pregarne instantissimamente il re, et con dolersi che non sia osservata la parola, servirsi dell'uno et dell'altro di questi mezzi, come V. S. li troverà più utili et maggiormente profitte voli, perchè Sua Stà vuol vedere il fine di questa cosa in ogni modo et però non lascerà mai mentre viverà di battere questo chiodo.

Doverà V. S. mentre non segue questa publicatione nell' essercitatione che farà a i vescovi che riformino i loro cleri et diocesi essortarli particolarmente a far visite et celebrare i sinodi diocesani et provinciali et far seminarii con i quali il clero con queste nuove piante, che potriano anche esser de' nobili, facilmente torneria nel suo pristino splendore, et in essi servirsi per norma et regola di queste funtionì, et per stabilir bene le cose che ordinaranno, di valersi dico de i medesimi decreti del sacro Concilio, il quale, se mal non mi ricordo, gli stessi heretici hanno protestato di haver visto et non haverci trovato che gli offendi, et forse mons. de Diou l'ha publicamente attestato, et così tacitamente andarlo ponendo in uso più che si può, et questo lo potrà V. S. procurare destramente, acciò si facci senza che apparisca, et con i vescovi potrà trattarne oretenus et con lettere private, et prima con quelli che sono migliori eccⁱ più riformati et più devoti della Stà Sua et meglio intentionati, per mover poi gli altri con l'esempio del frutto di questi, et di questi ce ne sono esempi di vescovi che lo fanno, come quello d'Aire.

Con questa occasione si avvertisce V. S. che i predicatori in Francia entrano talvolta troppo facilmente nelle cose di stato per censurarle et riprenderle, et se bene se sono mal fatte, si devono lasciare, tuttavia l'interesse de i principi non comporta

che se ne parli sopra il pulpito, et avviene spesso che la Chiesa ne riceve degli incontri, poichè sdegnati i superiori, si cacciano dalle città et danno occasione di rottura con scandalo de' buoni. Sarà però opera della destrezza et prudenza di V. S. di moderarli in maniera che non paia che se le tolga la libertà del predicare, ne meno che si permetta, che troppo indiscretamente usino del loro zelo, et V. S., vede, che ciò in Italia si fa assai acconciamente, si che poche volte ne succede inconveniente alcuno.

Appresso il negotio del Concilio ne viene un'altro che ha premuto molto a N. Sig^{re} et è quello del ritorno de' padri Gesuiti in Francia, et questo per gratia di Dio, si è spuntato, perchè il re gli ha non solo permesso che ritornino, ma gli ha fatto et fa molte carezze, in modo tale che due cose sole restano da desiderare al presente dall'opera di V. S. in questo negotio: una è di procurare che in quei luoghi ove questi padri non sono rimessi si rimettano, l'altra che in nome di Sua Santià lodi al re questa sua buona resolutione, procurando sempre di renderlo bene affetto alla Compagnia, con rappresentare opportunamente alla Maestà Sua il frutto che questi padri fanno per tutto il mondo, in aumento della religione cattolica, et quanto siano utili per il temporale et spirituale, perchè con l'esempio della vita et con le prediche et altri esercitii ecc^{ci} sono utili allo spirituale, insegnano le buone lettere et scienze a i giovani, tengono indietro le heresie; gli eretici stessi in Germania mandano i figlioli alle schole de' Gesuiti. Che l'opere poi di questa Compagnia non siano utili al mondo non si può negare, et a V. S. che ne è ben informata per il tempo longo che è stato in Roma, non occorre dirne altro, ma saprà rappresentarle a Sua M^{tà} in confirmatione et lode della resolutione presa da Sua M^{tà} nel ritorno concesso alli stessi padri, et ricordare al re che hora esprimerà quanto sia vero quello che N. Sig^{re} tante volte gli scrisse in questa materia.

Di più, quando fu ferito S. M^{tà}, fu fatto un'arresto dalla corte di parlamento et scritto pubblicamente in una colonna in Parigi, che vi è ancora, con parole hereticali et contra la Chiesa et utorità di N. Sig^{re}, che pone in dubbio anco l'assolutione del re; se si considera bene, questo mi ha promesso di far levare S. M^{tà} V. S. ne procurerà et solleciterà l'espeditone in ogni modo.

Nostro Sig^{re} ha desiderato sommamente di poter fare una

volta qualche cosa per tor via il nido, che hanno gli heretici in Ginevra, come quella che è asilo di quanti apostati fuggono d'Italia et è la Babilonia dell'heresie ; et se non si può convertire affatto, almeno introdurvi l'essercitio della religione cattolica. A questo può infinitamente aiutare il re di Francia, anzi se la dovrebbe pigliare Sua Mtà per impresa particolare et propria. Sin hora vi è stata la scusa che la corona di Francia per la necessità del passo de'Suizzeri teneva la protezione di quella città, ne voleva permettere che s'innovasse da persona veruna niente ; hora questo pretesto cessa : perchè Sua Mtà con l'acquisto fatto con la pace di Lione ha circondato Ginevra et dilatato il confine sino a i Suizzeri, onde non ha più bisogno di passar le genti che li occorresse condurre di quel paese per il passo di Ginevra et la città confinante seco, et in mezzo delle sue fortezze sta tanto soggetta hora a Sua Mtà, che farà sempre quello che la Mtà Sua vorrà. Porrà V. S. in consideratione a Sua Mtà che con introdurvisi la religione cattolica, non si contradice alla protezione, et si leva il pretesto ad altri di assalirla, et si farebbe un notabilissimo servitio a Dio, et grandissimo piacere à Sua Stà. V. S. ricordi, et promova questa cosa, et avvertisca, che dopo haver veduto quelli huomini esser così circondati da Francesi, hanna cominciato a sospettar di loro che se ne vogliano impadronire, et forse ce n'è stato qualche concetto, almeno di stringerla a poco a poco in maniera che si renda come suddita. Sarà offitio di V. S. d'invigilar tutti i motivi, che si fanno in questa materia, così de i disegni de' Francesi come de i pensieri de'Ginevrini, per avvisar continuamente N. Sig^{re} per quello potesse occorrere così alle cose di religione come di stato.

N. Sig^{re} quando si trattava della restitutione del marchesato di Saluzzo per Sua Mtà [chiese] che di quà da i monti non si permetterebbe esercitio alcuno d'heresia ne vi si terrebbe predicatori heretici. Nella pace di Lione è rimasto alla Mtà Sua Castel Delfino in Italia di qua da i monti, dove è stato posto un heretico per governatore. Sua Stà non vuole comportare, che le sia mancato della parola, massime in cosa che può introdurre l'heresia in Italia ; V. S. sturi l'orecchi al re sopra di questo, et dica che non admetterà scusa nessuna. In Borgo in Bressa hanno ancora posto governatore un heretico et pur mi promise il re di porvelo cattolico. Dice il re che questo modo darà fastidio a i Cattolici, ma questa non è

buona risposta che già si sà, che non li amazzarà ne farà atti hostili, ma li uccide con l'esempio et con la conversatione et con prometter libertà di coscienza et far predicare all'Ugonotta, et in vero di queste cose ogn'uno si scandalizza grandemente et di esse V. S. ne parli con'ogni libertà sino che ella ne cavi il rimedio.

Le cose del Bearne, che è quella parte di Navarra che possiede Sua M^{ta}, hanno molto bisogno di esser aiutate per la religione cattolica. Il re nell'assolutione promise di rimettervi l'esercitio cattolico, et ne ha fatto due vescovi di buona vita per l'informatione, che io hebbi a Lione, ma le cose loro et della Chiesa sono conculcate da gli heretici et da i parlamenti. V. S. ne terrà particolar protettione, et in ogni occasione promuoverà l'interessi di quei Cattolici. Et questo sarà uno de i luoghi da poter far frutto con le missioni, di ciò se le daranno alcuni ricordi a parte, secondo i quali ella dovrà far gli offitii necessarii.

S'intende anco che quelli che ebbero provisioni Apostoliche in tempo della Lega con la raccomandatione del duca d'Umena, come usava all'hora questa corte, sono stati spogliati di fatto, et che restano molti di loro privi d'ogni bene dolendosi della fede di questa S. Sede. Quando fu fatta l'assolutione del re i suoi procuratori diedero ferma intentione a N.S. che ci sarebbe havuto consideratione, et trovato temperamento. V. S. si chiarisca bene, che non siano gride di genti querule et male intentionate, ma quando trovvi che sia qualche cosa di momento, gli aiuti con il re, et procuri se le dia qualche satisfattione, et avvisi anco quà, bene informata, quello che si potesse fare in questa materia.

V. S. sa che la Sede Apostolica tiene uno stato molto bello in Francia et è quello d'Avignone et contado Venayssino, del quale è molto gelosa S. S^{ta} et desidera non solo la conservatione di esso, ma che quei popoli siano ben trattati in ogni conto. Hanno molte occorrenze alla corte di Francia, come quelli che sono nel mezzo di quel regno, et però è solito che ricorrono tal volta a chi rappresenta la persona del Papa in quel regno, sia Nuntio o Legato. V. S. però in ogni occasione li dovrà proteggere et favorire nelle cose giuste, come sarà offitio suo invigilar quello potesse occorrere in quel stato, il quale dovrà raccomandare al re, come cosa cara a Sua S^{ta} et ricordarsi a ordinare ai suoi ministri in quei confini, che s'intendino bene con i ministri

della S^{tà} Sua et faccino a loro, et a quei popoli buona vicinanza et trattamento, et in particolare desidera Sua S^{tà}, che il re li faccia piacere di tener lontano di quel stato gli heretici, et sicome l'ha essortato a non se servir di loro, così lo prega efficacemente, a farlo in particolare in quei confini, perchè sari un porre i nimici scopertamente appresso alla Sede Apostolica, et necessitarla a spese insopportabili.

N.S^{re} tiene protettione della religione di Malta, come quella che non dipende da principi, ma è immediatamente sottoposta alla Sede Apostolica. Per questo, et perchè si esercita nelle guerre contro infedeli, Sua S^{tà} gli porge volentieri ogni aiuto. Ella ha molti interessi in Francia; se i ministri ricorreranno talvolta a V. S., li proteggerà et aiuterà, facendolo anco da se, dove vedrà il bisogno et l'opportunità.

Da quattro anni in quà, si è inteso che gli eletti all'arcivescovati nel regno di Francia stanno senza pigliare il pallio conforme alli decreti de sacri canoni, di modo che esercitando, incorrono in irregolarità. Sarà affitio di V. S. di avvertirli, et per hora gli si notificano due, che sono l'arcivescovo di Sans et il Bituricense, a quali scriverà subito giunta in Parigi, ammonendoli di questo errore, et operando che ricorrono quà, et per il pallio, et per l'assolutione dell'irregolarità, havendo essercitato Pontificalia senza di esso, et poi di mano in mano farà il medesimo con gli altri arcivescovi quando saprà che si trovino nell'istesso mancamento per levare questo abuso che veramente sarebbe grandissimo quando si lasciasse andare avanti trascuratamente.

Le cose d'Inghilterra dopo la morte della pseudo regina et ascensione del re di Scotia al regno hanno mutato faccia, massime con la pace seguita tra il re di Spagna et il medesimo re, con la quale ha sempre N. Sig^{re} sperato, et spera di fare qualche cosa a beneficio della religione cattolica in quel regno, per la quale ha procurato S.S^{tà} di far parlare a quel re con il mezzo d'ambasciatori de' principi che sono andati a rallegrarsi seco della sua essaltatione. Alcuni non hanno trovato buona la congiuntura di parlarne, altri ne hanno parlato et trovato l'animo del re assai mite et benevole verso i Cattolici et non diffidono dell'acquisto del re, se si tratterà seco con piacevolezza. S.S^{tà} intende anco il negotio per questo verso et però ha ordinato et ricordato sempre che i Cattolici vivano quieti et che i torbolenti che possono nuocere a gli altri grande-

mente o che si quietino o che si levino di là, perchè il re veda, che non se gli vuol turbare il regno, ma sibbene conservarglielo con l'acquisto della salute dell'anima, se è possibile. Però V. S. che intende qual sia l'animo di Sua B^{ne} in questi affari, si conformerà con esso in tutte le occasioni che gli si presenteranno di trattare.

Il medesimo re d'Inghilterra tiene un ambasciatore a Parigi con il quale il sig^r card^{le} del Bufalo, suo predecessore, aveva qualche amicitia; V. S. la continuerà et tratterà seco con dolcezza et benignità, instillando di continuo nell'animo suo la buona volontà di Sua B^{ne} verso il suo re, et che non cerca et non cercherà mai altro, come si è detto, che la salute dell'anima sua. Delle cose poi di quel regno V. S. procurerà di haverne avvisi continuamente et li comunicherà quà con ogni diligenza, aprendosi la strada con essi et con tener corrispondenza con quei Cattolici, ma in modo di non dare gelosia, per poter andare promovendo la religione et aiutando i Cattolici; talvolta lo può far anco V. S. con il mezzo del re di Francia, mostrandole all'occasione qualche confidenza, benchè se vi fusse trattato secreto, bisognerebbe andare circospetta per la facilità del parlare et per l'interessi; ma ci vorrebbe molta destrezza, per non dar occasione di diffidenza, et dall'altra parte non scoprire, se bene il pregarlo spesso, et all'occasione di andar sempre per mezzo dell'ambasciatore che Sua M^{tà} tiene là, promovendo la religione et favorendo i Cattolici, sarà buono modo per tutti i rispetti et se en caverà buon frutto. Ne meno frutto caverà V. S. dalla pratica suddetta introdotta con l'ambasciatore d'Inghilterra coltivandola con destrezza et senza scandalo, nella maniera che faceva il s^s card^{le} del Bufalo, poichè per mezzo di essa torrà via la gelosia delle cose di stato al re d'Inghilterra, et si aprirà la strada di trattare talvolta seco, et potrebbe venirle fatto d'introdurre tal negotiatione, che fusse poi molta sua gloria di havere incominciato, et buttato seme per riunir quel re et regno con la S^{tà} Sede, che sarebbe il maggior frutto che ella potesse cavare dalle sue fatiche.

Si è lasciato all'ultimo il negotio, che preme molto a N. S^{re}, non perchè ella lo tratti dopo a gli altri o con meno calore, ricercando anzi la qualità di esso, che vi si riscaldi molto più, ma perchè è straordinario et fuor de'negotii della Nuntiatura. Ha pensiero N. S^{re} d'incaminare una lega de'prencipi christiani

contra il Turco, et pensa Sua Stà che le prime colonne, che sostenghino questa macchina siano il Re Christianissimo, et il Re Cattolico, come quelli che sono stati favoriti dalla bontà de Dio di maggior forza et potenza, oltra che gli altri prencipi mirano sempre a questi et dalla mossa loro muovono anco se stessi. Ha fatto già muover parola di ciò S. Stà con l'uno et con l'altro. Nel re di Francia ha trovato buoni spiriti, se bene ha mosso alcune difficoltà ; vuole però N. Sre che V. S. tocchi di ciò qualche cosa alla Mtà Sua et a quei ministri, de chi più si fida, et veda se può attaccar negotio et incaminar questa prattica, la quale prima che succedesse l'ultima guerra di Savoia, era già in piedi et si trattava qua dall'ambasciatore Sillery in nome di S. Mtà, et il re di Spagna haveva ordinato al suo ambasciatore che entrasse anco esso in trattato con quello di Cesare, ma l'accidente di quella guerra turbò il tutto. Io ne parlai al re in Lione et si mostrò inclinato, et come è desideroso di gloria, come se le tocca questo tasto, ne sente parlar volentieri, ma pone difficoltà et a mio giuditio con questa occasione vorrebbe fare qualche altro fatto suo. V. S. procurarà di riattaccare il trattato, dicendoli che N. Sre non abandona di trattare con gli altri. Et per persuadere S. Mtà a questo, oltre l'esempio de' suoi maggiori, che hanno in ciò acquistato tanta gloria, et fatto professione di esser non solo scudo ma braccio et la spada della Christianità contra l'infedeli, il che li giovarà molto ce lo deve anco spingere l'obbligo che ha in particolare la Mtà Sua con Dio, et con la Chiesa di fare qualche attione segnalata per essa, et per l'augmento della stà fede, et si stima che di ciò glie ne tornerà commodo perchè sarà questa una delle vie di purgare il regno di qualche male humore che resta in esso et mantenerlo in pace, perchè essendo quei popoli per sua natura inclinati alla guerra et a cose nuove, come non hanno da essercitarsi fuori di casa, è facil cosa che turbino la publica quiete, oltre che è vergogna di re di tanto sapere et prudenza et soldato di tanto valore, non spenda il suo talento in acquistarsi tanta gloria et si gran merito, et non si segnali con la Christianità.

Alle volte rispondeva il re, che vedeva troppo vecine le armi di Spagna per la guerra d'Inghilterra et di Fiandra ; hora la prima è cessata, et la seconda cessarebbe forse con il mezzo et autorità di Sua Maestà, se facesse quello di che

N. Sig^{re} più volte nè è stato pregato et hora s'intende che il contestabile di Castiglia habbia fatto l'istesso et sarebbe sua gloria, et V. S. dovrà procurare, oltre che talvolta può succedere che quei popoli, stanchi dal soffrir sì lunga guerra, si accomodino molto facilmente con Spagnoli, et massime vedendo a ciò pronta la volontà del re d'Inghilterra, anco senza S. M^{tà} ed ecco non pur levati gli ostacoli che già diceva la M^{tà} Sua impedirgli questo pensiero, ma pacificato il re di Spagna, che non so qual cosa le possi dar più da pensare, o quella guerra o questa pace, et pur la pace è necessaria et buona et utile per la Christianità, ne si può impedire, anzi sempre procurare per ogni mezzo ; et V. S. dovrà così fare a tale che non vi resti quasi più sicuro modo di levar le gelosie, che il voltar la podestà del re di Spagna contra il Turco, et attaccarlo ad una guerra giusta, pia et utile, ma non meno lunga et grave da tener lontano i pensieri di quel principe da qualsivoglia novità da quest'altra parte, che turbi la quiete che la Christianità hora si gode. Questo ha procurato et procura N. S^{re} tuttavia, et se Sua M^{tà} lo aiuterà, spera le venghi fatto. Ma non per questo deve lasciare V. S. di trattar la unione commune de i principi con la compagnia di Sua M^{tà}, et quando rinscisse di concludere questa lega, non potrà nascere tra i principi collegati molte dissentione se si fa ciò ; perchè l'animo di Sua S^{tà} è che si dividano et ogn'uno da se assalti l'inimico per la parte che gli tocca et la lega non servirà ad altro, che di farlo unitamente tutti ad un tempo, per dar maggior botta all'inimico et non si abbandonar l'uno l'altro, ma seguitare insieme sino all'estermínio dell'avversario, se Dio ci volesse fare questa gratia. Ma perchè le difficoltà di unire questi due potentati a questa impresa sono stimate quasi insuperabili, almeno con la prestezza che sarebbe necessaria, si è voltato N. S^{re} per adesso al re di Spagna solo, si per far più presto, come per le cause sudette, et ha operato Dio per mezzo dell'istanza di Sua B^{ne} che il Re Cattolico habbia detto di essere disposto ad abbracciarla con le proprie forze, et con esse, et con quelle che li potrà dare Sua S^{tà} et questa Santa Sede muover la guerra al Turco. Ma vuole prima che la S^{tà} Sua facci in modo che il re di Francia non lo sturbi, cioè che mentre Sua Maestà Cattolica si truova impegnata in questa guerra, il Christianissimo non glie la rompa l'attione di modo che la

somma di tutto questo negotio, che è di tanta importanza alla Christianità, si riduca hoggi a questo assicuramento. Per il che Sua B^{ne} scrive di sua mano una lunoa lettera alla M^{ta} Christianissima, della quale le si da copia a V. S. perchè veda le ragioni che devono muovere Sua M^{ta} che se non vuole entrare in questa lega, almeno non deve sturbar gli altri che pigliano a fare una impresa che è stata sempre propria della natione francese. Et se bene dalla pietà et bontà di un tale et tanto re non si può credere che vogli levare al Christianesimo si gran beneficio, quanto è quello che si può ricevere dalla resolutione del Re Cattolico, tuttavia asserveramento ci vuole ; qual poi questo debba essere, lo consideri Sua M^{ta} con la molta prudenza sua. Sovveniva a Sua B^{ne} che havendo il Re alcune galere già in ordine, le mandasse a questa impresa et se Sua M^{ta} avesse riguardo all'amicitia che ha quella corona con il Turco, potrebbe accomodarle alla S^{ta} Sua, a spese però di Sua M^{te}, affinchè servissero sotto nome di S. M^{ta} et dal suo regno. Queste et altre ragioni si contengono nella lettera di Sua S^{ta}, delle quali V. S. si valerà per persuadere al re di dare questo assecuramento. Ne delle minori ragioni sarà quella di rappresentare a S. M^{ta} che mentre il Re Cattolico starà occupato in questa guerra, assicura il Christianissimo le cose sue, et del suo regno di tutto quello, si potesse tentare dalle forze di Spagna contro di essa. V. S. rappresenti il negotio a Sua M^{ta} con l'affetto che ricerca l'importanza sua et avvisi quello, che ritrarrà bisognando in diligenza.

Queste sono le cose, che per hora sovengono d'incacciare a V. S. ricordandogli di nuovo d'invigilare le cose di stato et avvisarle minutamente et occorrendo non risparmi il spedir anco corrieri espressi ricordandosegli sempre il scrivere spesso. Per il che anco se le danno due cifre, una per se sola da usar con me et l'altra è comune da potersi intendere con gli altri nuncii in caso di bisogno per servitio di Sua S^{ta} et di negotii et di queste se ne potrà servire nelle cose più gravi et secrete. Il modo di trattare con il re : egli è di natura spiri'osa et vivace, et ancorchè sia allevato su le guerre, sa però de negotii più che non mostra, ma si serve del sapere et del suo mostrar di vivere a caso secondo gli torna commodo. È necessario andar seco con destrezza perchè è sospettoso, et acquistarsi con la maniera (como si

suol dire) la mano, in modo che egli non si stracchi in prima vista, et tanto più in quanto il fare il fatto suo senza rompere ne porre il suo prencipe alle mani appresso di che l'uomo si truova, è sempre il più lodato modo quando si può, et è tanto più necessaria questa destrezza con i corpi infermi, con i quali è pericoloso usare i medicamenti violenti. Ma nondimeno, non bisogna al re dar la briglia sul collo, anzi più tosto stringerlo qualche volta et parlarli liberamente, poichè si rimette con chi li parla libero et mostra non temere altrimenti, se egli guadagna la mano in ciò et pensa di far cagliar gli altri, se ne vale con artificio, come fa anco nell'osservanza delle cose promesse, poichè procura di scapparne sempre con qualche scusa et attacco, quando non ha volontà di fare qualche cosa.

V. S. dunque avverà di stringerlo a quello che prometterà, in maniera che non gli resti porta aperta, perchè ogni scusa gli è buona talvolta et qualche sbrigliata modestamente et con destrezza a luogo et tempo non è totalmente nociva, come è anco il lodarlo, poichè se ne compiace, ne è mal verso il mostrare che le cose che se li propongono, stanno bene al suo interesse. Insomma andar mescolando il dolce con il brusco, ma in maniera che non si offenda. Et questo si dice per dar notitia a V. S. di quello si sà di quà. Ella poi con la sua prudenza et pratica andará pigliando quel verso che giudicherà più opportuno, lasciandosi totalmente nell'arbitrio suo questo punto del modo di trattare, sì perchè è circospetta et destra, come perchè si deve deferir molto a chi è presente. Con la qual destrezza potrà ancora talvolta pigliar occasione di esortare la M^{ta} Sua a vivere christianamente, frequentare i ss^{mi} sacramenti et scostarsi da quelle cose che danno scandalo al mondo et offendono Dio, et insomma ella cercherà sempre di trattar con dolcezza, vedendo che questo è stato un corpo quasi morto et che bisogna andar rattivando al meglio et con la maggior prudenza che si può.

Si danno a V. S. oltre i brevi per il re et la regina molti altri per diversi principi et prelati. Si rimette a V. S. il presentarli tutti o parte, secondo vedrà sia necessario far con loro complimento, et se questi sono pochi, se ne gli da in bianco ancor tutti che potranno supplire et per cavalieri, et per prelati.

Particolar complimento dovrà V. S. fare con i ministri più

principali et intrinsechi, per tenerli bene affetti verso questa S^{ta} Sede et a se stessa per rispetto de'negotii, mostrandoli che N. S^{re} li ama et confida nella loro pietà et autorità. Oltre di questi il s^{or} card^{le} Gondi et gli altri ecc^{ci} dovranno esser trattati da lei in modo che si possino persuadere, che si habbia confidenza con loro, come con tutti quelli che ella conoscerà alla giornata dover tenere buona corrispondenza, avvertendo però di andar sempre cauta nel fidarsi, usando i Francesi di porre sotto gente et farle acquistar confidenza per penetrar l'animo altrui, non però disprezzando nissuno, anzi procurando di acquistarsi et farsi anco amorevoli quelli che non lo fussero.

V. S. dunque si spedirà quanto prima, et procurara di fare presto il viaggio, perchè Sua S^{ta} spera molto dell'assistenza di V. S. a quei negotii, et però l'accompagna con la santa beneditione et io gli priego felice viaggio. Dat. etc.¹

Il card. Aldobrandini.

[Min. orig. Barb. lat. 5815, p. 27 : copy from Cod. QI. 16 Chig., Vatican Library, and from Cod. LI.F. 1, p. 73 s. of the Corsini Library in Rome.]

46. A CONSPECTUS OF THE ALMS OF POPE CLEMENT VIII.

In codex G III-78 of the Biblioteca Chigi (Vatican Library) at p. 309 is to be found *Ragguaglio di tutte l'elemosine ordinarie et straord. dell'elmo^{re} ord^o come segreto dato al card. Capponi quando era tesoriere from which I gathered the following :

Il solito è stato sempre che al principio del pontificato si distribuiscono 4000 scudi per elemosina a luoghi pii et altri poveri di Roma dall'elem^{re} ord^o ; che prima era il s. Giov. Baddei di bo. me. e doppo la sua morte in suo luogo fu deputato Paolo Morelli da P. Clemente VIII.

Questa elemosina cominciò a farsi al tempo della s. m. di Pio V in luogo di quel banchetto che si faceva ai sig^{ri} card^{li} nel principio del pontificato alla coronatione e così è seguito sin hoggi.

P. Innoc. IX. l'augmentò sin a 4600 scudi qual si distribuirno al principio del suo pontificato.

P. Clemente VIII. diede scudi 4000 sec. l'ord^o et ha con-

¹ The exact date is wanting, but the Instruction certainly belongs to the year 1604, and not as Ranke (III. 6, doc. 84) says to 1603.

² See *supra*, p. 31.

tinuato tutte l'altre solite elemosine, distribuite dal medesimo P. Morelli cioè scudi 400 di moneta ogni mese et scudi 500 d'oro in oro quattro volte l'anno (Natale, Pasqua, Coronatione et S. Pietro e Paolo).

Di più faceva distribuire per il suo elem^{re} segreto ch'era il sig. Girolamo Abbrusca scudi 1200 d'oro in oro e 1200 di moneta ogni mese a diversi luoghi pii et de più faceva distribuire altre elemosine extraordinarie in grosse somme alla giornata come gli piaceva.

Et tutto il denaro ord^o et extraord. si paga dell'entrate dell'Dataria eccetto li primi 4000 scudi di moneta, che si pagano dalla Camera Apostolica.

47. THE ALDOBRANDINI FAMILY ARCHIVES IN ROME.

The view that all the acta of the secretariate of state of Clement VIII. went to the Borghese archives, is only true as regards the main part of them. As has already been pointed out *supra* (p. 57 note) some part of them is to be found in other collections, as in the Doria archives.¹ A collection of acta, in a certain sense plentiful, is also to be found in the family archives at the Palazzo Aldobrandini, Rome. When in 1901 I was able to avail myself of this collection I used the "Indice alfabetico dell'Archivio di S. E. il sig. A. Camillo de Principi Borghese, Principe Aldobrandini, redatto dall'arcivista Francesco Antonio Vannarelli" (3 folio vols. 1841).²

The principal part of the archivium consists of family papers, some of which relate to an earlier period in the history of the Aldobrandini. For the time of Clement VIII. of particular interest are the letters to Gian Francesco Aldobrandini and Olimpia Aldobrandini the elder, as well as the papers concerning donations made by the Pope to his nephews.³ These family papers continue through later pontificates. Plentiful material is to be found there for the celebrated Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati,⁴ though I must point out that as to this certain documents are missing. There is also

¹ See following document, No. 48.

² See BROM, *Archivalia in Italia*, Haag, 1914, xviii.

³ See *supra*, p. 53, and documents 25, 31, 35.

⁴ See Vol. XXIV. of this work, pp. 496 *seq.* Of the antiquities possessed by the Aldobrandini in the time of Clement VIII. we find information in t. 54, n. 24, "Inventario dei mobili di Palazzo di villa Belvedere fatto per ordine del card. Negroni, amministratore deputato al patrimonio Aldobrandini da N.S. 1766." This enumerates 62 statue, teste and bassorelievi, but of the 62 statues 11 numbers are missing.

missing volume 246 of Index 6, which bore the title of " Palazzo di villa Aldobrandini in Roma."

In t. 43, n. 35, there is to be found a list, unfortunately undated, of the revenues of Cardinal P. Aldobrandini, from which it appears that he, from his abbey, which were worth 30,299,25 scudi, only received 17,433,57 $\frac{1}{2}$ scudi, because each abbey had other burdens.

Thus for example the abbey of Tre Fontane had a revenue of 8000 scudi, of which the Cardinal received 3000 scudi. The same was the case with the abbey of Fossanova (2120 scudi instead of 3280)¹; S. Maria di Castiglione in the diocese of Parma (2850 scudi instead of 4000); S. Celso at Milan (1574 scudi instead of 3250); S. Maria e S. Matteo at Imola (1630 instead of 2496).

The following accounts tell us of the domestic expenditure of the Cardinal.

Somma di tutte le entrate libere.

Entrata libera sopra l'abbatie	sc. 17 433,56 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pensioni sop. div. chiese in Spagna et Italia ..	7 364,15
Segnatura de brevi	1 560
Distributioni del capello	300
Tratta di regno	200
Monte Sisto luoghi 17	175
Entrata perpetua di Carpineto	2 000

sc. 29 032,71 $\frac{1}{2}$

Entrate ad tempus.

Provisioni di palazzo d'un anno	sc. 5 040
Rocca di Perugia	528
Governo et tratte di Fermo	10 000
Legatione di Ferrara	14 400
Governo di Nepi et d'altri luoghi	600

sc. 30 568

¹ Two inscriptions bear witness to the interest taken by the Cardinal in this Abbey, which have not yet been published: the first is on a pilaster in the beautiful church, and runs: " Huius aedis maiorem partem, turrin ietu fulminis deiectas Petrus card. Aldobrandinus Clementis VIII P.M. fratris filius, huius monasterii perpet. commendatarius restituit A sal, MDXCV." The second is on the well in the cloister: " Petrus card. Aldobrandinus Clement VIII P.M. ex tratre nepos perpet. commendatarius restauravit Ann. sal. MDC."

Debito.

Censo	sc. 40 000
Censo sopra la Villa	„ 3 700
Giardino	„ 3 500
Si devono alla Camera per grano	„ 800
A diversi in più somme	„ 1 000
	sc. 49 000

Li condotti della Vigna si possono anco mettere per debito
sc. 3000.

Debiti annui.

Frutto del censo di 40 ^m sc.	sc. 2 800
„ del censo della Villa	„ 259
„ a Cecchino del Nero	„ 800
	sc. 3 859

Spesa annua per la casa.

Pane per bocche 140 rub. 260 et rub. 10 per straordin ^o	sc. 1 890
Vino botte 160	„ 2 500
Companatici	„ 2 236
Salarii	„ 1 224
Provisione ordin ^a alla Sr ^a [madre]	„ 900
„ a Mgr. Agocchi	„ 720
„ alli tre fratelli Bolognesi	„ 700
Tavola et tinello compreso olio et ogni altra cosa a ragione di 300 sc. il mese	„ 3 600
Banchetti	„ 500
Candele di sevo	„ 200
Legna et carbone	„ 1 200
Vestire del sig. card ^{le}	„ 500
„ della famiglia	„ 2 000
Guardarobba compresi ogni sorta di materitie	„ 500
Fieno some 1500	„ 900
Paglia some 500	„ 250
Biada rub. 500	„ 1 000
Stalla, ferramenti et sellari, cocchi et carrozze	„ 500
Razza	„ 500
Vigne et Giardini	„ 500
Mancie et donativi	„ 600
Straordinarii che occurrano alla giornata	„ 1 000
	sc. 23 920

Ristretto.

Entrata universale deve dare alle pensione

sop. l'abbatie	sc.	5 190,50
Alli pesi perpetui dell'abbatie	„	2 638,90
Alle fabbriche et elemosine	„	5 036,28½
Alli debiti sodetti annui	„	3 859
alla spesa annua della casa	„	23 920

sc. 40 644,68½

Entrata universale deve havere „ 72 466,40

Il debito di rincontro „ 40 644,68½

Avanza sc. 31 821,71½

Le quali tutte, eccetto quei che parerà al sig. card. di servirsene per altro, si possono impiegare all'estintione del sodetto debito di sc. 52 000.

Denari pagati da Mazinghi in Roma dalli 17 di Nov. 1597 per tutto 1598.

Debiti al banco, a mercanti et artefici sc. 14 126,6

Fra. l'altro :

Fabrica di S. Oresto	„	1 465,20
Viaggi per diversi da Roma a Ferrara	„	310
Al Seminario per le Tre Fontane	„	6 040,54
Chiesa di S. Nicolò titolo	„	88
Casa delle Tre Fontane per risarcimento.	„	16,90
Mantelleta per Loreto	„	800
Musaico delle Tre Fontane	„	547,13
Vigna di Porta Pinciana	„	362,29
Condotti	„	453,66
Vigna et giardino di Monte Rosi	„	417,78
Villa di Frascati	„	270

Total 73 538,75

There then follows : Denari riscossi da Mazinghi dalli 26 Nov. 1597 per tutto l'anno 1598, in all 77,129,06 sc.

Restano in conto 3,590,31 sc.

In the diplomatic papers of the Aldobrandini archives I made accessible to Dr. Horvat, a member of the Austrian Historical Institute, those which relate to the Turkish War of 1594-1601.¹

¹ See *supra*, p. 265, n. 2.

Of the remaining material of a diplomatic nature mention may be made of : 1. T. 207 n. 5, " Lettere del Card. Aldobrandini al vescovo di Molfetta (Offredo Offredi) nunzio in Venetia " (originals after May 13, 1600) ; 2. T. 287. " Lettere originali del card. Aldobrandini all'arcivescovo di Siponto (Domenico) Ginnasio) nunzio in Spagna." (Letters of the year 1603 : cf. App. n. 42, 43, 44.

48. THE DORIA ARCHIVES, ROME.

In 1908, by the intervention of the Austrian ambassador to the Holy See, Count Nicholas Scezen, Dr. Oscar Pollak, one of the most active members of the Austrian Historical Institute, succeeded in obtaining access to the archives of Prince Doria,¹ still little known, for his historical and artistic researches.

On that occasion I too visited the archives, which to some extent concern the " Aldobrandini." I copied certain documents, which I have used *supra*.²

For future use I made a note of a number of volumes. When, after the war, I wanted to use these, I found that these archives had become inaccessible. I therefore have to content myself, for the use of scholars who may see them, with merely pointing out the following material :

C. 4 and 8 : Lettere de' principi a Clemente VIII.

C. 12 : Lettere del Nunzio di Polonia Msgr. Malaspina, del Bathori etc., 1595 January to June.

C. 14 : Idem 1595 June to December.

C. 15—23 : Lettere scritte al card. S. Giorgio dai Nunzii di Polonia, 1595 to 1601.

C. 25 : Minute di lettere scritte dalla Segretaria di stato a Msgr. Serra, Nunzio in Ungheria, 1603.

C. 30 : Lettere de principi al card. S. Giorgio, 1596—1602.

¹ Two original letters of Henry IV. and Clement VIII. have been published by Muzio in *Saggiatore* I. 1 (Rome, 1881) 56 *seq.*, who had tried to explain how these documents came to be in the Doria archives.

² Cf. the "letter of Philip II., of February 18, 1592, mentioned *supra* p. 60, n. 3, that of *King Sigismund, Vol. XXIV., p. 100 : the "letter of Prince Ostrogski to Clement VIII., which have been withdrawn from the great collection of letters addressed to Clement VIII. (all originals). There is also a second part **Rescritti e memoriali di Clemente VIII., 1601-1605*, arranged alphabetically ; in one part are the contents, and in the other the Pope's decision, 4 volumes.

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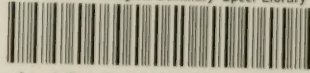
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